



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

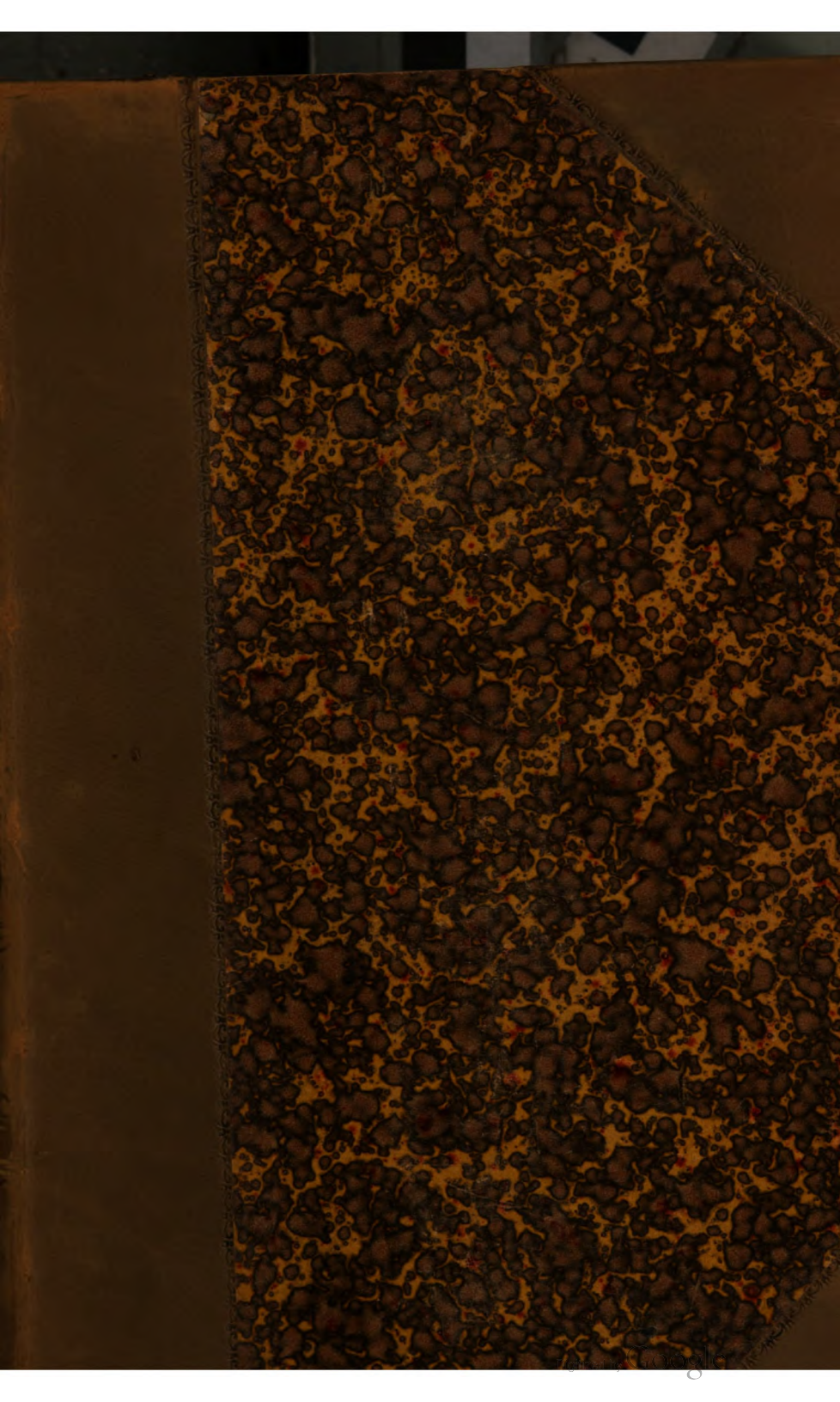
Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

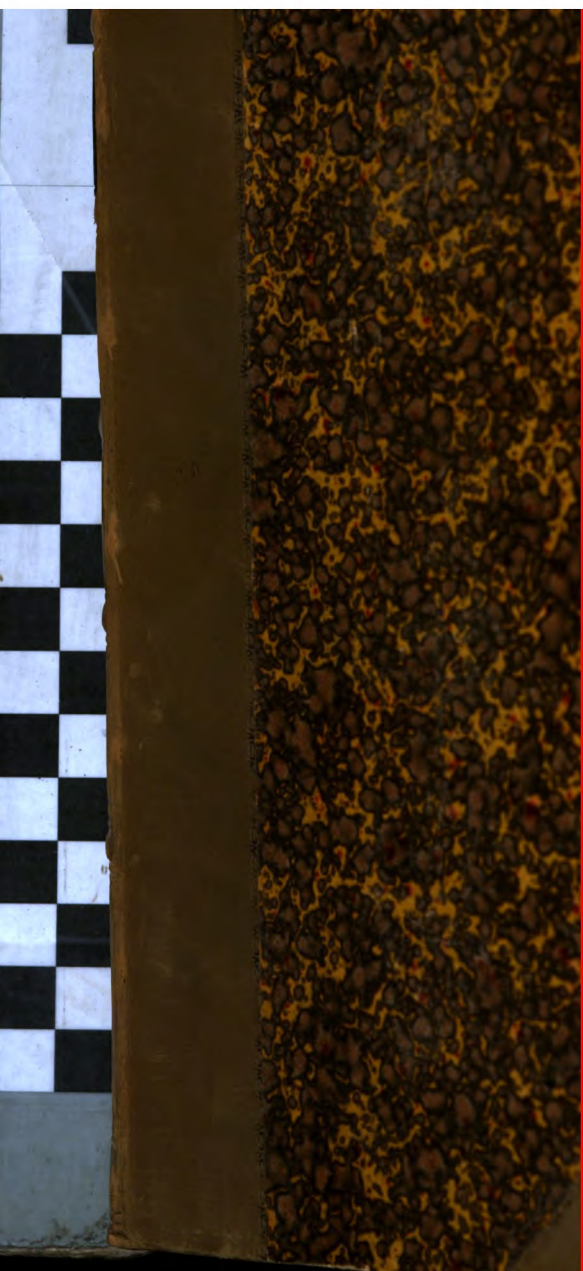
We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>



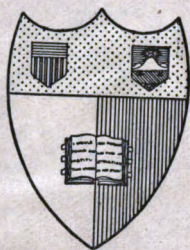




AS

122

D49



Cornell University Library
Ithaca, New York

BOUGHT WITH THE INCOME OF THE
FISKE ENDOWMENT FUND
THE BEQUEST OF
• **WILLARD FISKE**

LIBRARIAN OF THE UNIVERSITY 1866-1883

1905

The date shows when this volume was taken.

To renew this book copy the call No. and give to the librarian.

HOME USE RULES

All books subject to recall

All borrowers must register in the library to borrow books for home use.

All books must be returned at end of college year for inspection and repairs.

Limited books must be returned within the four week limit and not renewed.

Students must return all books before leaving town. Officers should arrange for the return of books wanted during their absence from town.

Volumes of periodicals and of pamphlets are held in the library as much as possible. For special purposes they are given out for a limited time.

Borrowers should not use their library privileges for the benefit of other persons.

Books of special value and gift books, when the giver wishes it, are not allowed to circulate.

Readers are asked to report all cases of books marked or mutilated.

Do not deface books by marks and writing.

CORNELL UNIVERSITY LIBRARY



3 1924 106 523 792

REPORT AND TRANSACTIONS
OF THE
DEVONSHIRE ASSOCIATION

FOR
THE ADVANCEMENT OF SCIENCE, LITERATURE,
AND ART.

EXETER, JULY, 1912.
[JUBILEE MEETING.]

VOL. XLIV.
[VOL. IV, THIRD SERIES.]

PLYMOUTH:
W. BRENDON AND SON, LTD., PRINTERS.

1912.
Copyright 1912.
Na

CORNELL
UNIVERSITY
LIBRARY

A551279

The Council and the Editor desire it to be understood that they are not answerable for any statements, observations, or opinions appearing in any paper printed by the Society ; the authors only are responsible.

The Transactions of the Society are not published, nor are they on sale. They are printed for Members only.

CONTENTS.

	Page
List of Plates	7
List of Officers	9
Places of Meeting	10
Rules	11
Bye-laws and Standing Orders	16
Balance Sheet	20, 21
Report of the Council	22
Proceedings at the Fifty-first Annual Meeting	24
Selected Minutes of Council appointing Committees	33
Obituary Notices	35
President's Address	44
Twenty-fifth Report of the Committee on Verbal Provincialisms	69
Thirty-first Report of the Committee on Barrows in Devonshire	83
Fourth Report of the Church Plate Committee	86
Fourth Report of the Botany Committee	126
Thirtieth Report [3rd Ser.] of the Committee on the Climate of Devon	136
A Short Account of the Origin of the Association. Rev. W. Harpley, M.A., F.C.P.S.	154
William Pengelly, F.R.S., F.G.S., "Father of the Devonshire Association," Mrs. H. Forbes Julian	157
Records of St. Nicholas' Priory, Exeter. Miss Kate M. Clarke	192
Illustrations of Municipal History from the Act Book of the Chamber of the City of Exeter. Prof. Walter J. Harte, M.A.	206
The Fourteenth-century Stained Glass of Exeter Cathedral. F. Morris Drake	231
The Fight at Clyst in 1455. Mrs. G. H. Radford	252
The Exeter Bond of Association: with some Notes on the Signatures. Miss Beatrix F. Cresswell	266
The Hundreds of Devon, XIII. The Domesday Hundred of Wenford or Wonford. Rev. O. J. Reichel, B.C.L. and M.A., F.S.A.	278
Early Descents of the Manors in the Wonford Hundred. Rev. O. J. Reichel, B.C.L. and M.A., F.S.A.	312
The Hundreds of Devon, XIV. The Hundred of South Tawton in Early Times. Rev. O. J. Reichel, B.C.L. and M.A., F.S.A.	343
Devon County Members of Parliament. Part I.: The Early Plantagenet Period (1213-1327). J. J. Alexander, M.A.	366

	Page
Plymouth China. Mrs. G. H. Radford	382
Tithe Commutation in Exbourne in the Seventeenth Century. Sir Roper Lethbridge, K.C.I.E., D.L., J.P., M.A.	394
The Kalenders and the Exeter Trade-Gilds before the Reformation. Mrs. Frances Rose-Troup	406
Corporation of Exeter Estate in Ireland, 1654-6. Rev. J. B. Pearson, D.D.	431
The Exeter Goldsmiths' Guild. Rev. J. F. Chanter, M.A.	438
An Account of the Hospitium de le Egle, Exeter, some Ancient Chapels in the Close, and some Persons connected therewith. Miss Ethel Lega-Weekes	480
Drake's Treasure. Colonel E. T. Clifford, v.d.	512
The Maritime Trade of Exeter in Mediæval Times. H. Michell Whitley, MEM. INST. C.E.	530
Rectors of St. Leonard's, Exeter, since the Commonwealth. Thomas Cann Hughes, M.A., F.S.A.	547
William Wykes, "First Recorder of Exeter"; and Wykes, Sheriff of Devon. Miss Ethel Lega-Weekes	561
The Aulnager in Devon. R. Pearse Chope, B.A.	568
The Exeter and Dartmouth Road. T. J. Joce	597
Twelve Months' Notes on Birds in the South Hams District. E. A. S. Elliot, M.R.C.S., M.B.O.U.	605
A Little Bit of Great Torrington Church History in the Time of Queen Elizabeth. George M. Doe	611
"The Advancement of Science." Some General Reflections. Arthur R. Hunt, F.L.S., F.G.S.	616
The Borough of Clifton-Dartmouth-Hardness and its Mayors and Mayoralties. Part II. Edward Windeatt	649
The Petrography of Dartmoor and its Borders. Part III. R. Hansford Worth, MEM. INST. C.E., F.G.S.	677
Some of the Rotifera of Devon. J. Stevens, F.R.M.S.	681
Sand Formation against the Saunton Down Cliffs, North Devon. H. Montagu Evans	692
A Survey of Old Burrow Camp, Exmoor. With Notes on the Excava- tions conducted there in 1911. H. St. George Gray	703
(Communicated by the General Secretary.)	
The Making of Torbay. A. J. Jukes-Browne, F.R.S., F.G.S.	718
(Communicated by R. Hansford Worth.)	
Life of Joanna Southcott. Charles Lane	732
(Communicated by R. Pearse Chope.)	
Bibliography of Joanna Southcott. Charles Lane	757
(Communicated by R. Pearse Chope.)	
List of Members	810
Index	827

PLATES.

BARROW REPORT—

Plate I.	Kistvaen, Tor South of Blackabrook	Between pp. 84 and 85
" II.	" Blackabrook, South	" "
" III.	" Blackabrook Group	" "
" IV.	" Blackabrook, East	" "
" V.	" Roundhill	" "
" VI.	" Roundhill, East of Summit	" "
" VII.	" Roundhill, near Summit	" "

CHURCH PLATE REPORT—

Altar Candlesticks at Cathedral	To face p. 98
Elizabethan Chalice and Cover at St. Mary Arches	" 111
Early Seventeenth-century Chalice at St. Pancras	" 116
Elizabethan Chalice and Cover at St. Petrock's	" 118

WILLIAM PENGELLY, F.R.S., F.G.S.—

William Pengelly, F.R.S., F.G.S., Father of the Devonshire Association	" 157
--	-------

FOURTEENTH-CENTURY STAINED GLASS OF EXETER CATHEDRAL—

North Choir Clearstorey, Exeter. Window facing Bishop's Throne	" 234
East Window, Exeter Cathedral	" 237
East Window, Exeter Cathedral. Heads of Lights ante 1389	" 248
East Window, Exeter Cathedral. Heads of Side Lights after Enlargement of Window	" 243
The Two Saint Catherines of the East Window, Exeter Cathedral	" 250

PLYMOUTH CHINA—

Jug "made by the great William Cookworthy of Plymouth"	" 389
The White Sphinx	" 392
Cup in the British Museum	" 392
Teapot in the possession of Mr. Doel of Plymouth	" 393

AN ACCOUNT OF THE HOSPITIUM DE LE EGLE—

Plan of Supposed Historic Remains	Page 485
---	----------

DRAKE'S TREASURE—

Names of the Survivors of the First Expedition which sailed round the world with Drake in the <i>Pelican</i>	To face p. 524
--	----------------

THE MARITIME TRADE OF EXETER IN MÆDIEVAL TIMES—

Devonshire Merchants' Marks	" 536
---------------------------------------	-------

THE EXETER AND DARTMOUTH ROAD—

Map of the Exeter and Dartmouth Road	To face p. 597
--	----------------

SAND FORMATION AGAINST THE SAUNTON DOWN CLIFFS—

Map of Shore of Barnstaple Bay	„ 692
Overhanging Cliff of Stratified Sand Rock	„ 696
Cemented Sand found on Slate Ridges	„ 697

A SURVEY OF OLD BURROW CAMP, EXMOOR—

Plate I. Plan of Old Burrow Camp	„ 703
„ II. Sectional Diagrams of Old Burrow Camp	„ 706
„ III. View of the Ancient Entrance-Causeway	„ 708
„ IV. Cuttings across the Fosse of the Outer Earthwork	„ 710
Iron Axe-adze found at Old Burrow Camp	Page 711
Plate V. Western Half of the Camp	To face p. 712
„ „ South-west Corner of the “Square”	„ 712

THE MAKING OF TORBAY—

Map of the Torbay Area in Early Pleistocene Time	„ 723
--	-------

OFFICERS

1912-13.

President.

THE VISCOUNT ST. CYRES, J.P., M.A.

Vice-Presidents.

THE RIGHT WORSHIPFUL THE MAYOR OF EXETER

(C. J. VLIELAND, Esq., M.D.).

THE SHERIFF OF EXETER (T. C. PRING, Esq.).

THE RIGHT REV. THE LORD BISHOP OF EXETER.

THE RT. REV. THE LORD BISHOP OF MARLBOROUGH, DEAN OF EXETER.

ROBERT BURNARD, Esq., F.S.A., J.P.

H. CAMPION, Esq.

PRINCIPAL A. W. CLAYDEN, M.A.,

F.G.S.

J. G. COMMUN, Esq., J.P.

SIR ALFRED CROFT, K.C.I.E., J.P.,
M.A.

H. E. DUKE, Esq., K.C., M.P.

A. H. DYMOND, Esq.

THE REV. CHANCELLOR EDMONDS, B.D.

THE VERY REV. MONSIGNOR GANDY.

G. F. GRATWICKE, Esq.

THE REV. W. HARPLEY, M.A., F.C.P.S.

W. B. HEBERDEN, Esq., C.B., J.P.

SIR HENRY HEPBURN, J.P.

SIR ROPER LETHBRIDGE, K.C.I.E.,
D.L., J.P., M.A.

A. T. LORAM, Esq., J.P.

SIR ROBERT NEWMAN, BART., D.L.,
J.P.

J. G. OWEN, Esq.

H. LLOYD PARRY, Esq., B.A., B.Sc.,
LL.B.

THE REV. CANON PRYKE, M.A.

C. T. K. ROBERTS, Esq.

R. H. ST. MAUR, Esq., D.L., J.P.

THE VEN. ARCHDEACON SANDERS,
M.A.

THE RIGHT HON. SIR E. M. SATOW,
P.C., G.C.M.G.

H. B. VARWELL, Esq., J.P.

SIR E. CHANING WILLS, BART.,
M.A., F.C.S.

THE REV. DAVID YOUNG.

Hon. General Treasurer.

J. S. AMERY, Esq., *Druid, Ashburton.*

Hon. General Secretary.

MAXWELL ADAMS, Esq., *c/o Messrs. W. Brendon & Son, Ltd., Printers, Plymouth.*

Hon. Local Treasurer.

THOMAS SNOW, Esq., J.P., *Union of London and Smith's Bank, Exeter.*

Hon. Local Secretary.

SIDNEY ANDREW, Esq., 10, *Bedford Circus, Exeter.*

Hon. Auditor.

ROBERT C. TUCKER, Esq., J.P., C.A., *The Hall, Ashburton.*

Council.

ADAMS, MAXWELL.

*ADAMS, S. P.

ALEXANDER, J. J.

AMERY, J. S.

ANDREW, SIDNEY.

*BARING-GOULD, REV. S.

BLACKLER, T. A.

BODY, MARTIN.

BRIDSON, MISS M. F. C.

*BURNARD, R.

CHALK, REV. E. S.

CHANTER, REV. J. F.

*CHAPMAN, REV. C.

CHAPPEL, W. E. PITFIELD.

CHOPE, R. PEARSE.

CLARKE, MISS K. M.

CLAYDEN, A. W.

*CLIFFORD, LORD.

CLIFFORD, COLONEL E. T.

*COLERIDGE, LORD.

CRESSWELL, MISS B. F.

*CROFT, SIR A. W.

DAVIES, W.

DOE, G. M.

DRAKE, F. MORRIS.

DUNCAN, A. G.

*EDMONDS, REV. CHANCELLOR.

ELLIOT, E. A. S.

*ENYS, J. D.

EVANS, H. M.

*EXETER, THE LORD BISHOP

OF (DR. ROBERTSON).

FOSTER, M. T.

*HALSBURY, LORD.

*HARPLEY, REV. W.

HARTE, W. J.

HIERN, W. P.

*HINE, JAMES.

HODGSON, T. V.

HUGHES, T. CANN.

HUNT, A. R.

JOCE, T. J.

JORDAN, W. F. C.

JULIAN, MRS. FORBES.

LARTER, MISS C. E.

LAYCOCK, C. H.

*LETHBRIDGE, SIR ROPER.

LOWE, HARFORD J.

MARTIN, J. M.

MORSHEAD, J. Y. A.

NECK, J. S.

PEARSON, REV. J. B.

*POLLOCK, SIR F.

PRICKMAN, J. D.

PROWSE, ARTHUR B.

RADFORD, MRS. G. H.

REED, HARBOTTLE.

REICHEL, REV. O. J.

SAUNDERS, MISS H.

SKINNER, MISS E.

SNOW, THOMAS.

*ST. CYRES, VISCOUNT.

*STEBBING, REV. T. R. R.

STEVENS, J.

THORNTON, REV. W. H.

TROUP, MRS. ROSE.

TUCKER, R. C.

WARD, REV. J. H.

WATKIN, H. R.

WATTS, H. V. I.

WEEKES, MISS LEGA.

WHITLEY, H. MICHELL.

WINDEATT, E.

WINDEATT, G. E.

WOODHOUSE, H. B. S.

WOOLLCOMBE, G. D.

WORTH, R. HANSFORD.

* Permanent Members of the Council.

PLACES OF MEETING

OF

THE DEVONSHIRE ASSOCIATION.

Place of Meeting.	President.
1862. EXETER . . .	Sir John Bowring, LL.D., F.R.S.
1863. PLYMOUTH . . .	C. Spence Bate, Esq., F.R.S., F.L.S.
1864. TORQUAY . . .	E. Vivian, Esq., M.A.
1865. TIVERTON . . .	C. G. B. Daubeney, M.D., LL.D., F.R.S.
1866. TAVISTOCK . . .	Earl Russell, K.G., K.G.C., F.R.S., etc.
1867. BARNSTAPLE . . .	W. Pengelly, Esq., F.R.S., F.G.S.
1868. HONITON . . .	J. D. Coleridge, Esq., Q.C., M.A., M.P.
1869. DARTMOUTH . . .	G. P. Bidder, Esq., C.E.
1870. DEVONPORT . . .	J. A. Froude, Esq., M.A.
1871. BIDEFORD . . .	Rev. Canon C. Kingsley, M.A., F.L.S., F.G.S.
1872. EXETER . . .	The Lord Bishop of Exeter (Dr. Temple).
1873. SIDMOUTH . . .	Right Hon. S. Cave, M.A., M.P.
1874. TEIGNMOUTH . . .	The Earl of Devon.
1875. TORRINGTON . . .	R. J. King, Esq., M.A.
1876. ASHBURTON . . .	Rev. Treasurer Hawker, M.A.
1877. KINGSBRIDGE . . .	Ven. Archdeacon Earle, M.A.
1878. PAIGNTON . . .	Sir Samuel White Baker, M.A., F.R.S., F.R.G.S.
1879. ILFRACOMBE . . .	Sir R. P. Collier, M.A.
1880. TOTNES . . .	H. W. Dyke Acland, M.A., M.D., LL.D., F.R.S.
1881. DAWLISH . . .	Rev. Professor Chapman, M.A.
1882. CREDITON . . .	J. Brooking-Rowe, Esq., F.S.A., F.L.S.
1883. EXMOUTH . . .	Very Rev. C. Merivale, D.D., D.C.L.
1884. NEWTON ABBOT . . .	Rev. T. R. R. Stebbing, M.A.
1885. SEATON . . .	R. F. Weymouth, Esq., M.A., D.Lit.
1886. ST. MARYCHURCH . . .	Sir J. B. Phear, M.A., F.G.S.
1887. PLYMPTON . . .	Rev. W. H. Dallinger, LL.D., F.R.S., F.L.S., etc.
1888. EXETER . . .	Very Rev. Dean Cowie, D.D.
1889. TAVISTOCK . . .	W. H. Hudleston, Esq., M.A., F.R.S., F.G.S., etc.
1890. BARNSTAPLE . . .	Lord Clinton, M.A.
1891. TIVERTON . . .	R. N. Worth, Esq., F.G.S.
1892. PLYMOUTH . . .	A. H. A. Hamilton, Esq., M.A., J.P.
1893. TORQUAY . . .	T. N. Brushfield, M.D., F.S.A.
1894. SOUTH MOLTON . . .	Sir Fred. Pollock, Bart., M.A.
1895. OKEHAMPTON . . .	The Right Hon. Earl of Halsbury.
1896. ASHBURTON . . .	Rev. S. Baring-Gould, M.A.
1897. KINGSBRIDGE . . .	J. Hine, Esq., F.R.I.B.A.
1898. HONITON . . .	Lord Coleridge, M.A.
1899. TORRINGTON . . .	Rev. Chancellor Edmonds, B.D.
1900. TOTNES . . .	Lord Clifford, M.A.
1901. EXETER . . .	Sir Roper Lethbridge, K.C.I.E., M.A., D.L., J.P.
1902. BIDEFORD . . .	Rev. W. Harpley, M.A., F.C.P.S.
1903. SIDMOUTH . . .	Sir Edgar Vincent, K.C.M.G., M.P.
1904. TEIGNMOUTH . . .	Sir Alfred W. Croft, K.C.I.E., M.A., J.P.
1905. PRINCETOWN . . .	Basil H. Thomson, Esq.
1906. LYNTON . . .	F. T. Elworthy, Esq., F.S.A.
1907. AXMINSTER . . .	The Lord Bishop of Exeter (Dr. Robertson).
1908. NEWTON ABBOT . . .	Lord Monkswell, J.P., D.L., LL.B.
1909. LAUNCESTON . . .	The Lord Bishop of Truro (Dr. Stubbs).
1910. CULLOMPTON . . .	John D. Enys, Esq., J.P., F.G.S.
1911. DARTMOUTH . . .	Robert Burnard, Esq., F.S.A., J.P.
1912. EXETER . . .	The Viscount St. Cyres, J.P., M.A.

RULES.

1. **THE Association** shall be called the Devonshire Association for the Advancement of Science, Literature, and Art.

2. The objects of the Association are—To give a systematic direction to scientific inquiry in Devonshire; and to promote the intercourse of those who cultivate Science, Literature or Art, in different parts of the county.

3. The Association shall consist of Members and Honorary Members.

4. Every candidate for membership, on being nominated by a member to whom he is personally known, shall be admitted by the General Secretary, subject to the confirmation of the General Meeting of the Members.

5. Every person, admitted to membership under Rule 4, shall forthwith receive intimation that he has been admitted a Member, subject to confirmation at the next General Meeting of Members; and the fact of the newly admitted Member's name appearing in the next issue of the printed List of Members, will be a sufficient intimation to him that his election has been confirmed. Pending the issue of the volume of Transactions containing the Rules of the Association, the newly admitted Member shall be furnished by the General Secretary with such extracts from the Rules as he shall deem necessary.

6. Persons of eminence in Science, Literature, or Art, or those who have rendered any special service to the Association, may, at a General Meeting of the Members, be elected Honorary Members of the Association: but such Honorary Members shall not be entitled to take any part in the management of the Association.

7. Every *Member* shall pay an Annual Subscription of Half a Guinea or a Life Composition Fee of Seven and a Half Guineas. But Members of not less than Ten Years' standing, whose Subscriptions are not in arrear, may compound by a single payment of Five Guineas.

8. Annual Subscriptions shall be payable in advance, and shall

be due in each year on the first day of January ; and no person shall have the privileges of a Member until the Subscription for the current year or a Life Composition has been paid.

9. Any Member who does not, on or before the first day of January, give notice, in writing, to the General Secretary of his intention to withdraw from the Association, shall be regarded as a Member for the ensuing year.

10. Whenever a Member is in arrear in the payment of his Annual Subscription, the Treasurer shall apply to him for the same.

11. Whenever, at an Annual Meeting, a Member shall be two years in arrear in the payment of his Annual Subscriptions, the Council may, at its discretion, erase his name from the List of Members.

12. Every *Member*, whose Subscriptions are not in arrear, shall be entitled to a copy of the volume of the Transactions for the year.

13. Every *Member* shall be entitled to a lady's ticket for the Annual Meeting.

14. Only ladies shall be eligible for admission as Associates to an Annual Meeting, on payment of the sum of Five Shillings each.

15. The Association shall meet annually, at such a time in July or August and at such place as shall be decided at a previous Annual Meeting.

16. One month at least before the Annual Meeting each Member shall be informed by the General Secretary, by circular, of the place and date of the Meeting.

17. The affairs of the Association shall be managed by a Council, which shall consist exclusively of the following Members of the Association :—

(a) Those who fill, or have filled, or are elected to fill, the offices of President, General and Local Treasurers, General and Local Secretaries, and Secretaries of Committees appointed by the Council.

(b) Authors of papers which have been printed *in extenso* in the Transactions of the Association.

The Council so constituted shall have power to make, amend, or cancel the Bye-laws and Standing Orders.

18. With the exception of the ex-Presidents, every Councillor who has not attended any Meeting of the Council for twenty-four calendar months, shall forfeit his place as a Councillor, but it shall be competent for him to recover it by a fresh qualification.

19. The Council shall hold a meeting at Exeter in the month of February in each year, on such day as the General Secretary shall appoint, for the due management of the affairs of the Association.

20. In the intervals of the Annual Meetings, all Meetings of the Council shall be held at Exeter, unless some other place shall have been decided on at a previous Council Meeting.

21. Every Meeting of the Council shall be convened by circular, sent by the General Secretary to each Member of the Council not less than ten days before the Meeting is held.

22. The General Secretary, or any four Members of the Council, may call extraordinary Meetings of their body for any purpose requiring their present determination, by notice under his or their hand or hands, addressed to every other Member of the Council, at least ten clear days previously, specifying the purpose for which such extraordinary Meeting is convened. No matter not so specified, and not incident thereto, shall be determined at any extraordinary Meeting.

23. The officers of the Association shall be a President, two or more Vice-Presidents, a General Treasurer, one or more General Secretaries, one or more Auditors, a Local Treasurer, and one or more Local Secretaries.

24. A Committee shall be appointed annually by the Council to consider at what place the Association shall hold its Annual Meeting, and who shall be invited to fill any official vacancies which may from time to time occur, as follows :—

(a) The President subject to confirmation by the Council.

(b) All other officers (except Vice-Presidents, the Local Treasurer, and Local Secretary or Secretaries) subject to confirmation at a General Meeting of the Members of the Association.

25. The Vice-Presidents, Local Treasurer, and Local Secretary or Secretaries shall be elected by the local Reception Committee appointed by the Authorities of the city or town issuing the invitation to the Association, subject to confirmation by the Council of the Association; and the Council shall have power to add to the number of Vice-Presidents elected by the Local Authorities from among the Members of the Association.

26. The President shall enter on his duties at the Annual Meeting for which he has accepted office: the General Treasurer, General Secretary or Secretaries, the Vice-Presidents and Local Officers shall enter on their duties as soon as convenient after their election.

27. The Council shall have power to fill any official vacancy which may occur in the intervals of the Annual Meetings, on the recommendation of the Committee appointed under Rule 24.

28. The President shall be eligible for re-election, provided that the same person does not hold office in two consecutive years.

29. The General Treasurer shall receive all sums of money due to the Association ; he shall pay all accounts due by the Association after they shall have been examined and approved ; and he shall report to each Meeting of the Council the balance he has in hand, and the names of such Members as shall be in arrear, with the sums due respectively by each.

30. The Accounts of the Association shall be audited annually, by one or more Auditors appointed at each Annual Meeting, but who shall not be *ex-officio* Members of the Council.

31. All investments of the funds of the Association shall be made in the names of three trustees to be elected by the Council, in securities authorized by law for the investment of Trust Funds.

32. The Association shall have the right at its discretion of printing *in extenso* in its volume of Transactions all papers read at the Annual Meeting. The copyright of a paper read before any Meeting of the Association, and the illustrations of the same which have been provided at his expense, shall remain the property of the Author ; but he shall not be at liberty to print it, or allow it to be printed elsewhere, either *in extenso* or in abstract amounting to as much as one-half of the length of the paper, until after the issue of the volume of Transactions in which the paper is printed.

33. The Association shall, within a period not exceeding six months after each Annual Meeting, issue to each Member and Honorary Member its volume of Transactions, which shall include the Rules, a Financial Statement, a List of the Members, the Report of the Council and of the Proceedings, the President's Address, and such Papers, in abstract or *in extenso*, read at the Annual Meeting, as the Council shall decide to print, together with, if time allows, an Index to the volume.

34. Should the extra charges for small type, and types other than those known as Roman or Italic, and for the author's corrections of the press, in any paper published in the Transactions, amount to a greater sum than in the proportion of ten shillings per sheet, such excess shall be borne by the author himself, and not by the Association ; and should any paper exceed three sheets, the cost beyond the cost of the three sheets shall be borne by the author of the paper.

35. If proofs of papers to be published in the Transactions are sent to authors for correction, and are retained by them beyond four days for each sheet of proof, to be reckoned from the day

marked thereon by the printers, but not including the time needful for transmission by post, such proofs shall be assumed to require no further correction.

36. The authors of papers printed in the Transactions shall, within seven days after the Transactions are issued, receive twenty-five private copies free of expense, and shall be allowed to have any further number printed at their own expense. All arrangements as to such extra copies shall be made by the authors with the printers of the Association. The Honorary Secretaries of Committees for special service for the Association, may, on application, be supplied with fifteen additional copies, free of expense, should they be required, of the Reports of their Committees printed in the Transactions.

37. No Rule shall be altered, amended, or new Rule added, except at an Annual General Meeting of Members, and then only provided that notice of the proposed change has been given to the General Secretary, and by him communicated to all the Members at least one month before the Annual General Meeting.

38. Throughout the Rules, Bye-laws, and Standing Orders where the singular number is used, it shall, when circumstances require, be taken to include the plural number, and the masculine gender shall include the feminine.

BYE-LAWS AND STANDING ORDERS.

1. It is desirable that a copy of the President's Address shall be in the hands of the General Secretary not later than the twenty-fourth day of June in each year, in order that it may be printed and distributed to the Press in time for publication in newspapers issued on the day after its delivery. The President's Address shall be considered a confidential document until after its delivery.

2. Papers to be read at the Annual Meetings must strictly relate to Devonshire, and the procedure for the submission, selection and reading of papers shall be as follows :—

(a) Papers and Reports of Committees to be read at any Meeting, together with all drawings, photographs, maps, etc., to illustrate the same, must be submitted to the General Secretary, so as to reach him not later than the twenty-fourth day of June in each year.

(b) All Papers and illustrations considered unsuitable shall be returned to the authors as soon as possible.

(c) The General Secretary will obtain from the printers of the Association for presentation to the Council a statement showing the number of pages each Paper and Report will occupy when printed, the estimated extra cost of printing tables, of the use of special type or change of type, and of all other extra charges, if any, in each Paper and Report, as well as the estimated cost of all charges connected with the preparation, binding and issue of the volume of Transactions.

(d) The General Secretary will communicate the printers' report and estimates to the Council, at the Meeting of that body on the first day of the Annual Meeting. The Council will then select the Papers and Reports to be read on the two following days.

3. Papers which have already been printed *in extenso* cannot be accepted unless they form part of the literature of a question on which the Council has requested a Member or Committee to prepare a Report.

4. The reading of any Report or Paper shall not exceed twenty minutes, or such part of twenty minutes as shall be decided by the

Council as soon as the Programme of Reports and Papers shall have been settled, and in any discussion which may arise no speaker shall be allowed to speak more than five minutes.

5. The Council will arrange Papers for reading to meet the convenience of the authors, as far as possible. Papers shall be read in the order appointed by the Council, but in the event of the author of any Paper not being present to read his Paper, and in the absence of any arrangement by the author of a Paper for its reading by some Member present at the meeting, such Paper or Papers, if more than one, shall be held over till the conclusion of the reading of the Papers, when it shall be put to the vote of the Meeting whether such Paper or Papers shall be read by substitute or not.

6. Papers which have been accepted by the Council cannot be withdrawn without the consent of the Council.

7. Papers communicated by Members for Non-Members, and accepted by the Council, shall be placed in the List of Papers for reading below those furnished by Members themselves.

8. In the event of there being at an Annual Meeting more Papers than can be disposed of in one day, the reading of the residue shall be continued on the day following.

9. At the close of the Annual Meeting in every year there shall be a Meeting of the Council, and the Council shall then decide what Reports and how many of the Papers accepted for reading the funds of the Association, as reported by the Treasurer, will permit of being printed in the volume of Transactions.

10. All Papers read to the Association which the Council shall decide to print *in extenso* in the Transactions, shall be sent to the printers, together with all drawings required for illustrating them, as soon as possible after the close of the Annual Meeting at which they were read.

11. All Papers read to the Association which the Council shall decide not to print *in extenso* in the Transactions, shall be returned to the authors as soon as possible after the close of the Annual Meeting at which they were read; and abstracts of such Papers to be printed in the Transactions shall not exceed such length as the General Secretary shall suggest in each case, and must be sent to him within seven days after such Paper has been returned to the author.

12. The printers shall print the Papers in the volume of Transactions in the order in which they were read, unless there is any special reason for the contrary, and shall return every Manuscript to the author as soon as it is in type, *but not before*. They shall be returned *intact*, provided they are written on one side of the paper only and each sheet numbered.

13. Excepting mere verbal alterations, no Paper which has been read to the Association shall be added to without the written approval and consent of the General Secretary, or in the event of there being two Secretaries of the one acting as Editor; and no additions shall be made except in the form of footnotes or brief postscripts, or both.

14. The author of every Paper which the Council at any Annual Meeting shall decide to print in the Transactions shall pay for the preparation of all such illustrations as in his judgment and that of the Council the said Paper may require. That is to say, he shall pay for the preparation of all necessary drawings, blocks, lithographic transfers or drawings on stone; but the Association will bear the cost of printing (by the Association's printers), paper and binding; provided that should any such illustrations be in colours or of a size larger than can be inserted in the volume with a single fold, or be desired to be executed in any other process than printing from the block or lithography, then in each and either of these cases the author shall himself bear the whole cost of production and printing, and should the Council so decide shall also pay any additional charge that may properly be made for binding.

15. The pagination of the Transactions shall be in Arabic numerals exclusively, and carried on consecutively, from the beginning to the end of each volume; and the Transactions of each year shall form a distinct and separate volume.

16. The Council shall from time to time, when deemed advisable, revise the prices fixed for each volume of the Transactions and all other publications of the Association.

17. The General Secretary shall report to each Annual Meeting of the Members the number of copies in stock of each volume of the Transactions, and other publications of the Association, with the price per copy of each volume; and such Report shall be printed in the Transactions.

18. The General Secretary shall prepare brief Obituary Notices of Members deceased during the previous year, and such notices shall be printed in the Transactions.

19. All Resolutions appointing Committees for special service for the Association shall be printed in the Transactions.

20. The following are the Rules for reprinting Reports of Committees other than the reprints supplied to authors under Rule 36:—

(a) The printers of the Association alone are permitted to reprint any Report.

(b) The written permission of the General Secretary is required

before any Report may be reprinted, the copyright of all Reports printed in the Transactions being vested in the Association.

(c) The printers shall pay to the General Secretary on behalf of the Association, as royalty, a sum of sixpence per fifty copies for each half-sheet of eight pages, any number of copies less than fifty or between two exact multiples of fifty being regarded as fifty, and any number of pages less than eight or between two exact multiples of eight, being regarded as eight.

(d) Each copy of the reprint shall have printed on the first page the words, "Reprinted from the Transactions of the Devonshire Association for the Advancement of Science, Literature, and Art, for ——— by permission of the Council of the Association," the year in which the Report was originally printed being indicated.

(e) The reprint shall be an exact copy of the Report as originally printed in the Transactions, without addition, abridgment or modification, the necessary corrections for printer's errors and changes in pagination alone excepted.

21. An amount not less than eighty per cent. of all Compositions received from Life Members of the Association shall be invested.

22. At each of its Ordinary Meetings the Council shall deposit at interest, in such bank as they shall decide on, and in the names of the General Treasurer and General Secretary of the Association, all uninvested Compositions received from Life Members, all uninvested prepaid Annual Subscriptions, and any part, or the whole of the balance derived from other sources which may be in the Treasurer's hands after providing for all accounts passed for payment at the said Meeting.

23. The General Secretary is authorized to spend any sum not exceeding *Twenty Pounds* per annum in employing a clerk for such work as may be found necessary, and any sum not exceeding *Two Guineas* for the preparation of an Index to each annual volume of the Transactions.

24. Only Members and Ladies holding Ladies' tickets are admitted to the Association Dinner, when one is held. Members and Ladies intending to dine must send in their names to the Honorary Local Secretary not less than two clear days before the date of the Dinner.

Treasurer's Report of Receipts and Expenditure

Receipts.		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
By Subscriptions:—							
1910 (7)	.	.	.	.	3	13	6
1911 (412)	.	.	.	.	216	6	0
Lady Associates (4)	.	.	.	.	1	0	0
						220	19 6
„ Life Compositions—							
3 at £5 5s.	.	.	.	.	15	15	0
1 at £7 17s. 6d.	.	.	.	.	7	17	6
1 at £10	.	.	.	.	10	0	0
						33	12 6
„ Dividends—							
£400 India 3 per cent	.	.	.	.	10	4	6
£300 Consols 2½ per cent	.	.	.	.	7	1	4
Bank Interest	.	.	.	.	2	0	10
						19	6 8
Authors' Excess under Rule 29:—							
„ The Rev. O. J. Reichel	.	.	.	.	4	9	7
„ Miss Cresswell	.	.	.	.	2	3	0
„ Mr. W. P. Hiern	.	.	.	.	1	13	10
„ Mr. J. J. Alexander	.	.	.	.	1	17	4
						10	3 9
„ Discount from Messrs. Brendon and Son, Ltd.	.	.	.	.	9	2	3
„ Sale of Transactions	.	.	.	.	1	17	6
						10	19 9
						295	2 2
„ Balance from 1910 Account	.	.	.	.	.	85	18 6
						£381	0 8
„ Balance brought down	.	.	.	.	.	£142	15 2

JOHN S. AMERY, *Hon. General Treasurer.*

for the Year ending 31st December, 1911.

[illegible]

Examined with Vouchers, and found to be correct, with a balance of £142 15s. 2d. in favour of the Association, this 11th day of July, 1912.

(Signed) ROBERT C. TUCKER, Auditor.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

Presented to the General Meeting held at Exeter, 23rd July, 1912.

MEETINGS of the Council were held at Dartmouth on 25 and 27 July, 1911, at which the business transacted was of a purely routine character.

The Winter Meeting of the Council was held at Exeter on 29 February, 1912, at which, in addition to the transaction of the ordinary routine business, it was decided to accept a cordial invitation proffered to the Association by the Urban District Council of Buckfastleigh to hold its Annual Meeting in 1913 in that town; a Committee was appointed (p. 34) to prepare a list of "Ancient Monuments" in the County of Devon which it is considered desirable should be handed over to the custody of the First Commissioner of Works, under the provisions of the Acts of 1882 and 1900, with the view to their preservation and protection, and the Somersetshire Archæological and Natural History Society and the Dorset Natural History and Antiquarian Field Club were added to the list of Societies receiving complimentary copies of the *Transactions* of this Association. Also, the Bye-Laws as revised by the Committee appointed for the purpose, after amendments by the Council, were adopted and put into force, and the Rules as revised by the same Committee were approved and ordered to be submitted to a General Meeting of the Members for sanction.

A copy of Vol. XLIII of the *Transactions* and of Part XI of the *Wills* has been sent to every Member not in arrear with his subscription, and to the following Societies, namely—the Royal Society, the Society of Antiquaries, the Linnean Society, the Royal Institution, the Royal Anthropological Institute, the Geological Society, the Library of the British Museum, the British Museum Natural History Society, the Bodleian Library, the University Library, Cambridge, the Devon and Exeter Institution, the Plymouth Institution, the Natural History

Society, Torquay, the North Devon Athenæum, Barnstaple, the Royal Institution of Cornwall, Truro, the Somersetshire Archæological and Natural History Society, the Dorset Natural History and Antiquarian Field Club (c/o Rev. Herbert Pentin, M.A., Hon. Secretary, Milton Abbey Vicarage, Blandford, Dorset), and Yale University Library, U.S.A. (c/o Wm. Wesley and Son, 28 Essex Street, Strand, London, W.C.).

The stock of *Transactions*, *Wills*, etc., now in hand is as follows :—

<i>Transactions</i> , Vol. XXXIV	59	copies
<i>Wills</i> , Part IV	64	„
<i>Index</i> to Vol. XXXIV.	82	„
<i>Transactions</i> , Vol. XXXV	26	„
<i>Wills</i> , Part V	26	„
<i>Transactions</i> , Vol. XXXVI	42	„
<i>Wills</i> , Part VI	42	„
<i>Transactions</i> , Vol. XXXVII.	59	„
<i>Wills</i> , Part VII	60	„
<i>Transactions</i> , Vol. XXXVIII	22	„
<i>Wills</i> , Part VIII	25	„
<i>Transactions</i> , Vol. XXXIX	61	„
(No <i>Wills</i> issued.)		
<i>Transactions</i> , Vol. XL	69	„
<i>Wills</i> , Part IX	68	„
<i>Transactions</i> , Vol. XLI	63	„
(No <i>Wills</i> issued.)		
<i>Transactions</i> , Vol. XLII	47	„
<i>Wills</i> , Part X	70	„
<i>Transactions</i> , Vol. XLIII	54	„
<i>Wills</i> , Part XI	76	„

MAXWELL ADAMS,

Hon. General Secretary.

PROCEEDINGS AT THE MEETING HELD AT
EXETER ON THE 23RD TO 26TH JULY, 1912,
IN CELEBRATION OF THE FIFTIETH ANNI-
VERSARY OF THE ASSOCIATION.

FIFTY years ago, on the 14th August, 1862, the then newly founded Devonshire Association held its first meeting in the City of Exeter. The Rev. William Harpley, its first Secretary, and one who wielded its destinies for thirty-eight years, tells, in this volume (p. 154), the story of how the idea of a County Association was conceived in Plymouth and bore fruit by the holding of that meeting in Exeter. It was therefore with no little gratification that the members, in July, 1909, received from the Town Council of Exeter an invitation couched in most kindly terms to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the first meeting in the City of its birth, and the graceful compliment implied by this invitation was so highly appreciated that it was gratefully accepted. Though the Association has visited Exeter on three occasions since that first meeting, on each of which it has been most cordially received and welcomed, it was left for its fifth visit in 1912 for the citizens to excel themselves in the warmth and kindness of their reception and in the hospitality extended to the members. The Jubilee Meeting of 1912 will therefore be a memorable one in the annals of the Association, not only on account of the cordiality of its reception, but also for the number and merit of the papers submitted for reading and publication in the *Transactions*, and the large attendance at all the meetings.

A Meeting of the Council was held at 2 p.m. on 23rd July, followed by the General Meeting at 3.30 p.m., at which, among other matters, the Rules as revised by the Committee appointed for the purpose were adopted, and on the suggestion of Mr. Charles Fox it was agreed that the names of the two surviving original members, the Rev. William Harpley and Mr. James Hine, who were both present, should in future head the List of Members.

At 4.30 p.m. a large number of members attended the public reception of the Association by the Mayor of Exeter in the Guildhall. His Worship, who wore his robes and chain of office and was accompanied on the Bench by the Mayoress, the Sheriff and Mrs. T. C. Pring, Sir Roper Lethbridge, Mr. Maxwell Adams, and Mr. Lloyd Parry (Town Clerk), in offering the visitors a hearty welcome to the City, said the main object of their visit was to add to the already very valuable records of the science, art, and literature of their beloved county. One might have thought that in fifty years they would have plumbed the depths of all that was to be learnt on those subjects, but those who knew best would, he was sure, agree with him that the work of the Association grew with the years, and that the depths could never be plumbed, and that our descendants, when they were celebrating the 500th anniversary, would still find that the work of learning to know Devon in her manifold aspects would be even then in its infancy. Amidst their labours, they would require recreation, which the City had done its best to provide, and he hoped they would find it to their liking. If it did not meet their requirements, they must blame their Secretary, who, it seemed, had cut down the hours that might have been spent in recreation and in exploring the interest and charm of the City. His Worship said the citizens were delighted to see the members in their midst.

Sir Roper Lethbridge, as the senior ex-President present, thanked the Mayor for the warmth of his reception. He said it was his pleasant duty to return thanks to his Worship for his kindly remarks on this momentous occasion in the Association's history, namely, their Jubilee Meeting. It was indeed fitting that for this occasion the Association should have been allowed to visit the Capital of the County, and the Mayor had added to their obligation by the kindness and particular warmth of his reception. He (Sir Roper) spoke for every true-born Devon man and woman when he said that Exeter, the Ever Faithful, the Queen of Cities, and the Star of the West, was a star which drew out their hearts towards it wherever they might be, whether beneath the torrid suns of India or amid the snows of Canada. In quasi-alliance with this Association there were Societies of Devonshire men and women in almost every centre of the globe where the British flag was flown. He had, himself, belonged to one at Calcutta, and

these Societies existed as wide apart as Durban, Toronto, and Sydney. Exeter was the epitome of the history not only of this county, but of the whole of the race; it had always stood for the right cause, and always, please God, would do so.

The members were then entertained at tea in the Mayor's Parlour, and a party of them were taken by Miss B. F. Cresswell to the City police-station, where they were shown the Roman tessellated pavement, and to St. Pancras Church, while Mr. Harbottle Reed conducted a party to Exe Bridge, St. Edmund's Church, the Chantry, the site of Westgate, Stepcone Hill, Tucker's Hall, and St. Nicholas' Priory. Mr. Harbottle Reed also conferred a boon on the members by printing a booklet containing short notes on the places visited with him, which was much appreciated. The Town Clerk displayed the civic regalia and some of the City's ancient charters, giving a short account of the history of the Guildhall and of the exhibits to many interested members.

At 9 p.m. the President, the Viscount St. Cyres, delivered his Presidential Address in the Royal Albert Memorial (see p. 44). Colonel E. T. Clifford, v.d., who, in the unavoidable absence of the retiring President, Mr. R. Burnard, introduced Lord St. Cyres, said he accepted the honour of presiding as a compliment to the Association, of which he had the honour to be chairman—the London Devonian Association. He accepted it as a mark of their approval of the Society's existence—for they had had a struggle to exist—approval of their objects at home and abroad, objects which were worth while, and which they believed that all the shires in the kingdom would be glad to copy in due time, and which in the days to come would help to forge that link which would bind together the English-speaking race. Lord St. Cyres had been very good and very discreet in the selection of his father and grandfather. He knew Lord Iddesleigh's father well, and he was one of the dearest men that ever lived—a soul of honour and a pillar of the empire. Viscount St. Cyres was a member of a family which had long been intimately and happily associated with the City of Exeter.

The Mayor (Dr. C. J. Vlieland) proposed a vote of thanks to the President for his address, which had, he said, been from first to last of surpassing interest—in fact, one could only wonder and admire at the mine of biography

of those Devonshire worthies which had been concentrated into the time and space. His Worship congratulated Viscount and Lady St. Cyres on their recent marriage, and said he did so with the very greatest pleasure, not only on behalf of the Association, but also on behalf of the City of Exeter. They had always looked on Viscount St. Cyres' house as citizens of Exeter; they wished to do so, and were proud of it. They could not forget the many benefits which his house had conferred on their City. The very building in which they were at that moment owed its foundation really to the first Lord Iddesleigh, who saw further ahead than almost any Devonian of his time. He saw the educational possibilities of Exeter, situated as she was in the very heart of the county. He looked at the Royal Albert Memorial in the threefold aspect of Library, Museum, and Higher Learning. It was a coincidence that it was in 1862 that the Albert Memorial took its birth—the same year as the birth of the Devonshire Association, so that they were really celebrating a double jubilee.

The Sheriff, seconding, remarked that, fortunate as the Association had always been in its President, it had never made a more fortunate choice than it did in this jubilee year in electing Viscount St. Cyres as its President. Viscount St. Cyres was bound to Exeter by very many ties, and no one appreciated better the family to which he belonged than the City of Exeter, who knew them so well. They did not forget the services which the first Lord Iddesleigh rendered to the County and to the City, nor did they forget the services which the present Earl had rendered.

The vote was carried with acclamation, and Viscount St. Cyres briefly returned thanks.

On Wednesday, 24th July, in the large Lecture Room of University College, the reading of the Reports and Papers was commenced at 10 a.m., with Mr. J. D. Enys in the chair. Not the least interesting of the many papers read on this day was Mr. Harpley's account of the origin of the Association, which will stand for all time as the authentic history of its genesis, and the author was congratulated by the Chairman on having placed on record facts which could not have been given by anyone else now living, adding that the members ought to be especially grateful to him. This paper was fittingly followed by a memoir of the "Father of the Association"—Mr. William Pengelly

—by his daughter, Mrs. Forbes Julian, on which the Rev. T. Flavell voiced the appreciation of the members, and assured Mrs. Julian how deeply they venerated the memory of the man who did Devonshire such great service. The interest of Mrs. G. H. Radford's paper on "Plymouth China," also read on this day, was greatly added to by the fine loan collection of Plymouth china exhibited in the Museum during the meeting, the principal piece being a lovely sphinx, by William Cookworthy, dated 1770, and owned by Mrs. Radford, which was given a prominent place in the Plymouth china case.

At 4 p.m. Lord and Lady St. Cyres, who had very considerably curtailed their wedding tour, in order that they might be present at the meetings and entertain the Association, received a large number of members and private guests who had been invited to meet them, in the Palace Grounds, lent to them for the occasion by the Lord Bishop of Exeter. Tea was served in marquees and in the old-world gardens of the Palace, while the Royal Naval Band from Devonport and the Cathedral Quartette "discoursed sweet music." The weather was beautifully fine, and in a setting suggestive of an "abode of ancient peace" the scene was picturesque in the extreme and the party a delightful success. At intervals during the afternoon parties collected at the Postern Gate within the Palace Grounds and were taken over the Cathedral by the Rev. Canon Pryke and its story told, a courtesy gratefully appreciated by those privileged to hear it.

In the evening, the Mayor and Mayoress received a large number of guests, who had been invited to meet the members of the Association, in the Royal Albert Memorial. The Queen Street front of the building was gaily illuminated, while halberdiers lined the main staircase and corridors. Concerts were given at intervals by the band of the Royal First Devon Yeomanry, and vocal music, rendered by Miss May Bartlett, Miss Louise Sims, Mr. and Mrs. Woodbridge, Mr. J. S. Perry, and Mr. W. J. Belgrove, delighted appreciative audiences. In the Fisher Library the City Archives, Seals, and Regalia were exhibited, and Mr. Tapley-Soper, the City Librarian, displayed his treasures from the City, Fisher, and Brooking-Rowe collections, comprising Devonshire books, manuscripts, and the recently acquired Raleigh collection from the library of the late Dr. Brushfield. Miss Beatrix Cresswell also specially

lent for this exhibition her valuable collections for the history of the fabrics and features of interest of all the churches of Devonshire, contained in twenty-three manuscript volumes. The Exeter Pictorial Record Society exhibited, in another part of the building, photographs of buildings, courts, and terraces of Exeter which have disappeared or are about to be demolished, Church Plate, etc. In the Museum and Picture Gallery, Mr. F. R. Rowley, the Curator, was assiduous in explaining to the guests the many and various objects of interest in his charge. The reception was a brilliant and most interesting gathering, and the courtesy of the Mayor and Mayoress much appreciated.

On Thursday, 25th July, the reading of the papers was resumed at 10 a.m., with Mr. J. D. Enys in the chair until the arrival of the President. At the General Meeting, which followed, votes of thanks for the excellent arrangements made for the reception of the Association and for the hospitality received were cordially passed. At the Council Meeting held subsequently, it was decided to print *in extenso* all the Reports and Papers read at this meeting in the volume of *Transactions* for 1912.

At 4 p.m. a party went down the canal to Topsham—said to be the oldest canal in England—in a flotilla of launches, under the command of Mr. C. J. Ross in the *Otranto*. A picnic tea was provided *en route*, and a most enjoyable afternoon was spent. Another party drove to the Waterworks at Cowley Bridge, where the lovely gardens of Mr. Kneel, bright with a profusion of blooms, proved more attractive than the tea provided in his picturesque summer-house. A third party, under the guidance of Mr. Harbottle Reed, visited St. Petrock's Church, the Law Library, a courtyard in the Close, Mallock's House, St. Catherine's Almshouses, Bampfylde House, and other places of interest, as also the Subterranean Passages of Exeter.

In the evening, the Sheriff and Mrs. T. C. Pring entertained the members and their private friends at a most delightful *al fresco* party in the lovely grounds of Rouge-mont House, recently acquired by the City. It is impossible to describe the enchanting, fairy-like scene into which the grounds of the mansion had been transformed. The house was outlined with innumerable electric lamps—ruby, green, and gold being the predominating

colours. The flower-beds were bejewelled with tiny lamps; Chinese lanterns hung from the noble trees; grottos and rockeries were illuminated with a soft green glow—suggestive of moonlight—such was the scene which burst on the guests on entering the gates. One felt transported to a scene in the *Arabian Nights*. The balmy air of a summer night, coupled with the soft strains of music from the Royal Naval Band floating across the lawns and glades, was seductive in the extreme, and the guests seemed reluctant to tear themselves away from the delights of so entrancing a scene. Hearty thanks were given to the host and hostess for affording their guests such unaccustomed pleasure, and congratulations offered on the success of their party.

On Friday, 26th July, a party of over two hundred started at 11 a.m. for the grand stand on Haldon race-course. The drive was most enjoyable, passing through typical Devonshire lanes, with lovely views at every turn in the road. On arrival at their destination the party was most kindly and hospitably entertained at lunch in a large marquee, erected for the occasion, by Sir E. Chaning and Lady Wills, of Harcombe. Lunch ended, the Mayor of Exeter (Dr. C. J. Vlieland) said they could not separate without first expressing their thanks to Sir Chaning and Lady Wills for their kindness in arranging for their comfort in so enjoyable a way. It made them feel that all was right with the world. Sir Chaning Wills had not very long been such a near neighbour of Exeter, but they rejoiced that he had settled at Harcombe, and the operations that were going on there led them to feel that he had settled in the district for good. When the troublous times of house-building were over he was sure, with his scientific tastes, he would be a most valued and valuable member of the Devonshire Association. Sir Chaning, as soon as he knew that there was an excursion to Haldon in view, was anxious to minister to the comfort of the members, and after the way he had done it he (the Mayor) was sure they would join with him in expressing their heartiest thanks.

Sir Chaning Wills thanked the Mayor for his kind remarks, and expressed the pleasure it gave Lady Wills and himself to meet the members that day. He hoped they would enjoy their visit to Haldon, for which they were fortunate to have a fine day. He took the opportunity of drinking to the toast of the Devonshire Association,

coupled with that of the City and County of the City of Exeter.

Mr. Maxwell Adams responded briefly on behalf of the Association, and Mr. Sidney Andrew acknowledged the toast on behalf of the City.

The guests then wandered over the race-course, enjoying the lovely views, rendered more beautiful by a softening mist which pervaded the landscape, and exhilarated by the moorland air of Great Haldon till it was time to resume their seats in the brakes for their journey to Oxton, where they had been invited to tea by Mr. and Mrs. E. F. Studd. The drive through the heather-lined lanes was most enjoyable, and the view of the Exe Valley just before reaching the higher lodge at Oxton much admired. Immediately inside the lodge gates an ancient camp was inspected. Thence the party walked through the woods to the house, from the terrace of which Powderham Belvedere and Woodbury Camp are seen. Mr. and Mrs. Studd and their sons and daughters welcomed their guests on the terrace, where tea was partaken of, and by the courtesy of their host and hostess several of the members were privileged to see the house and some of its interesting contents—the pictures, the collection of coins (particularly the gold coin of Edward the Confessor, of which this is one of two examples extant), and a silver cup said to have been used by Napoleon I on all his campaigns being inspected with great interest. After thanking their hosts for their great kindness, the party returned to Exeter, via Kenton and Exminster.

Thus ended a memorable meeting, which was carried out without a single hitch, and was an unqualified success from beginning to end. The programme arranged for the reception of the Association was so complete and ample and the hospitality so spontaneous and unforced that the members cannot but be gratified and deeply grateful for all that was done to make the Jubilee of the Association so remarkable a success. It is a proof that Exeter, the capital of the county, appreciates the work of the Devonshire Association and the endeavours of its members to do honour to the County of Devon. The hearty thanks of each officer and member of the Association are sincerely tendered to the citizens of Exeter, from the Rt. Worshipful the Mayor, Dr. C. J. Vlieland, downwards, for the kindness

and heartiness of the welcome they received during their visit, and for the provision made for their convenience and entertainment. To Mr. Sidney Andrew, the Honorary Local Secretary, their thanks are especially due and are offered for the excellent programme arranged for the Meeting and for the admirable manner in which he carried it out, and also for his unfailing help and courtesy whenever appealed to for information or assistance.

The Association has done fifty years of useful work in all departments of science, literature, and art, as is evidenced by the forty-three volumes of its *Transactions*, and the steady progress and success of the Association recorded therein must be a source of gratification to the survivors of that little band that launched the Society on its career in 1862. At that date the membership was sixty-nine, and at the first meeting six papers were read. Contrast this with the meeting held in 1912—fifty years after—when the membership was over 600, and the number of papers read was thirty-nine.

It cannot be said, then, that the Association has lost its vigour or that it is suffering from senile decay. But the fields for investigation are by no means exhausted, and should Exeter again at some future date honour the Association with another invitation to visit the city of its birth, it is hoped that it will be found as full of vigour as it is to-day, and be able to look back with as much satisfaction at the work accomplished in the interval as it does at the present moment at the results obtained during the first half-century of its existence. And in saying this it should not be forgotten how much the Association owes to its past members—many of whom, alas! are now no longer with us—for their labours in the years gone by, and for the success it has attained. All honour be to them.

MAXWELL ADAMS,

Hon. General Secretary.

SELECTED MINUTES OF COUNCIL APPOINTING COMMITTEES.

Passed at the Meeting at Exeter, 23rd July, 1912.

THAT Mr. Maxwell Adams, Mr. Robert Burnard, Sir A. Croft, Rev. W. Harpley, and Sir Roper Lethbridge be a Committee for the purpose of considering at what place the Association shall hold its Annual Meetings, and who shall be invited to fill any official vacancy or vacancies which may occur; and that Mr. Maxwell Adams be the Secretary.

That Mr. J. S. Amery, Mr. Robert Burnard, Mr. G. M. Doe, Mr. E. A. S. Elliot, Mr. H. Montagu Evans, Rev. W. Harpley, and Mr. H. B. S. Woodhouse be a Committee for the purpose of noting the discovery or occurrence of such facts in any department of scientific inquiry, and connected with Devonshire, as it may be desirable to place on permanent record, but which may not be of sufficient importance in themselves to form the subjects of separate papers; and that Mr. G. M. Doe be the Secretary.

That Rev. S. Baring-Gould, Mr. R. Pearse Chope, Mr. G. M. Doe, Rev. W. Harpley, Mr. J. S. Neck, Mrs. G. H. Radford, Mrs. Rose-Troup, and Mr. H. B. S. Woodhouse be a Committee for the purpose of collecting notes on Devonshire Folk-lore; and that Mrs. G. H. Radford be the Secretary.

That Mr. J. S. Amery, Rev. J. F. Chanter, Mr. R. Pearse Chope, Miss C. E. Larter, Mr. C. H. Laycock, Rev. G. D. Melhuish, Mr. J. D. Prickman, Rev. O. J. Reichel, Miss Helen Saunders, and Mrs. Rose-Troup be a Committee for the purpose of noting and recording the existing use of any Verbal Provincialisms in Devonshire, in either written or spoken language; and that Mr. C. H. Laycock and the Rev. O. J. Reichel be the Secretaries.

That Rev. S. Baring-Gould, Mr. R. Burnard, Rev. J. F. Chanter, and Mr. R. Hansford Worth be a Committee to collect and record facts relating to Barrows in Devonshire, and to take steps, where possible, for their investigation; and that Mr. R. Hansford Worth be the Secretary.

That Mr. J. S. Amery, Mr. A. H. Dymond, Rev. W. Harpley, and Mr. R. C. Tucker be a Committee for the purpose of making arrangements for an Association Dinner or any other form of evening entertainment as they may think best in consultation with the local Committee; and that Mr. R. C. Tucker be the Secretary.

That Mr. J. S. Amery, Sir Alfred W. Croft, Mr. Thomas Wainwright, and Mr. R. Hansford Worth be a Committee to collect and tabulate trustworthy and comparable observations on the Climate of Devon; and that Mr. R. Hansford Worth be the Secretary.

That Sir Roper Lethbridge, Mr. R. Pearse Chope, Mr. William Davies, Rev. Chancellor Edmonds, and Mr. E. Windeatt be a Committee for the purpose of investigating and reporting on any Manuscripts, Records, or Ancient Documents existing in, or relating to, Devonshire, with the nature of their contents, their locality, and whether in public or private hands; and that Mr. E. Windeatt be the Secretary.

That Mr. J. S. Amery, Mr. R. Burnard, Rev. S. Baring-Gould, Mr. J. D. Pode, and Mr. R. Hansford Worth be a Committee for the purpose of exploring Dartmoor and the Camps in Devon; and that the Rev. S. Baring-Gould be the Secretary.

That Mr. Maxwell Adams, Mr. J. S. Amery, Rev. Professor Chapman, Sir Alfred W. Croft, Mr. C. H. Laycock, Rev. O. J. Reichel, Mrs. Rose-Troup, Dr. Arthur B. Prowse, Mr. William Davies, Miss H. Saunders, and Mr. W. A. Francken be a Committee, with power to add to their number, for compiling complete Indexes to the First and Second Series of the Transactions; and that the Rev. J. F. Chanter be the Secretary.

That Mr. Maxwell Adams, Mr. J. S. Amery, Rev. G. Goldney Baker, Rev. Chancellor Edmonds, Mr. T. Cann Hughes, Sir Roper Lethbridge, Rev. O. J. Reichel, Mr. A. J. V. Radford, Mr. Harbottle Reed, Mr. George E. Windeatt, and Rev. J. F. Chanter be a Committee, with power to add to their number, to prepare a detailed account of the Church Plate of the Diocese of Exeter; and that Mr. Harbottle Reed and the Rev. J. F. Chanter be the joint Secretaries.

That Miss Rose E. Carr-Smith, the Honble. Mrs. Colborne, Sir Alfred Croft, Mr. W. P. Hiern, Miss C. E. Larter, Mr. C. H. Laycock, Dr. H. G. Peacock, Miss C. Peck, Dr. A. B. Prowse, Mr. A. Sharland, Miss Helen Saunders, and Mr. T. Wainwright be a Committee, with power to add to their number, for the purpose of investigating matters connected with the Flora and Botany of Devonshire; and that Mr. W. P. Hiern be the Secretary.

That Mr. Maxwell Adams, Mr. J. S. Amery, Rev. S. Baring-Gould, Mr. Robert Burnard, Rev. J. F. Chanter, Mr. W. E. P. Chapple, Mr. R. Pearse Chope, Mr. A. W. Clayden, Miss B. F. Cresswell, Mr. W. Davies, Mr. G. M. Doe, Mr. M. T. Foster, Mr. J. T. Fouracre, Mr. James Hine, Mr. T. V. Hodgson, Sir Roper Lethbridge, Rev. S. M. Nourse, Mr. H. Lloyd Parry, Dr. A. B. Prowse, Mr. A. L. Radford, Mrs. G. H. Radford, Mr. Harbottle Reed, Mr. F. R. Rowley, Mr. H. Tapley-Soper, Mr. H. R. Watkin, Mr. E. Windeatt, Mr. G. D. Woolcombe, and Mr. R. Hansford Worth be a Committee for preparing a list of "Ancient Monuments" in the county of Devon, which it is considered desirable should be handed over, with the consent of their owners, to the custody of the First Commissioner of Works, under the provisions of the Acts of 1882 and 1900, with the view to their preservation and protection; and that Mr. Maxwell Adams be the Secretary.

Obituary Notices.

HENRY CRANSTOUN ADAMS. Colonel H. C. Adams, who was born at Ashprington House, Totnes, on 26 November, 1826, was the youngest son of General Sir George Pownall Adams, K.C.H., of Bowden, near Totnes, by Elizabeth, daughter of Sir William Elford, Bart., sometime M.P. for Plymouth, and was educated at Blundell's School and King's College, London. He became a Solicitor in 1849, in which year he came to Exmouth and married Matilda Winsloe, daughter of Commander Palton, R.N., and resided there until his death on 29 September, 1911.

He became a Cornet in the West Somerset Yeomanry Cavalry in 1845, and in 1874 left that regiment with the rank of Captain, having been selected to command the 1st Devonshire Artillery Volunteers, in which he had served since 1859, and remained in command until 1896, shortly afterwards becoming Honorary Colonel of the corps, and holding that appointment until the Territorial Army came into existence. For his services he received the Volunteer Decoration.

He was Clerk to the Exmouth Local Board of Health and the Urban District Council for about sixty years, and Clerk to the Woodbury Division of Justices for about fifty years.

He joined the Devonshire Association in 1881. He was a strong Conservative, a Churchman, and a Freemason.

His widow, two sons, and a daughter survive him.

THE REV. DANIEL PRING ALFORD. Mr. Alford, who was Vicar of Tavistock for some years, died at Taunton on 3 August, 1911, in his seventy-third year. The Alford family came from the North of England, and are mentioned in the *Cheshire Domesday Book*; but branches have spread over several counties, including Devon, Dorset, and Somerset. Two members of the family were loyal Mayors of Lyme Regis for several years during the Civil

War and the Monmouth Rebellion. Another acted as Treasurer to the royalist garrison of Exeter during the siege of 1646. Members of the Devonshire branch were well known at Ottery, Tallaton, Farway, and other parishes in the county, as local landowners or as professional men.

The Rev. D. P. Alford was a member of the Somerset branch of the family, which had been established in that county several centuries. They have been referred to as "a veritable family of the priesthood"; six successive generations having taken holy orders. Amongst these were Henry Alford, D.D., the well-known Dean of Canterbury, and the Right Rev. Charles Richard Alford, Bishop of Victoria.

The Rev. D. P. Alford was the second son of Mr. Henry Alford, F.R.C.S., of Taunton, in which town he was born on 28 November, 1838. He was educated at Taunton and Crewkerne, and matriculated at Exeter College, Oxford, in 1857, graduating B.A. with honours in 1861, and M.A. in 1864. He was ordained deacon in 1862 and priest in 1863 by the Bishop of Bath and Wells. After holding curacies at Taunton and Clayhidon, he became Chaplain of the Scilly Isles, 1865-9, and Vicar of St. Paul's, Tavistock, 1869-78. Then he removed to Bedfordshire for a few years; but returned to Devon as Vicar of Tavistock in 1883, and remained there until 1895, when he retired in consequence of the failure of his voice.

This is not the place in which to refer in detail to the numerous contributions, in prose and verse, which Mr. Alford sent to various magazines, although some of them were of a local character. His principal work was *The Abbots of Tavistock*, the greater part of which was written, in the first place, as a series of articles for his parish magazine. His contributions to the *Transactions* of the Association were: *Four Tavistock Worthies of the Seventeenth Century*—John Maynard, Thomas Larkham, William Browne, Richard Peake (1889); *The Inscribed Stones in the Vicarage Gardens, Tavistock* (1890); and *Dick of Devonshire* (1892). Mr. Alford's *Short History of Tavistock Public Library* was also a useful contribution to the history of local institutions.

After he left Devon he did much good and useful work as President of the Taunton Reading Society, and in connection with the Taunton Literary and Philosophic

Society. He also wrote an outline of the history of Taunton Castle, which was published as a handbook for the Somerset Archæological and Natural History Society; and contributed a number of most interesting historical and biographical papers to sundry volumes relating to Devon and Somerset. Mr. Alford was also President of the Taunton Field Club. He married a daughter of the Rev. O. J. Tancock, D.C.L., a former Vicar of Tavistock, who survives him, as also do several of their children.

WILLIAM HENRY ALGER. Mr. Alger was born in Plymouth, and for many years was a conspicuous figure in the public life of his native town. For a long period he was an active member of the firm of Burnard, Lack, and Alger, manufacturers of chemicals and fertilizers at Cattedown, of which firm his father was one of the founders. Mr. Alger was Mayor of Plymouth for the two years 1885-6 and 1886-7, and during his mayoralty many useful works for the benefit of the town were inaugurated, the King of Portugal visited Plymouth and Queen Victoria's Jubilee was celebrated. Mr. Alger ungrudgingly placed his time, energy, and money at the service of the town to uphold its high traditions. He was also an earnest philanthropist and an ardent Volunteer. He joined the Association in 1887. His wife was a daughter of Alderman Wills, of Plymouth, who, with two sons and two daughters, survive him.

Mr. Alger died at Plymouth, in his seventy-sixth year, on 21 February, 1912.

LIEUT.-COLONEL WILLIAM GEORGE TOMLIN BICKFORD. Lieut.-Colonel Bickford was the son of Captain William Bickford, H.E.I.C.S., commanding the *Worcester*, and of Newport House, Stonehouse, Devon, a descendant of the Arscott Bickfords of Dunsland, N. Devon. He was born in 1842 and obtained his first commission as Second Lieutenant in the Royal Marine Artillery on 18 June, 1859; was promoted to Lieutenant, 24 October, 1864; and to Captain, 24 January, 1874. In 1873-4 he served in the Ashantee War, for which he received the medal and clasp. In 1878, he passed the Staff College and was for seven years Military Instructor to the Royal Marines, becoming Brevet-Major in 1881, Major in 1883, and Lieut.-Colonel in 1887. On his retirement, on 25 January, 1888,

he took up the appointment of Barrack-master at Eastney Barracks, Portsmouth. For some time after his retirement from the service he resided at Dunsland, N. Devon, moving afterwards to Newquay, Cornwall, where he died on 19 September, 1907.

He took a great interest in all matters connected with antiquities, genealogy, and heraldry, and became a life member of the Association in 1895.

In 1867 he married Mary Elizabeth, daughter of T. K. Shaw, Esq., of Saddleworth, Yorkshire, by whom he had issue nine children. His wife, two sons, and three daughters survive him.

WILLIAM RISDON HALL JORDAN. Mr. Jordan was born at Teignmouth, his family having settled there as far back as 1650. His grandfather, in the early part of the last century, founded, with the late Mr. Langmead, the South Devon Bank, which was subsequently merged into that of Messrs. Watts, Whidborne, and Co., and later in the Capital and Counties Banking Company. Mr. Jordan was educated at Dr. Edwards' School, at Teignmouth, and served his articles with his father. He was admitted a Solicitor in 1844, and for some years acted successively as managing clerk to Messrs. Paine and Hatherly, of London, and to Messrs. Tozer and Whidborne, of Teignmouth. In 1848 Mr. Jordan practised on his own account, and on the retirement of the late Mr. John Chapell Tozer from the clerkship to the Teignmouth Improvement Commissioners in 1852, he became Clerk to that body. Mr. Jordan subsequently held the appointment of Clerk to the Teignmouth Local Board, under the Local Government Act of 1856, and the Public Health Act of 1875, and was the first Clerk to the Teignmouth Urban District Council. This post he resigned in 1900, but he retained the position of Clerk to the Burial Board, which he had held since the inauguration of that body in 1853. Mr. Jordan also took a great interest in educational work, and acted as Clerk to the Teignmouth School Board from its inception in 1875. He in later years continued as correspondent to the school managers, from which post he retired in 1910, being succeeded by his son, Mr. W. F. C. Jordan. To the Bread and Coal Society and the Soup Kitchen in Teignmouth he acted as Hon. Secretary.

He became a member of the Association in 1871, serving

on the Council for many years, and contributed the following papers to its *Transactions*: *Notes on the Natural History of Teignmouth and its Vicinity* (1874); *Migration of Insects* (1885); *Teignmouth Gleanings* (1904). Mr. Jordan was also a member of the Teign Naturalists' Field Club.

In his earlier days his recreations were shooting and rowing, and he had a great predilection for Natural History. He died at Teignmouth on 17 August, 1911, aged ninety years.

HENRY FORBES JULIAN. Mr. Julian, one of the noble band of heroes who sacrificed their lives in the *Titanic* disaster on 14 April, 1912, so that the women and children might be saved, was the son of Mr. Henry Julian, of Cork and Bolton, and belonged to a mixed Irish and Scottish family—the Julians being of French Huguenot descent settled in Ireland since the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and the Forbes the well-known Aberdeenshire family celebrated in Scottish history. Mr. Julian's grandfather was a distinguished officer who served in the Peninsular War, and was in General Picton's brigade at the siege of Badajoz in 1812, whilst his great-grandfather was Government Inspector of the forts in the south of Ireland and Governor of Spike Island.

Mr. Julian was educated in Cork and Bolton and at Owens College, Manchester, and was a pupil of Sir Henry Roscoe, ultimately becoming one of the leading metallurgical engineers of the world. From 1886 to 1893 he was consulting engineer for mines at Barberton, Johannesburg, and Kimberley. From 1893 he was technical adviser on mining and metallurgy to the Deutsche Gold and Silver Scheide Anstalt, of Frankfort. He there conducted extensive metallurgical researches, which formulated the basis of far-reaching improvements in the recovery of precious metals from ores. He was the joint author of *Cyaniding Gold and Silver Ores*.

He was one of the founders of the Royal Automobile Club, a member of the Institution of Mining and Metallurgy, and a member of the Committee of the British Association, and a contributor to the work of its Chemical Section. He was also on the Committee of the Torquay Natural History Society and a member of the Devonshire Association, which he joined in 1903, both of which were

founded by his father-in-law, the late Mr. William Pengelly, F.R.S., F.G.S., the eminent geologist.

Mr. Julian was a great traveller. He had crossed the Atlantic no less than thirteen times, and had visited Mexico, the Zambesi, and many other parts of the globe, and, accompanied by his wife, had undertaken extensive tours in South Africa, Canada, the United States, the West Indies, etc.

Mr. Julian, after residing at The Ness, Shaldon, for many years, married, in 1902, Hester, youngest daughter of the late Mr. William Pengelly, and removed to Torquay. Mrs. Julian, who has been a member of this Association since 1899, is herself well known in scientific and literary circles, being a member of the Geologists' Association, of the Society of Authors, and of the Dante Society, and is one of the few ladies who have been elected Fellows of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain, and is the author of the Biography of her distinguished father, published by John Murray in 1897. The numerous sympathetic letters and cables received by her after the catastrophe from all parts of the world, including those from Their Majesties the King and Queen, and Queen Alexandra, and from the Bishop of Exeter, Bishops Ryle (Dean of Westminster), Boyd-Carpenter, and Welldon, and many other distinguished persons, testify to the esteem in which Mr. Julian was held.

JOHN KITSON. Mr. Kitson was the second son of Mr. William Kitson, and belonged to an old well-known Torquay family whose members have done much to advance the welfare and prosperity of the town. Mr. John Kitson was formerly a member of the firm of Vivian, Kitson, and Co., Bankers, and of W. and C. Kitson, Solicitors, and was the last Chairman of the old Local Board of Torquay. In recognition of his services to the town, he was presented, in 1893, with a portrait of himself, which hangs in the Council Chamber of the Townhall, and on 26 July, 1909, had the honour conferred on him of being made the first freeman of the borough. He was a County Magistrate and an enthusiastic student of Forestry, and his wide and varied knowledge of that subject was exemplified by the plantations at Heatree, his moorland residence near Manaton.

He became a member of this Association in 1893, and

died at his Torquay residence, Hengrave, in his seventy-fifth year, on 5 December, 1911.

HENRY MICHELMORE. Mr. Michelmores, who was the son of Mr. Thomas Michelmores, of Berry Pomeroy, land agent for the late Duke of Somerset, and for many years Master of the Dart Vale Harriers, was admitted a Solicitor in 1861, and practised as a member of the firm of Michelmores and Hooper, Solicitors, of Newton Abbot. He was Coroner for South Devon until 1878, when he was appointed Clerk of the Peace for the County, by the late Duke of Somerset, and upon the inauguration of the County Council, in 1888, he also became Clerk to the Council and of the Standing Joint Committee.

He joined the Association in 1880, was also a member of the Teign Naturalists' Field Club, and for many years Secretary of the South Devon Hunt.

In 1863 he married the youngest daughter of Mr. William Tombs, of Exeter, who survives him, as also two sons and a daughter.

He died, at the age of seventy-two, on 21 February, 1912, at his residence, Claremont, in Exeter.

CHARLES EDWARD ROBINSON. Mr. Robinson died suddenly at Holne Cross, Ashburton, where he resided with his sister, on 29 March, 1912, in the sixty-seventh year of his age. He was the Resident Engineer in connection with the construction of the Blagdon Waterworks, from which Bristol is supplied with water. For some years he was a member of the Dart Board of Conservators, taking much interest in various schemes for improving the fishing in the river. He joined the Association in 1892, and took an active interest in its proceedings, serving on the Council, and till recent years was a regular attendant at the Annual Meetings.

THOMAS GRAY SKARDON. Lieut.-Colonel Skardon was born in 1836, and belonged to an old Devonshire family. He received his first commission in January, 1860, in the Bengal Army, and after serving twenty-five years in India in the Indian Medical Service, retired with the rank of Brigade-Surgeon Lieut.-Colonel in 1886, and settled at Paignton.

He was a strong Evangelical Churchman, and was

associated with the late Colonel Wright and others in the building of Christ Church, Paignton, being Hon. Secretary of the Building Committee for some years. He was also greatly interested in the Bible Society and missionary work.

He joined the Association in 1893, and was a regular attendant at its Annual Meetings until recent years, when he was prevented through ill-health from being present.

He died at his residence, Simla, near Paignton, on 24 January, 1912, in his seventy-sixth year, and was buried at Maker on the 29th of the same month.

W. G. STUART. Mr. Stuart was born in 1832, and was the only son of William Stuart and Anne Clarke Tolle-mache his wife. He was a Solicitor of Gray's Inn, his chambers being in Gray's Inn Square, where he was known as the "Father of Gray's Inn." He joined the Association in 1896, and was a regular attendant at its Annual Meetings. He was a student of Zoology, and left copious notes on his microscopic work in connection therewith. He was also a keen fisherman, and while residing in the South Hams was a member of the Avon Fishery Board. He married Susan Charlotte Mello, daughter of William Mello and Mary Henchman Berney his wife. He died at Elm Grove, Exmouth, on 6 March, 1911.

THE RT. REV. CHARLES WILLIAM STUBBS. Dr. Stubbs was the only son of Mr. Charles Stubbs, of Liverpool, in which city he was born on 3 September, 1845. Educated at the Royal Institution School, Liverpool, where Bishop Boyd-Carpenter was a contemporary, he gained a mathematical exhibition at Sidney-Sussex College, Cambridge. In 1868 he graduated in mathematical honours, and was ordained the same year to the curacy of St. Mary's, Sheffield; and three years later preferred to the vicarage of Granborough, Bucks, where he remained thirteen years. From 1884 to 1888 he was Vicar of Stokenham, Devon, and in the latter year was preferred to the rectory of Wavertree, Liverpool, where he came under the notice of Mr. Gladstone, who six years later promoted him to the Deanery of Ely in succession to Dr. Merivale, the famous historian. The University of Cambridge now conferred on him the degree of D.D. *honoris causa*, and in 1906 Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman nominated him to the See of Truro. In 1881 he received the first of several invi-

tations to preach before Cambridge University, and in 1883 came his first appointment as Select Preacher at Oxford. In 1904 he was elected Honorary Fellow of Sidney-Sussex College, and was Hulsean Lecturer for 1904-5, when he delivered the lectures, afterwards published in a book, entitled *The Christ of English Poetry*. In 1900 he preached before the University of Harvard the well-known sermon, *The Creed of Christian Socialism*, having previously, in 1896, published a book on the same subject.

Bishop Stubbs possessed distinct poetic gifts and published four volumes of verse, the most recent volume being *Cornish Bells*, which appeared in 1910. His nine volumes of sermons, lectures, and addresses deal with social problems.

He was President of this Association in 1909 when it met at Launceston.

He married Harriet, third daughter of William Turner, of Liverpool, and leaves six sons and two daughters. He died on 4 May, 1912. His body was cremated, and the urn containing the ashes placed in Truro Cathedral.

REV. RICHARD TURNER. Mr. Turner, who was the son of Mr. William Turner, of The Barton, Bideford, matriculated at New College, Oxford, graduating as B.A. in 1878 and M.A. in 1881. Taking orders as deacon in 1880 and priest in 1881, he was curate of Dawlish, 1880-3, becoming successively Vicar of Bucks Mills, 1883-5; Rector of West Worlington, 1885-91; of Lydford, 1891-5; Vicar of Bickleigh, 1895-1902, and of Colyton, 1902-7, during which period the restoration of Colyton Church was carried out under his direction. In 1907 he was presented by the Bishop of Exeter with the living of Barnstaple, where he died, in full work, on 21 June, 1912, in his fifty-sixth year, his burial taking place in the family vault at Abbotsham. A man of high intellectual attainments and great tact, Mr. Turner was respected and admired as a clergyman, a preacher, and a poet. Gifted with a delightful personality, generous, genial, and kindly, he endeared himself to all with whom he came into contact, and he will be much missed and lamented by a host of friends. He was specially interested in education, and was a member of the Barnstaple Education Committee. He joined the Association in 1901. His wife, a son, and a daughter survive him.

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT,
THE RIGHT HON. THE VISCOUNT ST. CYRES, M.A., J.P.

23RD JULY, 1912.

LIKE my predecessors in this chair, I must begin by confessing that I have found it exceedingly hard to choose a subject for my opening address. This is the fiftieth anniversary of our Association. Am I not therefore in duty bound to review the history of its foundation? Ought I not to remember that this, our year of Jubilee, is also the centenary of the birth of our founder, William Pengelly? and should I not endeavour to detail the steps that led the Cornish fisher-lad into a foremost place among our English palæontologists? Fortunately for you, that task has fallen to worthier hands than mine: William Pengelly's daughter, Mrs. Julian, will presently tell you the history of her father's early struggles. Our meetings will not, indeed, be graced by Mrs. Julian's own presence, for she is mourning the loss of her husband, Mr. Forbes Julian, a distinguished Devonian by adoption, and one of the many victims of the *Titanic* disaster: I have no doubt that at the appropriate moment you will record your cordial sympathy with her in her great loss. If our founder is thus certain of adequate commemoration, ought I not to pass on to his foundation? Ought I not to bring before your eyes, in brief but brilliant panorama, the work our members have accomplished in making known our county to us—its geology, its natural history, its buildings, its manners and customs, its dialects. Alas! Providence has not made me brilliant, and on such a subject no one could be brief. Nor would the attempt be altogether profitable. Most of our work is scientific, and the precise boast of scientific work is that it is one and indivisible. In literature it is possible to determine with some measure of success where one man's achievements end and another's begin: in science this is

altogether impossible. There one investigator's discoveries dovetail inextricably into those of another; and I feel that I should only weary your patience if I attempted to explain precisely how much our acquaintance with our county's topography is due to the successive labours of Mr. R. J. King, Mr. Worth, and Mr. Brooking Rowe—or even if I were to dive into slightly more familiar fields, and endeavoured to estimate the exact amount of our debt to the late Dr. Brushfield for the light he has thrown on mediæval Devonshire writers. Then, too, I could not shake off a lingering sense of injustice. The historian of European thought in the nineteenth century set himself to sing the praises of its great pioneers: he ended by deciding that we owe quite as much to those whose names we never heard of, as to those whose fame is in everyone's mouth. The bulk of a nation's thought, he says, is made up of hidden and forgotten efforts, of which only a small fraction rises to the surface—vague yearnings of thousands, who never succeed either in satisfying or expressing them—hundreds of failures that never get known. Yet he goes on to urge that these uncounted hours of seemingly fruitless labour are not really wasted, inasmuch as it really is, not the sacrifice (as in brute Nature) but the co-operation of the many that makes the few succeed—inasmuch as excellence is the prize of united effort, so that many must run in order that one may reach a higher goal.

Memorable in themselves, these words of Dr. Merz have a special value for me, because they at once suggest a text on which I may address you. It is, indeed, clearly impossible to revive the memories of the forgotten—of the Miltons who were not necessarily inglorious, because they were mute—of the Hampdens, guiltless alike of blood and popular applause. But it seems right to mark this, our Jubilee year, by celebrating what the old liturgies call a Common of Saints—to pass in brief review those of our countrymen who have deserved well of Devonshire in the past. And since time would fail me, were I to try to mention all, I propose to invite your attention to the careers of a selected number, chosen almost at random from walks of life as numerous and diversified as possible. I shall not deal much with the very greatest, for they deserve—if I may still speak in liturgical terms—a Proper Office of their own, and most of them have received appropriate commemoration from former Presidents of our

Association. Do not, therefore, expect from me stale praises of the Elizabethan seamen—Drake and Raleigh, Hawkins and Frobisher—our county's most shining heroes. Nor shall I try to trace how Devonians have influenced the development of English prose from the times of the judicious Richard Hooker of Exeter down to those of James Anthony Froude of Dartington. I shall pass by the long roll of illustrious Churchmen, who have never been wanting to Devonshire since the day when Crediton gave birth to St. Boniface, Apostle of Germany, till the time when Frederick Temple of Culmstock saw the light. And I shall steer clear of the still more seductive task of showing how deeply Ottery St. Mary modified the whole trend of English thought, when she brought into the world Samuel Taylor Coleridge, a true master-mind of the nineteenth century. All these deserve their Proper Office, and from them I turn back to my Common of Saints. But here I am at once confronted with a difficulty. What are the leading characteristics of our countymen? What are the leading characteristics of our county itself? We naturally think of it as an enchanted county, flowing not only with milk and honey, but with cider and Devonshire cream—a happy land, as wrote the great Alexander Pope two hundred years ago, fertile in its productions, abounding in its wits, delicious in its ciders. Such, however, is by no means the reputation that Devonshire bore in days gone by. Till the time of the Tudors our county called up the image of vast woods and marshes, as yet unreclaimed from the hand of Nature. Communications were difficult and dangerous, for road-building was still in its infancy. Even under Charles II, the poet Herrick—a Cockney by birth, but Vicar of Dean Prior, near Ashburton, by adoption—said that the men of Devon were as rocky as their ways. Even agriculture was little developed: the great mediæval chronicler, William of Malmesbury, calls what are now the rich pasture-lands round Exeter *squalidum et jejunum*, unfertile and unkempt. Necessarily the amenities of civilization had little chance of travelling so far west, and the Devonians of the seventeenth century were deemed a rude and unfriendly race. Thus Lord Clarendon accounts for what he calls the rough and doubtful ways of General Monk—the leading figure of Charles II's restoration—by saying that he had had no other education than Dutch and Devonshire. His eminent contemporary, Anne,

Lady Fanshawe, pronounces the Devonians a crafty and censorious race, and Herrick is severer still. During one of the periodical tiffs that even now sometimes disturb the peace of country parishes, the reverend poet denounced his flock as—

“A people currish, churlish as the seas,
And rude almost as rudest savages.”

Even in the days of George II, London wits still made game of our primitive and unpolished ways. “A sweet county,” snorted the actor-epicure John Quin, on his return from eating John Dories at Plymouth. “No, sir! There is nothing sweet in Devonshire, except the vinegar.” But Quin was a hypercritical gourmet, and long before his day the current of refinement had begun to penetrate the West. In 1720 Dr. Stukely wrote highly of the citizens of Exeter. They were industrious and courteous—the fair sex most truly so, as well as numerous. And about the time of the French Revolution the historian Polwhele pronounced a more considered judgment. He admitted that some of the out-of-the-way Dartmoor squires were much that their forefathers had been in the time of Queen Elizabeth. They were hospitable, but not polite—tenacious of real or imaginary rights—intemperate in the pursuits of the field, and disposed to tyrannize over the caitiffs who killed game. But he goes on to urge that these backwoods barons by no means represented the general level of the country. Nowhere else were so many polished gentlemen as in Devon, though he adds that they were distinguished by three peculiarities: They had very large fortunes; they took small trouble to make themselves popular, and they gave little of their time to public business. If the first of these characteristics no longer universally applies in the days of Mr. Lloyd George, we may at any rate congratulate ourselves that neither do the other two under the Lord-Lieutenancy of Lord Fortescue.

Nor need we distress ourselves too much if our forefathers seemed a little rough and boorish. Their isolation from the main currents of English life, and especially their perpetual struggle to subdue Nature—whether by reclaiming marshes and forests, or by gaining a scanty living on the high seas—may not have bred good manners, but they certainly nursed qualities more heroic. The independence of mind, the dauntless trust in their own strong

right arm, the determination to succeed against all odds that made the great Elizabethan seamen, will all be found in lesser measure scattered abroad among all Devonians of the past, whatever their class and whatever their calling. They are as marked in the most peaceful as in the combantant walks of life. Who is more self-reliant, more determined to succeed than a successful lawyer? and Devonshire has always been famous for the number of her legal sons. "This county," says the illustrious author of the *Worthies of England*, "seems innated with a genius to study law, none in England (Norfolk only excepted) affording so many legal men. Cornwall indeed hath a famine, but Devonshire makes a feast of such who by the practice of the law have raised great estates." It may interest you if I run shortly over some of the more famous names that provide our county with her banquet. Until the Reformation the first service daily performed in Exeter Cathedral was a Mass for the repose of the soul of Henry de Bracton, a native of the Barnstaple district, and an eminent judge under King Henry III. But he was still more eminent as a legal writer. His treatise *De Legibus et Consuetudinibus Angliæ* is generally reckoned as the first attempt to treat the whole extent of English law in a manner both systematic and practical. Nearly two hundred years later the village of Westcote, also near Barnstaple, gave birth to another famous legal writer. This was Sir Thomas Littleton, a judge under Edward IV, and author of a famous treatise on Tenures. Edited by the famous Chief Justice Coke, it became—under the common designation of Coke on Littleton—the standard treatise on the subject until quite modern times. And Littleton proved himself a worthy successor of Bracton. Legal historians declare that probably no law-book ever contained so much of the substance with so little of the show of learning, or so happily avoided pedantic formalism without forfeiting precision of statement. While Littleton was thus bringing light into the thorny mazes of mediæval land law, a contemporary Devonian lawyer was expounding questions still weightier and more attractive. This was Sir John Fortescue of Nethercombe, Lord Chief Justice of England under Henry VI, and one of the wisest counsellors of that unhappy sovereign. His treatise on the Government of England is the first attempt to do what Walter Bagehot and James Lowell have in modern times com-

pletely accomplished—namely, to distil the spirit of the English Constitution into clear and simple language intelligible to everyone. And it may be added that he, though an ardent supporter of the Lancastrian cause during the Wars of the Roses, was probably the only actor in the struggle who really understood what either side was fighting for.

Bracton, Littleton, and Fortescue all belonged to the North of Devon: our next generation of legal worthies all hail from the neighbourhood of Tavistock. Elizabethan lawyers long remembered Mr. Justice Glanville, who lives in history by his memorable death-bed declaration that he had set himself all his judicial life to so administer justice as conscious that he would himself come to judgment, and all his judgments be judged over again. His son, also an eminent judge, was still more distinguished as a politician—he was one of the principal moderating influences during the Civil War. In this he was ably seconded by a more striking figure, also a native of Tavistock. This was Serjeant John Maynard, famous alike as one of the most learned of English lawyers, and one of the longest lived. He started presiding in the Court of Chancery at the age of eighty-six, a record that puts both Lord Eldon and Lord Halsbury to shame. No wonder that, when the brutal Judge Jeffreys told him that his memory was failing, he answered that that was certainly true, but that he had forgotten more law than his Lordship ever knew. Equally well known is his famous answer to William III, who congratulated him on his great age. He replied by thanking his Highness for coming over, as he was afraid he was going to outlive the law itself. But perhaps his most remarkable exploit was his last will and testament. The last few months of his life he spent in deliberately drafting a will that would force his executors to raise a number of moot points of law which had troubled him in his lifetime. Such entire devotion to the law met its due reward. At his funeral the preacher described the progress of the deceased Serjeant's soul toward the realms of bliss—how he was subpcnaed to the Great Assize by a writ of *habeas corpus ad judicandum cum causa*—how he found his Judge his advocate—nonsuited the Devil—obtained a *liberate* from all his infirmities, and put on for ever the long robe of glory.

Among the hearers of this sermon was a young law-

student from Exeter, Peter King, son of a grocer in the High Street by his marriage with a sister of the philosopher John Locke. King was destined to rise even higher in his profession than Maynard. Aided by his uncle, Locke, who had considerable influence with the Whig aristocracy, he went to the Bar, rose to be Attorney-General, in which capacity he led for the Crown in the famous prosecution of Dr. Sacheverell, was made Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and finally reached the Woolsack in the last years of George I. Writing of his elevation, Lord Harvey, no very lenient critic, says that he was perhaps the only instance that can be given of a man raised from the most mean and obscure condition to the highest dignity in the State without the malice of one enemy ever pretending to insinuate that the partiality of his friends, in any one step of his rise, had pushed him beyond his merit. He was made Chancellor as much by the voice of the public as by the hand of power. Nor were King's energies bounded merely by the four walls of his Court-house. A nephew of John Locke could hardly fail to be interested in theological speculation, and King, in his younger day, had been a friend of the celebrated deist, Matthew Tindal, also a Devonshire man, and son of a vicar of Bere Alston. King's theology shows much the same characteristics as his law. Rejecting the extravagances of Tindal as completely as the rival extravagances of his old enemy, Dr. Sacheverell, he ranks as one of the soundest and the most enlightened of the older school of liberal theologians in this country; and his little *History of the Primitive Church*, the work of his old age, was in common circulation until quite modern times. Indeed, it is perhaps as a founder of the Broad Church party that he chiefly merits remembrance: he was too modest and conscientious to be a great Lord Chancellor. "He had such a diffidence of himself," says Lord Harvey, "that he did not dare to do right, for fear of doing wrong. Decrees were always extorted from him; and, had he been let alone, he would never have given any suitor his due, for fear of giving him what was not so."

If Lord King was slow and full of self-distrust, another distinguished son of Exeter presently came forward to keep the judicial balance even, and decide the weightiest causes without one ounce of hesitation as to his own capacity to try them. This was Sir Vicary Gibbs, also the son of an Exeter tradesman, who flourished during the days of the

French Revolution and Napoleon. I fear that he did not leave behind him a reputation for personal attractiveness. His appearance was anything but prepossessing. He was scarcely more than a dwarf in stature; a contemporary describes his frame as meagre and attenuated, and says that he looked plain in his wig, and ugly out of it. He was embittered by having had to win his way forwards by dint of a hard struggle with fortune. During his early days at the Bar he only left his chambers once a day, and that was to eat minced veal, which he found at once the cheapest and most digestible of foods. Becoming Attorney-General a few years after the head of a King of France had fallen on the scaffold, he was the official spokesman of a Government pledged to root out French ideas as it would have rooted out the plague. Let a man publicly express the mildest criticism of the Cabinet, and the odds were that Sir Vicary would at once indict him for sedition. Naturally the chief victims of his vigilance were the writers for the Press. In those days fifty-two newspapers were published in London, and at one moment Gibbs had twenty-six of them under prosecution at one and the same time. All were placed on the horns of a dilemma. If they apologized, the Attorney-General said that he would not allow a newspaper to squirt venom at the Ministry, and then nauseate it with unctuous flattery. If the editor stuck by his guns and refused to apologize, Gibbs called down all the artillery of the law on so hardened an offender. There was great relief in Fleet Street when he eventually left the Attorney-Generalship for the Bench. But Fleet Street has not spared his memory, and he figures in the most lurid trappings in the memoirs of the time. "Society," says one observer, "did not hold a more disagreeable man. Sneer and ill-nature appeared to have taken settled possession of his countenance, and he exercised both with untiring perseverance. His laugh was a hysteric affection unmasked by cheerfulness or good-humour. No joke, or other sally of wit, was ever known to escape him; and to anything bordering on pleasantry he was not only an utter stranger, but his countenance prohibited every attempt at it by others." After so terrific a portrait it seems almost ludicrous to add that even Sir Vicary had his good points. He was an excellent lawyer—he was (strangely enough) remarkably merciful to prisoners in days when mercy seldom had her home in our criminal courts. And,

mindful of his own early struggles, he was a very good friend to many young barristers whose brains were fuller than their purses. One of these protégés well deserves our notice. Like King and Gibbs himself, Robert Gifford was the son of an Exeter tradesman, who rose with astonishing rapidity from St. John's Hospital School to the Mastership of the Rolls and a peerage, and had been designated by the great Lord Eldon as his successor in the Chancellorship, when the sudden epidemic of cholera claimed him as its victim, and he died prematurely at the age of forty-seven.

If forty-seven years were enough to bring Gifford from a tradesman's back-parlour to the shadow of the Wool-sack, a slightly longer spell of life enabled another young Devonian to grave a more enduring monument on the history of English law. This was Francis Buller, a younger son of the then Squire of Downes, near Crediton. Buller's career shows a precocity almost worthy of the Elizabethan age. At seventeen he married the daughter and heiress of Sir John Yarde of Churston, and thus became the founder of the family that now reigns at Lupton. At thirty-two he was raised to the Bench, thus becoming by far the youngest judge of modern times. This rapid promotion he owed to the favour of Lord Chief Justice Mansfield, greatest of English lawyers, and he narrowly escaped becoming the Lord Chief Justice's successor. Indeed, this prize would certainly have fallen to his grasp had not William Pitt thought him too much of a Whig partisan. "The thing stands this way," said the Prime Minister. "It must be either Buller or Kenyon. Kenyon drinks, and Buller's corrupt. Not but that there isn't a d——d lot of corruption about Kenyon's drunkenness, and of drunkenness about Buller's corruption." But in those days drunkenness was a venial fault in a judge—and, indeed, in a Prime Minister. Was it not said that the country paid a million for every bottle of port drunk by Mr. Pitt himself? So the Chief Justiceship went to Kenyon, and Buller was consoled with a peerage and with a posthumous reputation second only to Mansfield's own. The excellence of his law it is scarcely possible to overstate : his doubts, as an eminent critic said, were worth more than anyone else's certainties. Now and then, perhaps, he suffered a little from the passion of legal injustice—from the temptation to let some quibbling technicality upset the fair and reasonable settlement of a case ; and one of his most famous dicta I tremble even to

repeat in the era of Miss Pankhurst. It was to the effect that a husband had a perfect right to beat his wife, so long as he used for the purpose a stick no thicker than his thumb. Not that this sufficiently barbarous aphorism in any way reflects his general character. Unlike Sir Vicary Gibbs, he was genial and courteous in society, though his conversation may have seemed to frivolous minds a little severe; for he said that he had early entered into a recognizance with himself never to think or talk of anything but law. And when preachers discoursed to him of immortality and the glories of a future life, he answered that this life here below was good enough for him. What could anyone want better than to sit in court all day, trying cases with a jury, and play whist all night?

With Francis Buller I may conclude this survey of Devonshire legal worthies. Not that I have by any means exhausted the list. I have said no word about the great eighteenth-century advocate, John Dunning of Ashburton, whom an ungainly person, a husky voice, and a strong West-country accent did not prevent from being the foremost man of the Bar during the earlier years of George III. And I have similarly passed over an equally famous lawyer of later date, Sir William Follett of Topsham, who was said to be able to invest an Inland Revenue case with all the tragic interest of *King Lear* or *Hamlet*. Nor do I propose to trespass into modern times, though I cannot help mentioning the fact that Ottery St. Mary is unique among the towns of England. The birthplace of the Coleridges alone can show a succession of three generations—father, son and grandson—on the Bench of the High Court. To the Coleridges also we indirectly owe another eminent legal worthy. It was due to his brother-in-law, Sir John Coleridge, that Mr. Justice Patteson settled at Feniton Court, near Honiton, and thus enables us to claim for Devon one of the noblest of her children, his son, John Coleridge Patteson, the martyred Bishop of Melanesia. And I think that, so long as a Halsbury continues to represent us in the House of Lords, a Coleridge in the Court of King's Bench, and an Eve in the Court of Chancery, we may very well feel that old Fuller's declaration is still as true as ever, and that our country is still innated with a singular genius to study law.

There is, however, one objection to a state of things otherwise so eminently desirable. Any publisher will tell

us that the biographies of eminent lawyers never sell, because they are all exactly alike. To correct in some degree this impression of sameness, I propose to carry your attention abruptly to an eminent Devonian, whose fame and achievements are unique. Everyone knows that Caliph Omar burnt down the Alexandrian library ; everyone knows that Mr. Andrew Carnegie is nowadays making tardy reparation for the Caliph's sacrilege ; and everyone has heard of the Bodleian Library at Oxford. But very few of those who visit Duke Humphrey's Gallery know that it owes its existence to Sir Thomas Bodley, an Exeter man. Born just before the close of the reign of Henry VIII, he was forced by the ardent Protestantism of his parents to fly to the Continent during the reign of Queen Mary, and began his education abroad. Under Queen Elizabeth he returned, entered Oxford, and became a Fellow of Merton. But his ambitions were too wide to be bounded by the four walls of a college. He was interested in modern, as well as ancient literature, and he had aspirations towards entering public life. Marriage with a lady of fortune opened to him the doors of Queen Elizabeth's Court ; he was sent abroad on various embassies, and finally became English Minister in Holland during the latter years of the great struggle between the Dutch and Spain. Hard in itself, this position was rendered all the more thorny by the continual bickerings between Burleigh and Lord Essex, and Bodley ended by throwing it up in disgust and retiring into private life. "I concluded at the last," he says, "to set up my staff at the library door in Oxon, being thoroughly persuaded that in my solitude and surcease from Commonwealth affairs, I could not busy myself to better purpose than by reducing that place, which then in every part lay ruined and waste, to the use of students." Nowadays it seems strange that the library of one of the foremost universities in the world could even for one moment be allowed to lie ruined and waste—but so it was at Oxford in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. The large store of books given to the University by Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, had been scattered to the winds by the Puritan Commissioners sent down by Edward VI—under the impression that most of the books were Popish missals, or at any rate very bad reading for sound Protestants. So Bodley set himself to remedy this shocking state of affairs. He contributed vast stores of folios himself, for

which he ransacked the whole book-market of Europe ; indefatigably he begged, borrowed, stole from his friends—many of whom responded nobly by giving him books that belonged to someone else. The Dean of Exeter alone presented him with more than eighty most valuable manuscripts, pilfered from the Cathedral library. But there is an old Roman proverb that money does not smell—so long as the coin is there, it does not matter where it comes from—and perhaps the same is true of books. When we consider the incalculable service that Bodley's foundation has rendered to sound learning all over the world, we need not blame the Dean too much for making free with what was not his to give.

I have mentioned Mr. Andrew Carnegie as Bodley's only possible rival in the realm of libraries ; let me now draw your attention for a moment to an eminent Devonian, who never indeed became a multi-millionaire, though he brought to the invention and manufacture of marketable articles a zeal and insight equal to Mr. Carnegie's own. This was William Cookworthy, of Kingsbridge, founder of the English method of making porcelain. He was born of Quaker parentage the year after the battle of Blenheim. Some years after, his father, a druggist of substance, lost his all in the famous South Sea Bubble speculation, and promptly died, leaving a widow with a large family. Mrs. Cookworthy did her best to support herself by dress-making ; but so poor was she that she had much ado to raise a daily pound of pork, to divide among several growing sons. And when she succeeded in apprenticing William to a London druggist, the lad was obliged to make the whole journey from Kingsbridge to London on foot. In due course he worked through his articles, returned to Kingsbridge, and eventually became a manufacturing chemist on a large scale at Plymouth. But his energies were by no means limited to compounding medicines. An omnivorous reader, he was interested in nearly every branch of science ; and when he grew wealthy in later life, he became the natural entertainer of all the eminent scientific men whom business or pleasure brought to Plymouth. Thus he was an intimate friend and counsellor of Smeaton, builder of the third Eddystone lighthouse ; and it was at his house that the great explorer, Captain Cook, ate his last dinner in England, on the night before he set out on his last and fatal voyage. As he possessed the unusual accom-

plishment of speaking fluently French, and even Latin, he was even more in request as a host for eminent foreigners, with many of whom he corresponded. A visitor to Plymouth in his later life describes him as a tall, venerable man with a three-cornered hat and bushy curly wig, framing a mild and intellectual countenance, and adds that he was full of agreeable conversation. Certainly he possessed the infallible mark of a great talker, in that he hated going to bed ; up to the very end of his life he insisted that his mind was always at its liveliest at one o'clock in the morning. But science and learned conversation were not his only interests. He was an ardent fisherman, and a zealous religious worker. Born a Quaker, he became an active member of the Society of Friends after his marriage, and a frequent preacher at their meetings. Every Sunday, or, as he would have called it, every First-day evening, a regular service was held at his house. But in later life his roving curiosity carried him beyond the limits of Quaker orthodoxy, and he became an ardent adherent of the theories of Emanuel Swedenborg, doubtless attracted by the mixture of mystical theology and science to be found in the works of that Swedish engineer. This was all the more natural, since he had a kindly eye for our Devonshire popular beliefs ; no one ever lived who had greater faith in the divining-rod as an instrument for finding water, and he even tried to find a scientific explanation of its properties. In this he was entirely unsuccessful, but fate was kinder to him in another and more ambitious venture. This was the discovery of the true way of making porcelain.

I suppose among Englishmen generally *porcelain* is simply another name for any superior kind of china, but this is radically unscientific. Strictly speaking, porcelain is the pottery produced by the use of a particular kind of clay, united with a particular kind of china stone. And when these two are brought together they produce of themselves, and without the help of any third ingredient, a particular kind of pottery which is white, glassy, and translucent. All therefore depends on using the right kind of clay with the right kind of stone. The secret of porcelain manufacture was discovered many hundred years ago in China, but it was altogether unknown in Europe ; though, ever since the Crusades brought East and West in some degree together, stray pieces of Chinese pottery began to find their way into the treasuries of princes. About the

fourteenth century attempts to imitate it were made in Europe, and several famous factories in time grew up. By the eighteenth century, when interest in the subject was keen, celebrated works had sprung up at Chelsea, Worcester, Derby, and other places, as well as a world-renowned factory at Sèvres in France. But in none of these was true porcelain produced: both Sèvres and Chelsea potters relied in great degree on the use of glass—and glass-adulterated china is apt to be hard to make, brittle, and difficult of decoration. But no attempt was made to discontinue the use of glass until Böttger of Meissen, in Germany, discovered early in the eighteenth century a kind of china stone which enabled him to dispense with glass, and produce a vitreous effect without its help. The pottery so made soon obtained a European reputation under the name of Dresden china. The secret of its manufacture, however, was kept with almost incredible jealousy; and the Meissen works, which belonged to the Elector of Saxony, were more like the headquarters of a secret society, or a Masonic lodge, than a commonplace business establishment. So far as the rest of the world was concerned, the mystery of the china stone remained unsolved. It was now that Cookworthy took up the running. He had been greatly fascinated by the letters of Père d'Entrecolles, a French Jesuit missionary in China, which contained a graphic account of the Chinese method of making porcelain from a special kind of clay called *kaolin*, mixed with a special kind of stone called *petuntse*. To discover some analogue to kaolin and petuntse in England became the dream of Cookworthy's life. His search was made easier by the fact that his business as a wholesale chemist obliged him to travel much through the West of England, and he was an intimate friend of the then superintendent of mines in the Duchy of Cornwall. The Duchy presently came to his assistance. Near St. Austell he discovered a substance known as growan stone, and found that this, when mixed with ordinary china clay, and heated in a crucible, produced what he himself described as a beautiful, white, diaphanous substance—or, in other words, true porcelain. At last the missing petuntse was found, and the Chinese secret was a secret no longer. The works which Cookworthy hastened to set up at Plymouth began to turn out a porcelain as pure as ever came from Canton or Peking.

It is painful to be obliged to add that the English public did not take kindly to the new discovery. Plymouth porcelain was quite unlike the existing Chelsea or Derby ware. It was harder and whiter, and it had a cold, harsh, glittering glaze which did not serve much to recommend it in the market. After half a dozen years the Plymouth works were shut down, and the business transferred to Bristol, where it was controlled by Cookworthy's young relative, Richard Champion. One of his first commissions was to make a dinner service for the great thinker and orator Edmund Burke, then Member of Parliament for the city. Even in Champion's hands, however, Bristol ware never played a great part in the commercial world, though it proved the herald of better things. Cookworthy's discovery of the growan stone had shown that it was possible to dispense with glass as an ingredient in porcelain manufacture, though growan stone alone produced a certain harshness and coldness in its results. The final step was taken when Josiah Spode, of Stoke-on-Trent, went a step farther, and tempered the harshness of the stone by an admixture of powdered bone-ash, thus producing the rich softness that we see in all our finer pottery to-day. But although Cookworthy was not allowed by fate to set the coping-stone on his discovery, Spode and Wedgwood were the first to acknowledge that they were only following in his footsteps, and that their triumphs would have been impossible without the preliminary labours of the Kingsbridge chemist.

Cookworthy may well serve as a type of the strenuous young Devonian battling hard with ill-success. Let me now introduce you to another countymen of ours, who reached success without a single struggle in his life. In the year of the Duke of Monmouth's rebellion against James II, there was born to a worthy tradesman of Barnstaple, named Gay, a son, whom he christened John. The boy was destined to follow in his father's footsteps. He was educated at Barnstaple Grammar School, and duly articulated to a silk-merchant in London. But handling bales of silks and satins was not to young John Gay's taste: whenever his master's eye was off him, he stole off to a coffee-house and listened humbly to the wits who held high converse there. For in those days, when books were scarce and dear and newspapers hardly existed, the coffee-house was the great centre for the interchange of ideas; people were

then obliged to talk or write letters about the sort of things that they would nowadays expect to have comfortably set down for them in print, and the coffee-house was the great clearing-house for conversation. In such an atmosphere the draper's boy from Barnstaple was made to succeed. He was infinitely lazy ; he could carry any given quantity of liquor ; and he was superlatively good-natured. Never wishing to offend anyone himself, he could not believe that anyone could even wish to be disagreeable to him. Hence snubs ran off his cheerful nature quite as harmlessly as water from the back of the traditional duck. From the tenth-rate coffee-houses he migrated upwards to the first-rate, where sat in state the great leaders of opinion of the time, Pope and Steele, Addison and Swift. Gradually, as Dr. Johnson says, he became the general favourite of the whole association of wits, though they regarded him as a playfellow rather than a partner, and treated him with more fondness than respect. Nor was it only among his own sex that he found this easy acceptance. In those days an active-minded lady lived permanently on the threshold of intolerable boredom. She could not go to coffee-houses ; there were scarcely any newspapers, and no novels at all. Hence, if she could afford the luxury, she was always glad to keep a professional wit about the house, who stood somewhere between the jester of the Middle Ages and the literary critics of modern times. He told her what books were worth reading, and what were not—which plays she ought to see—he coached her in the favourite subjects of the eminent men she was likely to meet at dinner. Above all, he was ready to keep boredom at a distance by always being ready to talk to her and her friends at any length on any subject they might fancy. If the wit happened to have some personal charm, his progress was easy indeed. Before he was thirty, Gay was the confidential adviser of at least three duchesses, and country houses of the first rank were competing for the honour of having him within their walls. For his own part, he let them fight, without stirring a finger himself. " You are so lazy," wrote Dean Swift to him, " that any lady with a coach and six horses would carry you to Japan." The position was not perhaps precisely dignified, and a man of independent mind would have sorely felt its thorns. But Gay cared nothing about the dignity, and the only thing he ever complained of was

a lack of ready money. All his great friends were always saying that something must be done for him, but that it was the business of someone else to do the something. "They wonder at each other at not providing for me, and I wonder at them all," wrote the poor man himself.

To some extent the difficulty was lightened when Gay began to write. Just before the death of Queen Anne he produced a long poem on *Rural Sports*, the effect of which is slightly marred by the fact that he had no experience whatever of the sports in question—his own participation in sport, as he confessed to Swift, being limited to the rather elementary one of catching roach and gudgeon with a pin. In the following year, however, he touched firmer ground in his *Shepherd's Week*, which began as a deliberate parody of the mild Arcadians of the time, and went on to give some very striking and pathetic pictures of the country-life of the time, born of its author's boyish experiences in North Devon. Then followed a mass of miscellaneous literature—ephemeral verses, plays, letters, essays following each other in quick succession. By 1720 he was a well-known author, and had a thousand pounds at the bank. He at once called a council of his friends to know what he should do with it. His friend Lewis, an eminent lawyer, advised him to put it in his hands, and live on the interest. Dr. Arbuthnot, the friend of Pope, told him to entrust it to Providence, and live on the capital. Pope and Swift suggested the purchase of an annuity. Naturally enough, he rejected all their advice. The South Sea Bubble was then at its height, and into the Bubble went Gay's thousand pounds. His friends made a last desperate effort to persuade him to sell out while the stock was still rising, and to invest enough in good securities to ensure him a hundred pounds a year for life—sufficient, as they said, to secure him a clean shirt and a saddle of mutton every day he lived. But here again his incurable laziness pursued him, and he forgot to sell out before the crash came. However, the loss of the thousand pounds did not greatly affect him, and he continued his ordinary way of life, hoping vaguely for preferment so soon as it should please the Fates to remove King George I; for he had met with a certain amount of favour from the Princess of Wales, the famous Caroline of Anspach. In due course the King died, and Caroline and her consort reigned in his stead, but the only favour they offered Gay was the place of gentleman

usher to their youngest daughter, a child of three years old. This offer Gay respectfully refused. He was exceptionally fat in an age when fatness was almost universal, and he said that a man of twenty stone had no business to stand behind the chair of a princess of three years old. So he gave up all hope of gaining the favour of the Court, and set about mending his fortunes in a very different manner. Already in the *Shepherd's Week* he had satirized the pastoral poetry then in vogue: one day Dean Swift suggested to him to write a satire on a more extensive scale, portraying the loves of the criminal classes. A Newgate pastoral, said the author of *Gulliver's Travels*, would be an odd, pretty thing. Gay set to work on his pastoral, but soon found that it would not work, and decided to change the pastoral into a comedy. At the close of 1727 appeared the result, in the form of the famous *Beggar's Opera*. Its success was assured from the first night. It was given nearly seventy times in London—then a stupendous run—it was acted forty times at Bath, and over twenty in Edinburgh and Dublin. Indeed, it held the stage throughout the eighteenth century, and has even been occasionally given in quite modern times. Nor was its influence only seen on the actual boards. All the principal scenes were at once engraved, and sold like wildfire at the print-sellers'. Ladies had the incidental songs copied out on vellum and made up as fans. The town went mad about Lavinia Fenton, the hitherto unknown young actress who played the principal part. Her pictures were sold in all the streets of London. Her biography was written—books of letters and verses to her were published—her jokes and witticisms were retailed in pamphlet form. She only closed her triumphant career when she led the Duke of Bolton to the altar, thus becoming the first of a long line of theatrical peeresses.

The success of the opera was not due purely to its intrinsic merits. For a long while a great fight had been raging between the Italian and the English opera: it will become historic a few years later in the long struggle between Handel and Buononcini. In 1727 the Italian had the upper hand, until the success of Gay's production dealt them a smashing blow. *The Beggar's Opera*, says one patriotic English musician, overthrew for a while Italian song—that Dagon of the nobility and gentry who had so long seduced them to idolatry. But Gay had also dealt

a blow at an even more important Dagon. At that time the most unpopular man in England—at any rate, among the upper classes—was Sir Robert Walpole, the Prime Minister ; and the opera owed at least half its success to the belief that it was meant as a political skit. The imputation rested on slender grounds enough—chiefly on the fact that the various thieves and pickpockets, with whom the stage was crammed, indulged in various comparisons between themselves and public men. They stole a sixpence, and received the order of the hempen cord : Ministers stole millions, and were rewarded with the Order of the Garter. But this was quite enough for the age to see the most pointed allusions to the Prime Minister ; and Walpole himself, who seldom minded what writers said of him, took umbrage, and said he would not stand being held up to public ridicule in the character of a highwayman. Feeling rose to fever-heat ; then Gay wrote a sequel to the Opera, which was promptly vetoed by the Lord Chamberlain. “The inoffensive Gay,” now wrote one observer, “is become an obstruction to the peace of Europe.” There was a furious competition among his aristocratic friends as to which should undergo martyrdom for his sake. The Duchess of Queensberry, the most prominent lady in society, wrote a saucy letter to the King, and was banished from the Court—and a clean sweep was made of ladies-in-waiting and gentlemen ushers who had testified to their hatred of Walpole by ostentatiously applauding the obnoxious play.

The opera was its author's swan-song. Two years later he died, at the age of forty-four, leaving behind him a tolerable mass of plays and books of light society verse. It is to be feared that not many of these survive in popular recollection, though some of his songs still hold their own. Thousands still quote—

“How happy could I be with either
Were t'other dear charmer away,”

though they possibly do not know that it comes out of the *Beggar's Opera*—just as the once popular *Sweet William's farewell to Black-eyed Susan*, and *'Twas when the Seas were Roaring* were written for two of his minor plays. But, if Gay does not survive as a great writer, he at least may claim our remembrance as one of the most charming personalities in literature. Alexander Pope was no great

flatterer, and Pope's last tribute to his friend is enough of itself to secure the Barnstaple draper's boy a safe niche in the Temple of Fame. It is carved on his tomb in Westminster Abbey :—

“Of manners gentle, of affections mild,
In wit a man, simplicity a child,
With native humour tempering virtuous rage
Framed to delight at once, and lash the age.
Above temptation in a low estate,
And uncorrupted, e'en among the great
A safe companion and an easy friend,
Unblamed through life, lamented in thy end—
These are thy honours : not that here thy bust
Is mixed with heroes, or with kings thy dust,
But that the worthy and the good may say,
Striking their pensive bosoms : *Here lies Gay.*”

As Gay represents the Devonian idler in his most attractive light, I cannot help going on to picture for a moment another famous Devonshire idler, who, curiously enough, was born almost in the same year. Everyone has vaguely heard of the King of the Gipsies, Bampfylde Moore Carew, though not everyone knows that he came of a younger branch of the Carews of Haccombe, and was born at Bickleigh, near Tiverton, where his father was rector. He was sent in due course to Blundell's School, where his admiring biographer declares that he attained for his age a very considerable knowledge of the Greek and Latin tongues, though the chief of his attention was devoted to the sport of hunting. Besides agility of limb and the carriage requisite for leaping over five-barred gates, he attained by indefatigable study and application a remarkable cheering “hallo” to the dogs, of very great service to the exercise. Indeed, his love of hunting proved his undoing, for the neighbouring squires were loud in their complaints to the head master of Blundell's, and at last succeeded in identifying Carew and three or four of his friends as concerned in a piece of wholesale poaching. The boys knew that they were denounced, and that a sound flogging awaited them on the morrow ; but the discipline of Blundell's in those days was far from strict, so they thought to drown dull care by spending the evening at a tavern on the outskirts of Tiverton. Here they accidentally ran into a number of gipsies—seventeen or eighteen persons, says the biographer, who had met there with a full purpose of merriment and jollity—and after a

heartily supper the youths were so taken with their companions that they applied to be admitted into the company of gipsies forthwith. After a little demur the request was granted. The requisite ceremonials were gone through, and the proper oaths administered, and young Carew became officially a gipsy. What this exactly meant it is not easy to discover. Carew's biographer will, indeed, enlarge at length on the constitution of the gipsies—their king, their officers, their periodical parliaments, the rules and regulations of their association. But it seems likely that herein the biographer is drawing largely on his own imagination. Carew at no period of his life—although he rose to the highest office, and became elected King of the Gipsies—seems to have taken the chains of office very seriously. He certainly gave little time or trouble to the ruling of his subjects—he left and returned to them at will—and the bond of union between them was no tighter than that which naturally binds all those together who are living on their wits at the expense of honest men. Nor does Carew seem to have pursued any high, nor unusual, ideal, when he cut himself off from his family and friends. He was simply a rather powerful combination of the vagrant propensities of the traditional rolling stone, united with the gifts that make the first-class amateur actor. His life is one long tissue of aimless but romantic voyages, interlarded with ingenious swindles; and his best praise is that, unlike the common criminal, who keeps to his beaten track, he was ready at any moment to change his rôle, and appear in the most diversified characters, if he found it to his interest to do so. At one moment he would be a shipwrecked sailor. He would array himself in an old pair of trousers, enough of a jacket to cover his nakedness, stockings such as Nature gave, shoes (or rather the body of shoes, for soles they had none) which had leaks enough to float a first-class man-of-war, and an old woollen cap so black that one might swear it had not been washed since Noah's Flood. An hour later he would appear in a black cassock, wig and bands—decent, if a little the worse for wear—and represent himself as a Welsh clergyman turned out of his living because he could not take the oaths to the Hanoverian pretender, George I. At another time he would be a Quaker in a broad-brimmed hat and sober drab—at another time a miller burnt out of his mill, or a bankrupt tradesman, or a travelling tinker. There were even

times when he would pose as a foreigner in distress—in a long loose vest, a turban, and a venerable false beard he made an excellent unfortunate Greek, adrift in a strange country. One of his favourite amusements was to levy several contributions in the same day from the same house. He would drag himself to the gates in the morning got up as a paralysed beggar; in the afternoon he was a sturdy professional rat-catcher; at dinner-time he would arrive well dressed on a good but tired horse as a young gentleman of fortune who had lost his way on a riding tour. The curious thing was that no one took his depredations very seriously. To have been thoroughly well done by Carew was rather a mark of distinction in West of England country houses, and it was long before Nemesis overtook him. At last he was arrested as an incorrigible rogue, and transported to the plantations in Maryland. He promptly escaped on the ship's arrival, was retaken, severely flogged and ironed, which did not prevent him from at once escaping again, and reaching England before the convict-ship, which had taken him over, had made her return voyage. Her progress must have been but slow, for in the course of his highly dramatic flight Carew had time to spend some weeks as the honoured guest of one Indian Sachem, to become an ardent member of the Society of Friends at Philadelphia, to undergo a Methodist conversion in Delaware, and to relapse into the jovial boon-companion of some hard-drinking sea-captains in New York, one of whom gave him his passage back to England. Some years later he was arrested by a ruthless Exeter magistrate, committed to prison, and transported back to Maryland. This time he made an even more dramatic escape than the first, and again went through a series of theological metamorphoses—for in those days each of the American States had its own particular form of religion, and Carew found ready hospitality everywhere at the price of becoming a Presbyterian in Connecticut, an Anabaptist in Rhode Island, and a zealous Congregationalist in Boston, whence he made his second journey home. Scarcely less sensational were his later adventures, when he was seized by a press-gang and hurried on board one of His Majesty's ships. However, fortune favoured him. He got excused the usual duties of a sailor by persuading the captain that his arm was paralysed; on his first voyage his ship touched at Copenhagen, where

was a Russian man-of-war. On board her was an English-speaking warrant officer, with whom Carew got into touch, and persuaded him that his one ambition in life was to serve the Empress Catherine II. The Russian smuggled him on board his ship, whence Carew at once escaped and began a series of complicated wanderings through North Germany and Scandinavia, till he could secure a passage home. This was the last of his adventures on a large scale. He was beginning to feel the weight of age, and to sigh for the pleasures of home. Many years before he had run away with and married the daughter of a most respectable doctor in the North of England, and the poor lady had remained faithful to him throughout his varied career. He now returned to the bosom of his family, and began to lead a respectable existence. There was only one last flicker of excitement. In 1745, Prince Charles Edward raised the standard of revolt in the Highlands, and the progress of the Jacobite troops filled Carew with insatiable curiosity about their doings. He accordingly hurried up to Edinburgh, but personal experience of the rebels did not impress him favourably, so he refused to join them, pretending to be very sick and lame. In the character of a disinterested spectator, he hopped after them on crutches till they got to Derby, where he was privileged to shake Charles Edward by the hand. This done, he thought it the wiser course to cut his connection with them; and when they retreated on Carlisle, he made his way southwards to Bristol, loudly singing the praises of King George and the brave Duke of Cumberland. Soon after this he had the good fortune to win a considerable sum of money in a lottery, and subsided into private life until his death, at some date unknown, about the time of George III's accession.

With this account of the greatest of our tatterdemalions I may well bring my list of Devonshire worthies to an end. I well realize how captious and unintelligent it will seem to many. Over some of the greatest sons of Devon I have passed in absolute silence, and I fear that my neglect may seem not only a flouting of the great names themselves, but also an act of disrespect to the regions that gave them birth. What will the Axminster district have to say to me, when it finds that I have coolly ignored the greatest of all Devonians? Not by one syllable have I recalled to you that in June, 1650, there was born, at

Ashe, in the parish of Musbury, to Sir Winston Churchill—itself a significant name—a son John, who lived to be Duke of Marlborough, and win the battle of Blenheim. Torrington may also complain that I have also passed over another famous captain, George Monk, Duke of Albemarle, who restored Charles II to the throne of his ancestors. And perhaps Crediton will have against me a more poignant grievance still. I have invoked the name of Buller, only to talk about a musty eighteenth-century judge, and neglect another bearer of that name much nearer and dearer to our hearts. Then again, Tiverton may fairly complain that I have said much of Bampfylde Moore Carew, and passed over, in favour of that picturesque rascal, Peter Blundell, a citizen of whom any town might be proud, and Richard Cosway, first of English miniature painters. And I admit that Cosway's name did for a moment tempt me, and that I thought at first of giving you some details of his interesting and little-known career. But here a difficulty at once confronted me. Great as Cosway was, Devonshire can show greater painters than he. Why dwell on Cosway, when Joshua Reynolds hailed from Plympton Earle, and Turner from Barnstaple? And how make much of either of these without breaking my rule that this is the place to celebrate the *Common*, not the Proper of Devonshire saints? This it is that has made me deliberately discursive. I have chosen first the men of law, because of them all districts of our county have a goodly share. I have gone on to single out some half-dozen figures, chosen deliberately because their names were known to everyone, but the detail of their exploits known to few. And it seemed to me appropriate to this our gathering to call back for a moment some of these shadowy figures from the past to form a not unimpressive background to our labours in the present. And perhaps, just because none of them reach the front rank, they may also serve to point a moral not always sufficiently emphasized. It is given to few, indeed, to reach the highest level of achievement. But our county's heart is large enough to hold in affectionate remembrance those of her sons who tried and failed—and those who only succeeded a small part of the way. Just a month ago our two ancient Universities were celebrating their Commemoration, and I cannot better conclude than by repeating to you the noble words then read in every college chapel. There the

Preacher bids us "praise famous men, and our fathers that begat us—such as did bear rule in their kingdoms, men renowned for their power, leaders of the people by their counsels, wise and eloquent in their instructions, such as found out musical tunes, and recited verses in writing, rich men furnished with ability, living peaceably in their habitations. All these were honoured in their generation, and were the glory of their times. There be of them that left a name behind them, that their praises might be reported. And some there be, which have no memorial, who are perished as though they had never been, and are become as though they had never been born. But these were merciful men, whose righteousness hath not been forsaken. With their seed shall continually remain a good inheritance, and their children are within the covenant. Their seed shall remain for ever, and their glory shall not be blotted out. Their bodies are buried in peace, but their name liveth for evermore."

TWENTY-FIFTH REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON DEVONSHIRE VERBAL PROVINCIALISMS.

TWENTY-FIFTH REPORT of the Committee—consisting of Mr. J. S. Amery, Mr. R. Pearse Chope, Mr. C. H. Laycock, Rev. J. F. Chanter, Rev. G. D. Melhuish, Mr. J. Prickman, Rev. O. J. Reichel, Miss C. E. Larter, Miss Helen Saunders, and Mrs. Rose-Troup; Mr. C. H. Laycock and Rev. O. J. Reichel being Joint Secretaries—for the purpose of noting and recording the existing use of any Verbal Provincialisms in Devonshire, in either written or spoken language, not included in the lists published in the Transactions of the Association.

Edited by CHARLES H. LAYCOCK.

(Read at Exeter, 24th July, 1912.)

It is gratifying to your Committee, in presenting their Twenty-fifth Report at this Jubilee Meeting of the Association, to note the continually increasing interest taken in the noting and recording of Verbal Provincialisms. This is amply shown by the increase in the number of contributors.

The Rules and Regulations of the Committee were reprinted with the Twenty-third Report in 1909, Vol. XLI; but should any member not have a copy, the Editor will be glad to supply him with one on his application.

CONTRIBUTIONS.

Each provincialism is placed within inverted commas, and the whole contribution ends with the initials of the observer. All remarks following the initials are Editorial.

The full address of each contributor is given below, and it must be understood that he or she only is responsible for the statements bearing his or her initials.

CONTRIBUTORS.

- M. A. =Maxwell Adams, 12 South Parade, South-sea, Hants.
 E. J. B. =Edwin J. Ball, 5 Endsleigh Terrace, Tavistock.
 J. F. C. =Rev. J. F. Chanter, Parracombe Rectory, Barnstaple.
 R. P. C. =R. Pearse Chope, 107 Ledbury Road, Bayswater, W.
 G. M. D. =George M. Doe, Enfield, Great Torrington.
 T. J. J. =T. J. Joce, 3 Manor Crescent, Newton Abbot.
 H. K. =Miss H. Kitson, St. Marychurch.
 C. E. L. =Miss C. E. Larter, 2 Summerland Terrace, St. Marychurch.
 C. H. L. =Charles H. Laycock, Cross Street, Moreton-hampstead.
 G. D. M. =Rev. G. D. Melhuish, Ashwater Rectory, Beaworthy.
 O. J. R. =Rev. O. J. Reichel, À la Ronde, Lympstone.
 H. S. =Miss Helen Saunders, 95 East Street, South Molton.
 E. S. =Edwin Stanbury, North Wyke, North Tawton.
 E. L. W. =Miss Ethel Lega-Weekes, Sunny Nook, Rugby Mansions, Addison Bridge, London, W.

“APPLE-MOCK=the refuse of apples in cider-making. Supplied by W. P., i.e. William Pratt, of Sprattshayes, Littleham, nr. Exmouth, a native of Buckland Monachorum. O. J. R.”

Same as *Cider-muck*, see 5th Report, Vol. XIV, p. 136.

The word “mock” is also used in the West-country for a tuft of sedge or coarse grass.

“BAFFLED=confused, flurried. An old farm labourer, whilst under a trying cross-examination before the Justices here, said to his tormentor: ‘I ban’t a-gwain to be baffled by yū, Mr. X. . . .’ Torrington, May, 1912. G. M. D.”

“I’m fair baffled” is a common expression for, “I am utterly perplexed.”

The word is of Scandinavian origin.

“Alas, poor fool, how they have *baffled* thee!”

Shakespeare, *Twelfth Night*, v, i, 377.

"BARM CAKES=cakes made with brewer's barm, or yeast, in contradistinction to cakes made with baking powder. Servant, about sixty, a native of St. Mary Church : 'I like barm cakes best ; you puts the barm in the flour and it heaves it.' C. E. L."

Barm, sometimes pronounced *bourm*, is the usual word for any kind of yeast in the West-country. Cakes made without yeast are usually termed "heavy cake."

Anglo-Saxon *beorma*—leaven, froth, yeast.

"BATE=to take in, lessen. Servant, middle-aged, at Torquay, of a stocking that was being knitted : 'I've begun to bate en,' i.e. to make it narrower.

"Again, 'Now I must begin to bate the toe.' This will, I suppose, be 'abate' ? C. E. L."

Yes. Words beginning with an unaccented vowel, such as abate, anoint, appoint, apprentice, etc., almost invariably drop their first syllable in the dialect.

"BENDIN'. The local pronunciation of binding about North Tawton ; e.g. 'bendin' fackets'=binding faggots. E. S."

Evidently this was formerly the common pronunciation of words in *-ind* in Devonshire, for in dialect works of the eighteenth and up to the middle of the nineteenth century, we find the words *blind* and *find* transcribed as *blen'* and *ven'*. At the present time, they are usually pronounced *blaain'* and *vaain'*.

"BLAKE=to faint. 'Rin ! maid, rin ! I shall blake right away.' Jan Stewer in *Western Weekly News*, 21 Nov., 1908. R. P. C."

From Anglo-Saxon *blæcan*—to bleach, fade.

To "blake away" is also used to imply a state of complete exhaustion ; a child is said to "blake away" after a violent fit of coughing, crying, or laughter.

"To blake" alone means to bleat, as a sheep.

See "Blakes," 7th Report, Vol. XVI, p. 97.

"BOTTOM=low-lying, marshy ground. E. S."

Bottom is the usual term for a valley in Devonshire ; e.g. Brithenbottom in Halberton.

"BROOK-BRIMBLE=woody nightshade, *Solanum dulcamara*. So called at Ashwater. G. D. M."

Not previously recorded.

"BROWSE=brushwood, to cut brushwood out of hedges. Supplied by W. P. O. J. R."

See *Browsing*, 11th Report, Vol. XXI, p. 87.

"BRÜSSE=furze. 'Vatch a towzer o' brüsse then to light kitchen vire wi', i.e. a coarse apron full of dried furze. The 'u' in *brüsse* having the sound of the German 'ü' or French 'u.' E. J. B."

This is the same word as *Briss*. See 22nd Report, Vol. XLI, p. 69.

For "Towzer," see 1st Report, Vol. IX, p. 141; also 12th Report, Vol. XXIII, p. 141.

"CARE=the mountain ash (*Pyrus aucuparia*). So called at Ashwater. G. D. M."

See Hal.

Quickbeam is the commonest name for the tree in Devon.

"CLICKETTING=fidgeting. 'Er's always clickettin' about.' Torrington, May, 1912. G. M. D."

This is a very common word in the Devonshire dialect; it implies that the person is always on the go, and is frequently used of one whose tongue is always wagging; e.g. "Er's always on the clicket, click, click, clickettin' all day long," i.e. chattering all day.

"With hir that will *clicket* make daunger to cope."

Tusser, p. 169.

"CLY (rhymes with *sky*)=the common goose-grass or cleavers (*Galium aparine*). So called about Axminster. Young turkeys are said to be very fond of it, and boys stick it on to each other's backs, etc. M. A."

Hal. has *Cly*, goose-grass. Somerset.

This plant is usually called *Clÿver*, or *Clÿder*, sometimes *Clÿven* or *Clÿden*, so *Cly* is, no doubt, a shortened form of the same word. Anglo-Saxon *Clife*—a burr. The fruit, which is small and globular and very viscid, is known by the name of *Clitch-buttons* and *Sticky-buttons*, and these names are often applied to the whole plant.

The fruit of the common agrimony (*Agrimonia eupatoria*) is also known by the above names, from its superficial resemblance to that of *Galium aparine*, it being equally viscid and sticking to one's clothes with great tenacity.

Clitch-buttons is also applied to the fruit of the common burdock (*Arctium lappa*).

"CRISLINGS=small whitish plums, common but not wild in North Devon. H. S."

In this case it is probably used for the bullace (*Prunus institia*); but I have more usually heard the word applied to the small black wild plum (*Prunus domestica*). The word is more properly written *Christling*.

Hal. has *Christlings*, a small sort of plum. Devon.

"CRUB, adj.=bent. A shovel handle may be too *crub*. I have heard it so spoken of at Ashwater. G. D. M."

Anglo-Saxon *Crompeht*, crumpled.

If the handle of a shovel is set too "*crub*," it is impossible to dig deeply into the soil with it.

The bent wooden crooks, which supported the panniers on the old pack-saddles, were called "*crubs*."

"CULLUM. Local pronunciation of culm. A shaly kind of stone. Poor coal which they burn lime with. E. S."

The West-countryman finds it difficult to pronounce "*lm*" without making another syllable of it. He always says *ellum* for elm, *vellum* for film, and often *callum* for calm.

"DAUNT=discouragement. Used as a substantive, while in literary English it is only found as a verb. 'He had a daunt on en,' used of one daunted or dismayed.

"'He was in a bit of a daunt.' C. E. L."

"Down-daunted" is the common Devonshire equivalent of the literary "down-hearted."

"DISCUSSION=concussion. Servant, middle-aged, at Torquay: 'Er died of discussion of the brain.' C. E. L."

Compound words, derived from Latin, as the above, which are more or less unfamiliar to the partially educated, are not unfrequently interchanged and used merely phonetically, without regard to their true meaning.

Not long ago, a man at Newton Abbot said to me while speaking of a house on the top of a hill: "That house demands a fine view." He meant, of course, to say "commands."

"DRY-TH=dryness. 'There's no dry-th in the air to-day.' Cp. Shakespeare's 'Spilth'=spilling, waste (*Hamlet*, iv, 5, 20, and *King Lear*, iii, 2, 8). C. E. L."

Both "Dryth" and "Drouth" are common in Devon for dryness or drought.

See 11th Report, Vol. XXI, p. 92.

"DURNS=the side-posts or jambs of a doorway. Used of a barn doorway by an old man at South Tawton. E. L.-W."

See *Dern*, 11th Report, Vol. XXI, p. 90.

"ELSE=(1) other, elsewhere. 'Tis zome place else.' (2) Otherwise. 'Run in, yū'll get wet else.' 'The field-path is the quickest, or else yū'm afraid o' the mud.' 'I'll call 'e at nine, or else yū'd like to sleep a little later.' Also used thus: 'I lent en a horse or else he's no friend o' mine.' E. L.-W."

On 4th June, 1912, a countryman got into the Exeter tram, and as we went up the hill he called out to the driver: "Stop at North Street, or I'll get no dinner else," using else for otherwise. O. J. R.

"EWE-NECKED=having a neck like a ewe. At a beauty show: 'Fine long mane 'er've a-got, but a trifle yaw-necked.' Jan Stewer in *Western Weekly News*, 12 Dec., 1908. R. P. C."

"Ewe" and the verb "to hew" are pronounced alike in the dialect *yaw*.

"FLOPPY-DOP=the foxglove (*Digitalis purpurea*). A common saying is, 'You make so much noise as a drumble-drone in a floppy-dop.' J. F. C."

Hal. has *Flap-dock*, the foxglove. Devon.

This is, no doubt, the correct form of the word, so called probably from the plant being used by cow-boys to drive cattle by "flapping" or beating them; the leaves also bearing a superficial resemblance to those of the common dock (*Rumex obtusifolius*). In the above form "floppy-dop," the "y" is, of course, the euphonic medial syllable so common in our dialect, and the dock is changed to "dop" by alliterative assimilation with the first half of the word "flap," or "floppy."

"Cow-flop" is an equally common name for the foxglove in Devon.

"FURZE-KITE=the buzzard. A common name for this bird in some parts of Dartmoor. C. E. L."

Usually pronounced "vuzz-kit."

"FUZ-PIG=hedgehog. H. K."

Vuz-pig is the almost invariable name for a hedgehog on Dartmoor.

So called, no doubt, from resemblance of its prickles to the well-known plant.

Hedge-a-boar is another, though less common, name for the animal.

“**GAMBADOES.** Name applied by a nonagenarian farmer at North Tawton to a pair of over-boots, worn on horse-back to protect boots from mud-splashes, and having high tops, but on the outer side of the leg only, and strapped across the inner side. E. L.-W.”

“**GAWKY-POT**=an awkward, stupid person. ‘Did ever ’e yer two zich gawky-pots in your life?’ Jan Stewer in *Western Weekly News*, 10 April, 1909. R. P. C.”

Gawk, *Gawkim*, and *Gawk-a-mouth* are common expressions for a clownish, gaping fool.

Originally a cuckoo.

Anglo-Saxon *geác*, a cuckoo.

“**GOOSE-FLOPS** = daffodils or Lent-lilies (*Narcissus pseudo-narcissus*). So called at Parracombe. J. F. C.”

Very common in East Devon and West Somerset.

Friend and Britten both have *Goose-flops*, foxglove. Devon. I have heard it very occasionally used for this plant, but the far commoner names are “Cow-flop” and “Flap-dock.”

See *Floppy-dop*.

“**GRAMFER-GRIGGLES**=the spotted orchis (*Orchis maculata*). So called at Parracombe. But I am not sure whether or not this is a Dorset importation; several Dorset labourers were brought here about eighty years ago. J. F. C.”

Equally commonly applied to the early purple orchis (*Orchis mascula*); and very frequently also to the wild hyacinth or bluebell (*Hyacinthus non-scriptus*).

“**HEDGE-A-BOAR**, pronounced *adjeboar*=a hedgehog. Supplied by W. P. O. J. R.”

See *Furze-pig*.

“**HURTED**=hurt. Servant, middle-aged: ‘He wadd’n hurted at all.’ C. E. L.”

A reduplicated past tense.

Cp. *Drowned*, *Attackted*.

Not long ago, a man, native of Torquay, said to me, in speaking of a trading vessel which could not leave the

harbour on account of a violent storm : “ ‘Er *remained* there vor two days ‘vore ‘er could get out.”

This shows that reduplication of final syllables is still a living feature of our dialect, particularly as “remain” is rather a literary than a dialectal word.

“LENTICUPS=daffodils, Lent-lilies (*Narcissus pseudo-narcissus*). Also called ‘Lent-roses.’ E. L.-W.”

Not previously recorded.

“LOG=to move to and fro, to rock. An old gardener, at Moretonhampstead, aged sixty-five, said to me : ‘Yü’ll want zome güde strong stakes vor they fruit trees to keep ‘em vrom loggin’ about in the wind.’ Nov., 1911. C. H. L.”

Hal. has *Log*, to oscillate. Cornwall.

From this word we get the term “Logging” or “Logan” Stone, of which there are so many examples in Devon and Cornwall.

“MASH=a marsh. E. L.-W.”

Always so pronounced. “Mashy ground” is marshy ground. “R” is frequently omitted in the dialect. Cp. “*Sca’ce*” for scarce, “*fo’ce*” for force, “*hoa’ze*” for hoarse, “‘oss” for horse, etc.

“PERK=temper, rage. Laundress, elderly, native of Torquay : ‘I shall be in a bit of a perk with the girls.’ C. E. L.”

Perky, as an adjective, is a common word in the dialect for saucy, cheeky.

“PERTED UP=tossed up. Servant, middle-aged, at Torquay, of someone who turned away in indignation : ‘He perted up he’s head.’ Is this a verb formed from the familiar adjective ‘peart’? Or is it from ‘pert,’ meaning something like ‘impertinent’? The pronunciation was exactly as I give it. C. E. L.”

More likely to be formed from “pert,” or as it is more usually written, “purt,” which implies sulkiness or sullenness. The adjective “purty,” sulky, is very common.

See “Purt,” 13th Report, Vol. XXV, p. 201.

“PLAIZE T’EV? Said by a person not catching what you have said, and wishing you to repeat. E. S.”

A corruption of “What will you please to have?” Very commonly used simply as an interrogation, “What?” “What do you say?”

"If you plaize ? " is equally common, used in the same sense. It is the politer form of interrogation than "Wâat ? "

The former would usually be said by a workman to his master, the latter by one workman to another.

"PLAT=to plod. 'Out there plattin' about 'pon the wat grass.' Jan Stewer in *Western Weekly News*, 15 May, 1909. R. P. C."

Analogous to this is *clat* for clod, and *clat-hopper* for clod-hopper

Short *o* frequently becomes short *a* in the dialect. Cp. *knack* for knock, etc.

"PLUFF, relating to a headache. 'My head's all pluff.' Supplied by W. P. O. J. R."

This implies that his head feels as if it were all swollen. "Pluffy" is very commonly used for swollen, puffy, spongy. It is generally used in a disparaging sense, implying an unhealthy or unnatural swelling or puffiness, whereas "plum" implies a healthy, genial softness or sponginess.

See 2nd Report, Vol. X, p. 129.

"POLL-PICKED=taunted. 'He poll-picked me 'bout wat I'd a-zaid tū en.' Torrington, May, 1912. G. M. D."

"PULLY ALLY. Strong, good material will bear 'pully ally,' that is, will bear *pulling all ways*. E. S."

Hal. has *Pully-haully*, to pull stoutly. This is probably the true derivation, that which will bear pulling and hauling.

Mrs. Hewett, in *Peasant Speech of Devon*, gives the form "Pulleree-alleree," p. 125.

"QUILLING=dying away. Said of plants in a field, etc. H. S."

This is the same word as *Quail*, 19th Report, Vol. XXXIV, p. 98.

Applied to persons, it means to faint, or languish. "I'm quailin' away vor want o' zummot ta ait."

"REED=unsplit straw, used for thatching. The heads are cut off from the stalks before thrashing. This reed is done up in bundles called 'nitches,' which have two 'bines' or 'beens' (i.e. binds) round them. Some farmers, finding this inconveniently large, bind it up in 'cores,' of

which three would be equal to two 'nitches.' The word 'sheaf' is never applied to 'reed,' and the word 'core' is not used with anything *but* 'reed.' E. S."

"'s, termination to 2nd sing. of verbs. I should like to draw attention to the apparent transposition of the -s (which stands for the -st of conventional English), from the verb to the pronoun which precedes it, in the Devonshire dialect. Thus 'thee's know' for 'thee knows,' i.e. thou knowest. They tell me the very old folk used to say 'thee's know,' etc., about here, but that its use is now confined to the extreme east of Devon. Lymptone, 1912. O. J. R."

This form is by no means confined to East Devon, though it may be commoner there than further west, but I have frequently heard it used in the neighbourhood of Moretonhampstead, especially by children, who so constantly use the 2nd pers. sing.

It is not, however, a transposition of the termination of the verb to the pronoun, but is a shortened form of the auxiliary "dost"; thus, "thee's know" or "thee'st know" is really short for "thee dost know." "Hast" is similarly shortened, e.g. "thee's got en, an't 'e?" i.e. "thou hast got it," etc.

The periphrastic forms, "I do know" for "I know"; "he do live there" for "he lives there," etc., are very common, especially in East Devon, Dorset, and West Somerset. It is not to be confused with the emphatic form with auxiliary in the literary language, "I *do* know," when the *do* is emphasized. In the dialect it is very short, "I dā know," and is far less emphatic than the simple form, "I know" or "I knows."

"SCOURGED=abraded. A child at Newton Abbot, who had abraded her knuckle rather badly, said, 'I scourged 'n 'ginst a wall.' T. J. J."

Eng. Dial. Dict. has *Scourge*, to become red and sore. But I think it is more likely to be the verb "Scrouge," meaning to crush or squeeze, with the "r" transposed, as is so frequent in our dialect.

"SCRAWLY (pronounced *scrah-ly*)=to crawl. 'Twas up 'aaf-a-nower avore I was abble to scraaly 'ome-'long.' Jan Stewer in *Western Weekly News*, 20 Feb., 1909. R. P. C."

Initial "s" is frequently added to words beginning with "cr"; cp. *scranch* for crunch, *scrumple* for crumple, etc.

"SELDOM THING=a rare thing. 'Twas a zeldom thing they cûde come to spaik to wan tother.' Jan Stewer in *Western Weekly News*, 21 Nov., 1908. R. P. C."

"Seldom" is used as an adjective in the dialect, while in the literary language it is only found as an adverb.

"SKENTER=tuberculosis in bullocks. Used at Ashwater. G. D. M."

The disease is really chronic diarrhœa, probably due to consumption of the bowel.

Bullocks which will not fatten, owing to this disease, are termed *skenters*.

Possibly derived from *scant*; Middle English, *Skant*, insufficient; from the insufficiently nourished appearance of animals suffering from the disease.

"SLATTER=to spill, waste. 'Hand me up my mug, cheel, take care now wat you'm bout o', nit slatter it.' Jan Stewer in *Western Weekly News*, 30 Jan., 1909. R. P. C."

More usually pronounced *slotter*.

From this verb, which means to throw things about, to be untidy, we get the common opprobrious subst. "slattern," an untidy woman.

See *Slat*, 22nd Report, Vol. XLI, p. 80.

The word is of Scandinavian origin, *Sletta*, to fling about; *Slett*, a blow.

"SOLEING. A native of Kingsbridge, about fifty-five, speaking of dragging about heavy goods, said, 'Tis very solein'. T. J. J."

Hal. has *Sole*, to handle rudely, to haul or pull. Devon.

"Es wont be mullad an *soulad*."

Exm. Courtship, l. 377.

Sowlynge, or *solwyng*e, makynge folwe, solwyn or fowlyn. *Prompt. Parv.*

"STEWER or STUER=uproar, disturbance. Children leaving the chapel were making 'a vine old stewer.' Heard at Christow. H. J. L."

See 14th Report, Vol. XXVII, p. 58, where the word is used in its more literal sense of dust, when kicked up, or raised by the wind.

It is probably merely a local pronunciation of the literary "stir." The form *sturen* was common in Middle English.

"STICKLE=steep. 'What stickle roofs they have here, you don't see them in our part.' Used by a resident of Axminster, with reference to some houses in a village on the Somerset border. Aug., 1910. M. A."

See 6th Report, Vol. XV, p. 93; also 11th Report, Vol. XXI, p. 103.

"Stickle-path," is the usual term for a steep path, and has become the proper name of a small village near Okehampton. The word "Stickle" is applied also to streams where the water runs swift and shallow owing to the stream running down a steep incline.

Anglo-Saxon *Sticele*, steep, high, inaccessible.

"STITCH=a shock of corn, ten sheaves set up on end in the field at harvest-time, to dry. E. L.-W."

The same word as the northern "Stook."

"SYVE=a scythe. 'Raipin' wi' a syve.' Jan Stewer in *Western Weekly News*, 16 Jan., 1909. R. P. C."

Zyve and *zye* are the usual forms of the word scythe in Devonshire; the latter is perhaps the true dialect form, while *zyve* is the dialectal adaptation of the literary scythe, *dh* and *v* being interchangeable. Cp. *dhatches* for *vetches*, *dhurry* for *very*, etc.

"TED. To 'ted' hay is to toss or shake it up and spread it abroad to dry. A 'hay-tedder' is a machine for tossing hay. These words are used in connection with *hay* only. E. S."

The word is of Scandinavian origin, from *tedhja*, to spread manure.

"TITTERING = complaining, grumbling. A farmer, speaking of one of his workmen, said: 'He's always titterin' 'bout he's small wages.' Torrington, May, 1912. G. M. D."

Cp. Middle English *Titeren*, to prattle.

The word is often used for stammering or stuttering.

In the literary language, the meaning is confined to giggling.

"TOPPY-NAT=top-knot. A farm-servant, watching another sheep-shearing, said to him: 'Ban't 'e gwain to

cut off the toppy-nat o' en?' Torrington, May, 1912. G. M. D."

Yet another instance of the common euphonic medial syllable.

Cp. *Dartymoor*, *Floppy-dop*, etc.

"TRAPES=to tramp. 'Wat right 'ave he got to come trapesin' into church wi' a black coat to 's back an' a whit' collar aroun's neck?' Jan Stewer in *Western Weekly News*, 17 July, 1909. R. P. C."

The word really implies walking on dirty or muddy roads, and so comes to mean tramping generally.

As a subst., *Trapes* is a common term for a slattern. Both this word and the literary "tramp" are connected with the Dutch *trappen*, to tread, or step, German *treppe*, a step.

"TUNNER or TINNER=a funnel, for filling cider casks, etc. Supplied by W. P. O. J. R."

A dialectal form of the word tunnel.

Orig. from Anglo-Saxon *Tunne*, a barrel. The word was later used for any kind of arched shaft or pipe.

"VAGS=lumps of turf, cut off the moor, and used for fuel. E. L.-W."

"Fags" or "vags" must not be confounded with peat, pronounced "pait," which latter is dug out of deep bogs during a dry summer.

Both are used as fuel, principally on hearth-fires.

"VENGE=impetus. 'Take a güde venge avore yü jump, an' then yü'll dü it all right.' Torrington, May, 1912. G. M. D."

More usually pronounced "vedge" or "vage."

Very common word, used for the short run before taking a leap.

See Hal.

Middle English, *Viage*, *Veage*. O. F., *Veiage*—a journey, voyage.

"VIVERS=veins. 'How my vivers is all swollen.' Servant, middle-aged, of Torquay, touching the veins on her wrists. She confirmed having always known veins as 'vivers.' C. E. L."

Probably a dialectal form of "fibres," to which swollen veins bear a superficial resemblance.

"VORENOONS=forenoon meal, luncheon. 'Us was all alive an' to braxus nex' mornin', but 'bout a vorenüne's time I was out about the sheep.' Jan Stewer in *Western Weekly News*, 6 March, 1909. 'Us ded'n 'ave no vorenünes, cuz us reckoned the lunch to the zale wid zure to be a purty güde wan.' *Ibid.*, 10 April, 1909. R. P. C."

This refers to the meal which farm-labourers usually take out with them and eat from ten to eleven o'clock in the morning. It is often called 'lebner (lit. elevener), from the time at which it is eaten, viz. eleven o'clock.

"VORE-RIGHT=honest, straightforward. Supplied by W. P. O. J. R."

Hal. has *Vore-right*, blunt, rude. West. It was recorded in this sense in 7th Report, Vol. XVI, p. 120.

It is clear that the word admits of being used in either a good or bad sense.

"WITHY-WINE=bindweed. (*Convolvulus arvensis*, and *C. sepium*.) H. K."

Really "with-wind," the medial "y" being euphonic.

So called, no doubt, from its habit of "winding" about the stalks of other plants.

Anglo-Saxon *widh*, about, and *windan*, to wind.

Hal. has *Withwind*, the wild convolvulus.

"WORDLE=world. 'They got the highest mountains in the wordle auver 'bout Wales.' Jan Stewer in *Western Weekly News*, 16 Jan., 1909. R. P. C."

Metathesis of consonants is very common in the dialect. Though this is perhaps rather an insertion of "d" by analogy with *gurdl* (girl), *purdl* (purl), *quardl* (quarrel), etc.; thus world would become *wordld*, then the final "d" is dropped, as is usual after "l"; cp. *wile* for wild, *mile* for mild, etc., and so we get *wordl*.

THIRTY-FIRST REPORT OF THE BARROW COMMITTEE.

THIRTY-FIRST REPORT of the Committee—consisting of the *Rev. S. Baring-Gould, Mr. R. Burnard, the Rev. J. F. Chanter and Mr. R. Hansford Worth* (Secretary)—*appointed to collect and record facts relating to Barrows in Devonshire, and to take steps, where possible, for their investigation.*

Edited by R. HANSFORD WORTH, Secretary of the Committee.

(Read at Exeter, 24th July, 1912.)

RINGMOOR, PLYM VALLEY.

THE kistvaen at *Legis Lake*, reported and described in the Twenty-ninth Report, has been re-excavated by the Rev. Hugh Breton and the Secretary. The work yielded no result of any sort except the information that the original depth of the kist was 25 inches.

SIX-INCH ORDNANCE SURVEY—DEVONSHIRE SHEET CVII, N.W.

Within the area covered by this sheet there are the known remains of eleven kistvaens. Of these seven lie within the south-western quarter of the sheet, one south of the *Blackabrook*, and the remaining six in the space between the *Blackabrook* and *West Dart*, on or under the slopes of *Roundhill*; all these seven have been reported by Dr. Prowse (Vol. XXXIII, p. 495, with map).

The Secretary's survey differs somewhat in the exact location of the kistvaens from that made by Dr. Prowse, but not to any serious extent. In May, 1905, the Secretary made detailed plans of the kistvaens in question, and these are now published.

Starting at the south, we have first a kist which lies almost due south of a rock exposure crowning an unnamed

Tor to the south of the Blackabrook, long. $3^{\circ} 57' 29\frac{1}{2}''$ W., lat. $50^{\circ} 32' 41''$ N.

A rifled kistvaen. Internal dimensions, length 2 feet $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches, width at south end 2 feet 3 inches, width at north end 1 foot 9 inches, present depth 1 foot 3 inches; the coverstone has been thrown to one side and measures 5 feet 2 inches by 4 feet 2 inches. Direction of length of the kist, N. $23^{\circ} 30'$ W. (Plate I.)

Next comes a group of three kistvaens, the southernmost of which is marked on the unrevised Ordnance survey, and lies on the north bank very near the Blackabrook stream, in long. $3^{\circ} 58' 8''$ W., and lat. $50^{\circ} 32' 50''$ N.

On Plate III will be found a plan showing the relative positions of these three kistvaens. From the southernmost the westernmost lies 20 feet 2 inches away (centre to centre) on a bearing N. 15° W. From the southernmost the easternmost lies 42 feet 6 inches away on a bearing N. 24° E. The distance between the westernmost and the easternmost is 30 feet, and bearing is N. 51° E.

The southernmost of this group is a fine kist, with very substantial side stones. The southern end stone has fallen out, and the coverstone partially overhangs the kist. The internal length of the kist was probably 3 feet 4 inches, its internal width is 1 foot 9 inches, and the present depth is 3 feet 3 inches, which was probably the original depth also. The coverstone measures 4 feet 7 inches by 5 feet, and is 8 inches thick.

The direction of the length of the kist is N. $29^{\circ} 45'$ W. (Plate II). The westernmost member of the group is smaller and is somewhat more ruined, the eastern side has fallen out, the south end is disturbed, and the coverstone cannot be found. The internal dimensions were probably: length 2 feet 5 inches, width 2 feet. The present depth at the sides is 10 inches, and to the bottom of a pit sunk in the floor it is 2 feet.

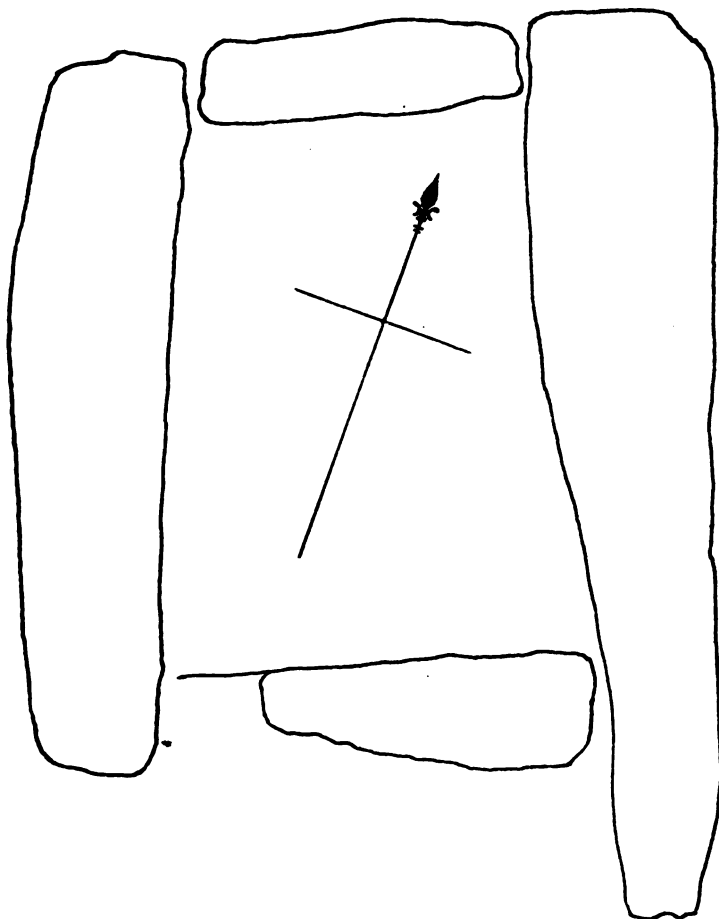
The direction of length is, approximately, N. $39^{\circ} 30'$ W. (Plate III). The easternmost of the group is well preserved, but the coverstone is missing. Its internal dimensions are, length 2 feet $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches, width at northern end 2 feet 7 inches, width at southern end 2 feet 3 inches, present depth 1 foot 10 inches. The direction of its length is N. $27^{\circ} 15'$ W. (Plate IV.)

The next kistvaen lies in long. $3^{\circ} 57' 51\frac{1}{2}''$ W., and lat. $50^{\circ} 33' 0''$ N. It is a comparatively small but well-pre-

TOR SOUTH OF BLACKABROOK
CVII. N.W.

lon. $3^{\circ} 57' 29\frac{1}{2}''$ W
lat. $50^{\circ} 32' 41''$ N

Plate I

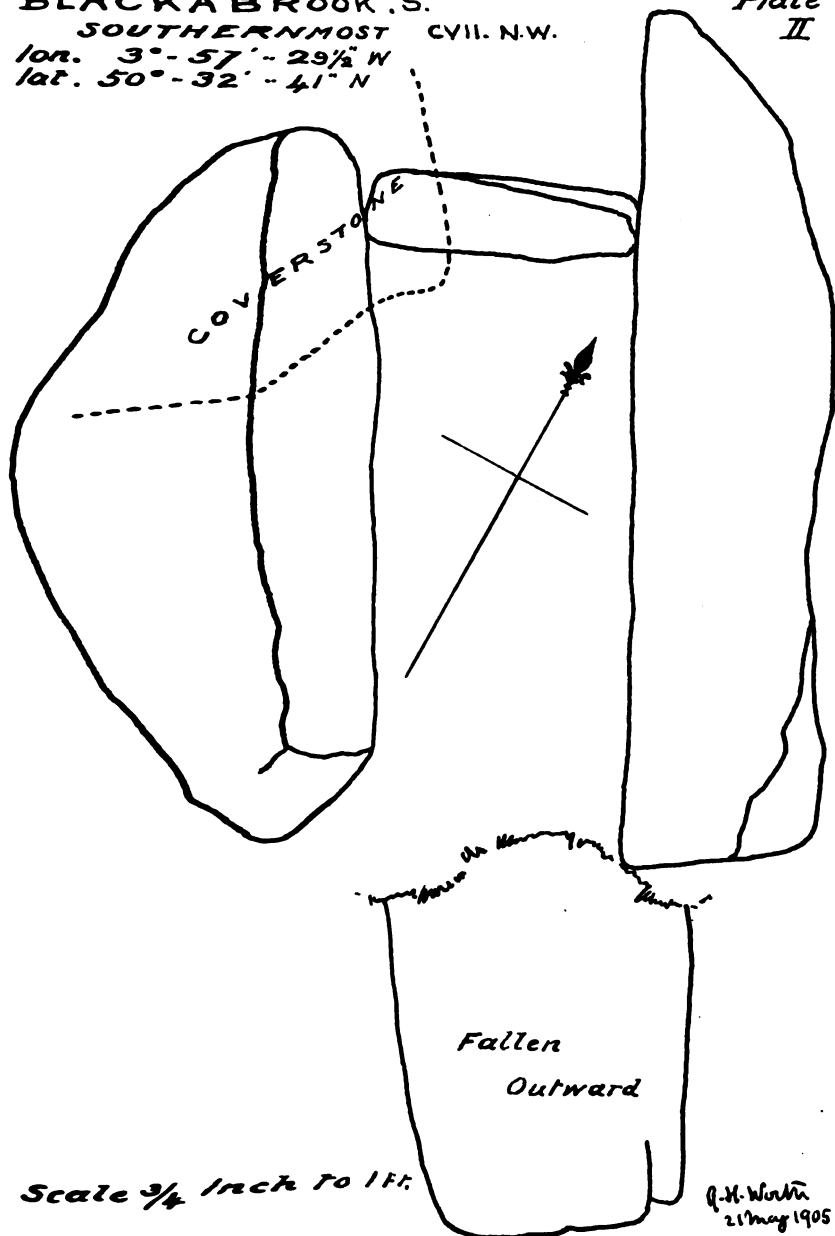


Scale 1 inch to 1 foot

R. H. Worth
21 May 1905

BLACKABROOK, S.
 SOUTHERNMOST CVII. N.W.
 lon. $3^{\circ}-57'-29\frac{1}{2}''$ W
 lat. $50^{\circ}-32'-41''$ N

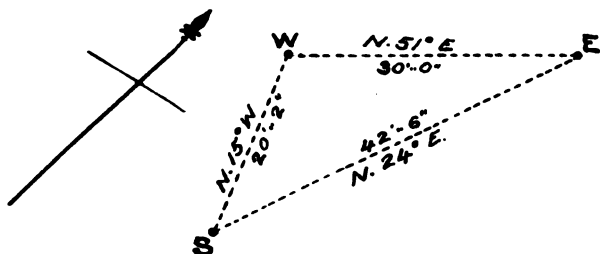
Plate
 II



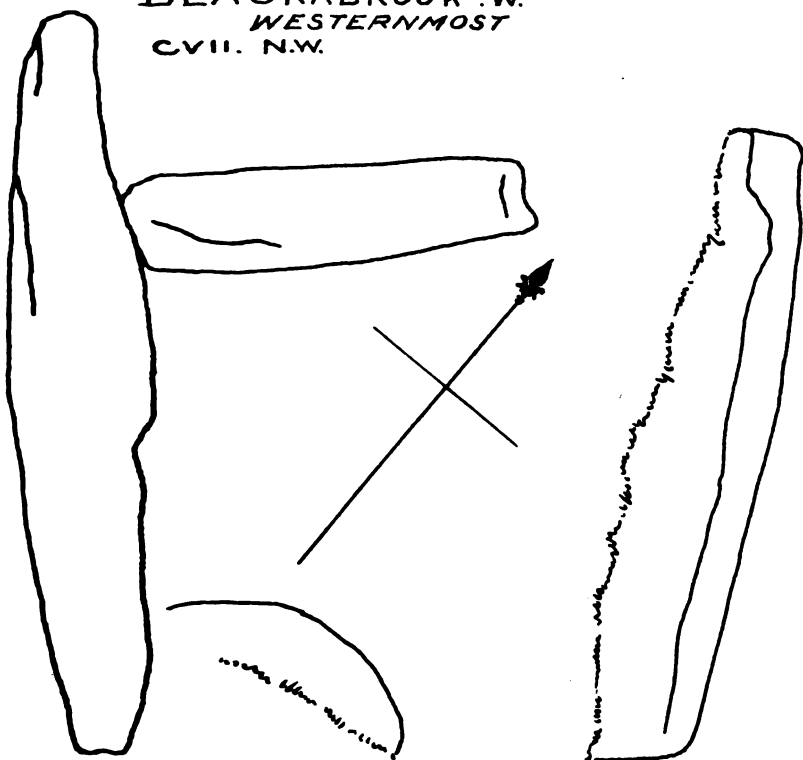
BLACKABROOK GROUP
GENERAL PLAN
CVII. N.W.

Plate III

Scale 20 feet to 1 inch.



BLACKABROOK .W.
WESTERNMOST
CVII. N.W.



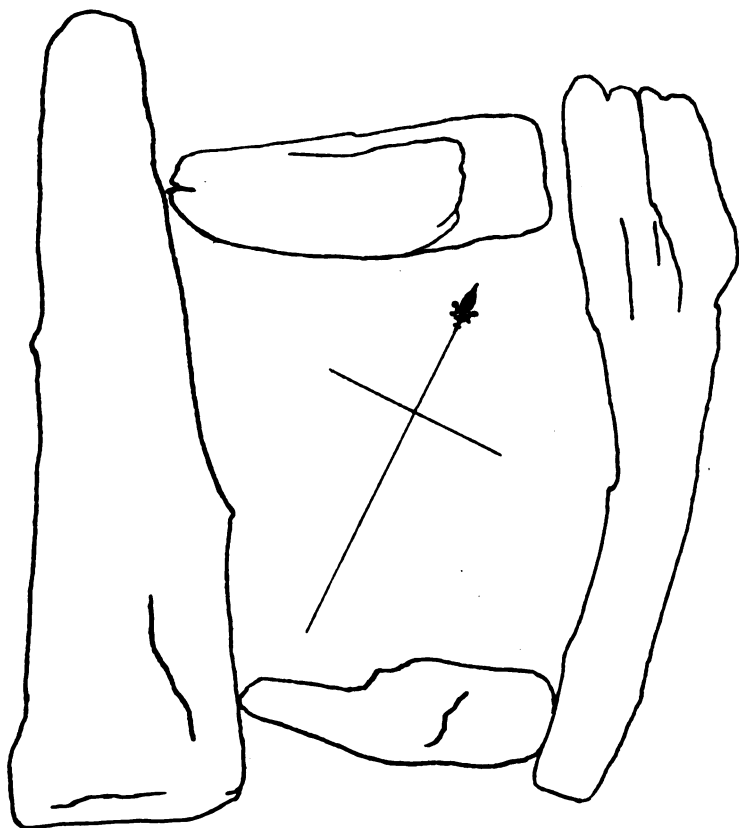
Scale $\frac{3}{4}$ inch to 1 foot

R. H. Worth
21 May 1905.



BLACKABROOK E.
CVII. N.W.
EASTERNMOST

Plate IV



Scale $\frac{3}{4}$ inch to 1 foot

P. H. Worth
21 May 1905.

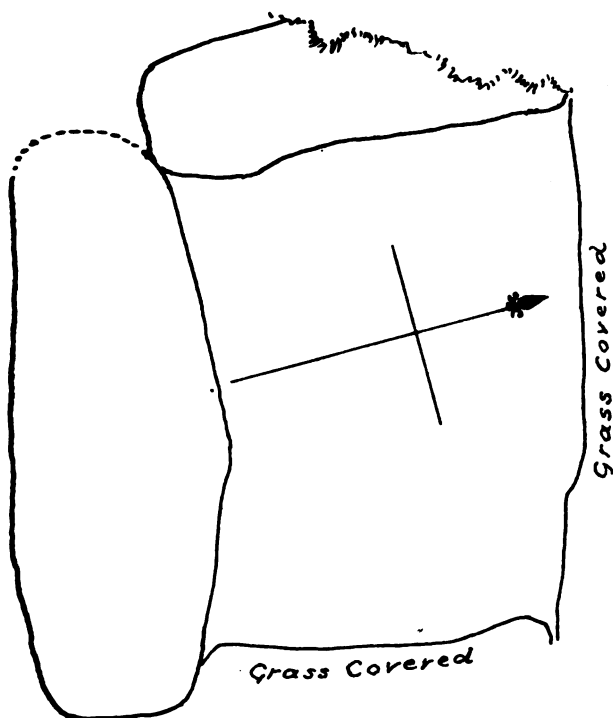
ROUNDHILL

CVII. N.W.

lon. $3^{\circ} 57' 51\frac{1}{2}''$ W.

lat. $50^{\circ} 33' 0''$ N.

Plate V

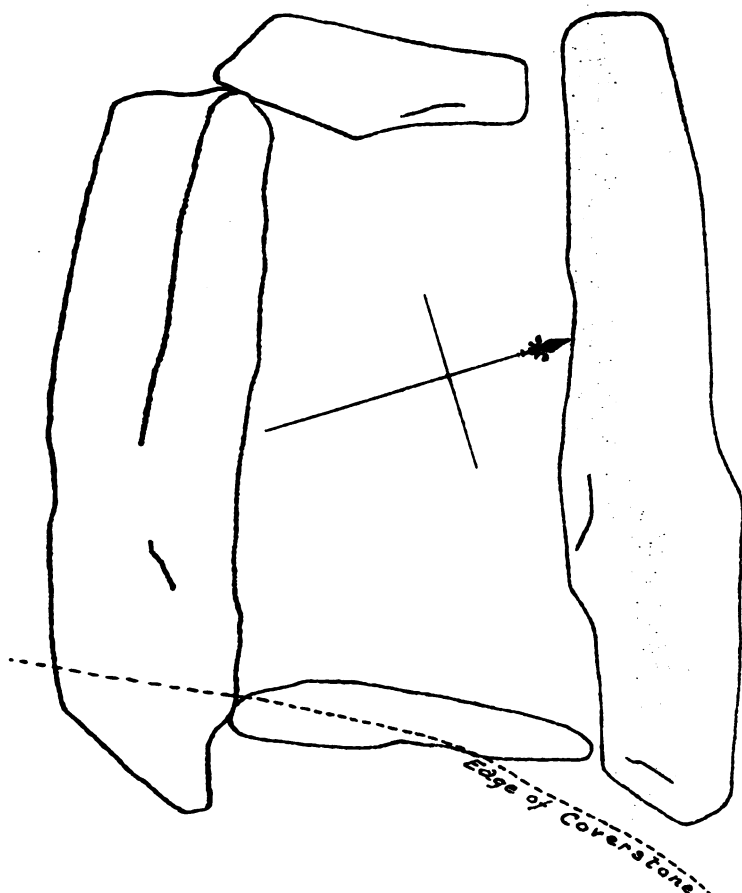


Scale 1 inch to 1 foot

R.H. Worth
21 May 1905

ROUNDHILL
 EAST OF SUMMIT
 CVII. N.W.
 lon. $3^{\circ}57'37''$ W.
 lat. $50^{\circ}33'8\frac{1}{2}''$ N.

Plate VII

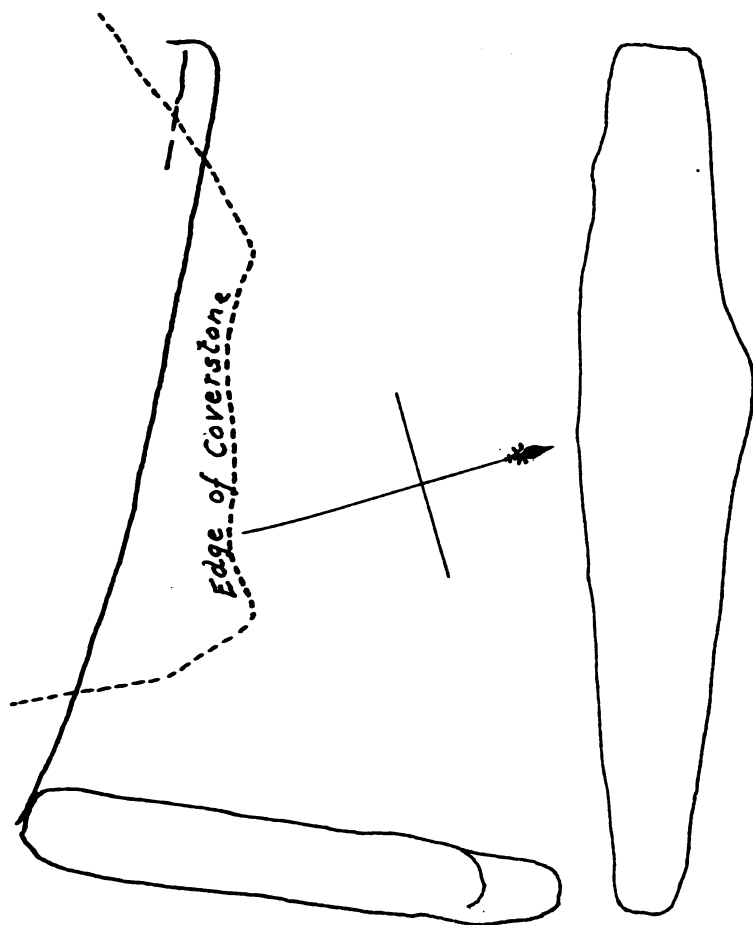


Scale 1 inch to 1 foot

R. H. W. W. W.
 21 May 1905.

ROUNDHILL
NEAR SUMMIT
CVII. N.W.
lon. $3^{\circ}57'42''$ W.
lat. $50^{\circ}33'9''$ N

Plate VII



Scale 1 inch to 1 foot

J. H. Wier
21 May 1905.

served specimen ; the coverstone is missing. The internal dimensions are : length 2 feet 8 inches, width at north end 2 feet 1 inch, width at south end 1 foot 10 inches, present depth 6 inches. The direction of length is N. $74^{\circ} 0'$ W. (Plate V.)

Bearing N. $26^{\circ} 30'$ W. from this kistvaen, and distant 35 feet 6 inches, is a barrow.

We have passed over and should here insert a cairn which lies approximately in a line from the group of three kistvaens to this barrow in long. $3^{\circ} 58' 2''$ W., and lat. $50^{\circ} 32' 54''$ N.

Proceeding northward, another kist to the east of the summit of Roundhill lies in long. $3^{\circ} 57' 37''$ W., and lat. $50^{\circ} 33' 8\frac{1}{2}''$ N. It is well preserved, and the coverstone just overlaps the chamber, having been turned to one side.

The internal dimensions are : length 3 feet, width in centre 1 foot 7 inches, depth 1 foot 2 inches. The coverstone measures 4 feet 10 inches by 2 feet 10 inches, and is 8 inches thick. The direction of length is N. $71^{\circ} 30'$ W. (Plate VI.)

The last kistvaen to be dealt with in the present Report lies near the summit of Roundhill in long. $3^{\circ} 57' 42\frac{1}{4}''$ W., and lat. $50^{\circ} 33' 9\frac{1}{2}''$ N. The west-end stone has disappeared, the coverstone overhangs the south side. The internal dimensions were probably : length 3 feet 8 inches, width at east end 2 feet 6 inches, width at west end 1 foot 10 inches, depth at present 1 foot 8 inches ; coverstone 4 feet 9 inches by 4 feet 2 inches by 9 inches in thickness. Direction of length N. $67^{\circ} 45'$ W. (Plate VII.)

To the north of this kistvaen are certain rather indeterminate remains, which have the appearance of two stone rows, intersecting at right angles at a point 18 feet distant from the kist and bearing N. $41^{\circ} 30'$ W. from it. The one row points eastward N. 91° E., the other points northward N. 7° W. These require further investigation.

FOURTH REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON CHURCH PLATE.

FOURTH REPORT of the Committee—consisting of Mr. Maxwell Adams, Mr. J. S. Amery, Rev. G. Goldney Baker, Rev. Chancellor Edmonds, Mr. T. Cann Hughes, Sir Roper Lethbridge, Rev. O. J. Reichel, Mr. A. J. V. Radford, Mr. George E. Windeatt, and Mr. Harbottle Reed and Rev. J. F. Chanter (Secretaries).

Edited by Rev. J. F. CHANTER, M.A.

(Read at Exeter, 24th July, 1912.)

EXETER AND ITS SUBURBS; OR, DEANERY OF CHRISTIANITY.

THE city of Exeter and its suburbs is practically coterminous with the Deanery of Christianity, and so, while it was intended in this report to give an account of the Church Plate of the city of Exeter, it has been thought best, following the plan adopted in previous reports of taking deaneries as the unit, to use the same division.

The deanery at present consists of twenty-five parishes, but to these must be added the ancient churches of St. Kerrian and St. George, now destroyed, but whose plate still exists, St. Martin, disused, St. Pancras, united with St. Paul, the various subsidiary churches, such as St. Michael, and chapels such as St. Loye, St. Clare Livery Dole, and Wynards, which brings the number up to thirty-seven, not including public institutions such as schools, colleges, and institutes. All of these, excepting Exwick and Countess Weir, have been personally examined by the Rev. J. F. Chanter, Hon. Secretary of the Committee, whose report we append.

A general survey of the Church Plate of the Deanery of Christianity leads one to the conclusion that in this deanery quantity is more strongly represented than quality.

Every church is most profusely furnished with plate. Several have from four to six or seven chalices and patens, flagons, usually a pair, two or three alms dishes, and in nearly every case a straining spoon, while besides we have candlesticks, silver verges or maces, and a varied assortment such as mazers, porringers, rose-bowls, plates, ladles, and in one church a snuff-box for use at the vestry. Pewter also, in shape of flagons, plates, and alms bowls, is well represented, but no pewter chalices exist. But when we come to articles of artistic and archæological interest, with the exception of the Elizabethan work, a few excellent modern reproductions of mediæval chalices and patens, the mazers and a few alms bowls, they are very few in number. Not a single instance of pre-Reformation work, with the exception of the mazers, has been noted, and very little pre-Restoration work.

It is undoubtedly the case that the cathedral cities suffered more than the country villages in the Edwardian pillage and the great rebellion, especially in the latter case, and the English cathedrals possess very little plate of earlier date than 1660, but in the case of Exeter the pillage and civil war do not account for the loss of all its old plate. During the great rebellion some of it was concealed. When the Dean and Canons returned to St. Peter's, and the Babylonian wall between East and West Peter was taken down, Mr. Snow, who had taken care of some of the plate and other furniture of the Chapter, brought in two large gilt flagons with cases, one silver basin, two gilt chalices with their covers. Of this only the flagons now survive. On some of the chalices now at the Cathedral we find inscriptions of their being presented many years before the dates which the hall-marks record, and also the words "*Dec et Cap renovavit 1772.*" Again, at St. Mary Major we find the note, "*The old communion plate having been much worn the feofees of the parish of St. Mary Major liberally substituted this new service. Anno Dom. 1831.*" At St. Petrock's, in 1661, there were three chalices with their covers all gilt; only two now survive. St. Olave's had much in the last century that is now missing, and I am afraid this is still going on. At St. Sidwell's, in 1882, the flagons made in 1712 by Edmond Richards, of Exeter, were destroyed. True that there is little to be said either from an artistic or historical view for early Victorian work, but Tudor, Stuart, and early Georgian

work have a beauty of their own, and far excel in artistic worth the modern mediæval-shaped chalices and patens supplied by the ecclesiastical furnishers and so beloved by many of the present-day clergy, to say nothing of the loss of the historical records of their past.

There are modern chalices beautifully designed and wrought after ancient models, but the majority of what one meets with, and which I have classed as in the modern mediæval style, can only be described as libels on the work of the English craftsman of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

In the diary of that old Exeter citizen John Hayne, we can read how he sent his old spoons with gilt heads to be made into new spoons without heads, and how he exchanged his old silver bowls and tankards for new-fashioned ones. Hayne has had many successors among the clergy and citizens of Exeter, and it is not only ladies who like to be in the fashion.

Another surprise in the Exeter churches is the small amount of plate by Exeter craftsmen. It may have been the case that where there were two or three goldsmiths resident in a parish, to have purchased from one might have caused jealousy with the others, and to avoid this the churchwardens sent off to London to supply their needs. Be this how it may, one is struck by the fact that in Exeter, the home of the only guild of goldsmiths south and west of London, there is less of Exeter work in proportion than in the country districts. Indeed, of very, very few of the long roll of Exeter craftsmen in metals are there any examples in the Exeter churches. One looks in vain for any work of such craftsmen as John Averie, Richard Osborne, and Steven More in the sixteenth century, William Horwood, Ralph Hermann, and Edward Anthony in the seventeenth century, or Thomas Salter, Anthony Tripe, and Edward Spicer in the eighteenth. The Exeter craftsmen who are to any extent represented in its Church Plate may be briefly summed up as John Jones and John Elston, with just a few examples of some nine or ten others.

Of the ancient Church Plate of Exeter a fuller account could be given than of any other part of the county. Inventories of the church goods of various of the Exeter churches from the beginning of the fifteenth century onwards are still in existence, and among the documents

in the Record Room at the Exeter Guildhall is a volume consisting of a mutilated book of eighteen folios containing answers of the churchwardens to interrogations in 1552; a note-book of thirteen folios of what the commissioners at the view of the Cathedral church goods of Exon found there; a draft inventory of the goods of the Cathedral and Exeter churches; list of goods given towards making the haven; seventy-one folios of inventories of church goods, etc. Most of these are not to be found at the Public Record Office, where the accounts existing of Devonshire church goods are most meagre and bald. But a transcript of the Guildhall records is beyond the scope of the work of this Committee, and would take more pages than would be available in the Society's proceedings. It will be sufficient in this introduction to give a summary of what plate is still existing in the city of Exeter and its suburbs.

Elizabethan chalices are found in fourteen parishes. All Hallows, Goldsmith Street, St. David's, St. Edmund, Holy Trinity, St. John, St. Kerrian, St. Martin, St. Mary Arches, St. Paul, St. Petrock, St. Sidwell, Countess Weir, Exwick, and Oldridge; the last belonged originally to St. Thomas, the Countess Weir and Exwick ones probably represent lost ones of other Exeter parishes. Of these seven are the work of John Jones, of Exeter (1558-83), two probably of Richard Hillard, of Exeter (1548-94), one possibly of John North, of Exeter (1569-74), one is of Exeter pattern by an unknown maker whose initials were H. D., and one of London make, and one with no marks, though of Exeter pattern. The Exeter-made Elizabethan chalices are quite a distinct type, their chief peculiarity being the concave lip, which at first sight has the appearance of being a later addition to the bowl; it is particularly noticeable on the Jones chalices, not only at Exeter, but all over the county. I have never seen it on the Matthew chalices, which are the type that prevails in North Devon; but Matthew, though he has been classed as an Exeter goldsmith, had no connection with Exeter; he was at Barnstaple nearly fifty years, and was buried there 29th December, 1611.

There are three chalices at St. Pancras, St. Petrock's, and Holy Trinity which, though seventeenth century, approximate very closely to the Elizabethan style. The St. Pancras one has no marks; it has a baluster stem, but in other respects and ornamentation it is

Elizabethan. The St. Petrock's chalice by Jasper Radcliffe, of Exeter (1624-75), and the Holy Trinity one by a London maker and dated 1638, are quite Elizabethan in style. All of these, with the exception of St. Sidwell's and Countess Weir, have their covers. St. George has a chalice of 1694; all the rest are of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

The oldest paten, excepting chalice covers, is at St. Lawrence, and is 1654; the rest are mainly early eighteenth century.

Flagons, as mentioned before, are found in nearly every church, generally a pair. The oldest are the pair with domed lids at the Cathedral. They bear the date-letter of 1629. St. Stephen's has a pair of 1648, St. Mary Arches one of 1691; the rest are eighteenth century and later.

The oldest alms dishes, excepting the mazers, which were originally drinking vessels, are at St. John's, date 1656, and the Cathedral. The latter, which is possibly of composite character, has on one part a maker's mark which is *circ.* 1673.

The candlesticks at the Cathedral are deserving of notice as fine specimens of late seventeenth-century work.

The finest piece of secular plate is the "Cradle Chalice" at the Cathedral, and there are some good porringers.

Another noticeable point in Exeter Church Plate is the frequency of inscriptions; they are almost universal. This has frequently led the historians of Exeter churches astray in their dating of the pieces. In some cases the inscriptions give dates anterior to the period in which the piece was made or remade, as at the Cathedral and St. Stephen's. In others, as at St. Edmund's, the date inscribed is many years after the piece was made. On the other hand, armorials are less frequently found on Exeter plate than in the country districts.

The investigation of the Church Plate of Devon as it proceeds leads to the revision of many assertions and statements made in the earlier reports, and the discovery that the authority of the standard works has to be accepted, as far as their Exeter sections go, with many reservations; in fact, Cripps' Exeter chapter must be entirely discarded, it is so very inaccurate, and even Jackson's Exeter chapter, which was a very great advance on Cripps', needs a great deal of revision.

In the first report of the Church Plate Committee I.

attempted to give a list of Devonshire Goldsmiths. Since that was written many additions and corrections have been made in succeeding reports. I have not included any in this report, as they have proved to be so extensive and important that I have embodied them in a separate paper on the Exeter Goldsmiths' Guild, to which I would refer my readers.

J. FREDERICK CHANTER.

PARRACOMBE, 1912.

DETAILED INVENTORY OF CHURCH PLATE.

THE CATHEDRAL.

Chalices.—1. Silver-gilt goblet-shaped cup, 10 in. high; bowl, 4 in. deep, 4 in. diameter; circular foot, $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. diameter; stem with small knop.

Marks: (i.) maker's, P. N. (Philip Norman); (ii.) leopard's head crowned; (iii.) lion passant; (iv.) date-letter, 1771 (London). Weight, 29 oz. 12 dwt.

Inscription: "Laur Burd Custos Coll: Vicar: Exon dedit 1628 Dec. et Cap. Exon renovavit 1772."

2. Replica, marks same. Weight, 30 oz. 6 dwt.

Inscription: "Edward Mitchell gen dedit 1660, Dec. et Cap. Exon. renovavit 1772."

3. Replica, marks same. Weight, 30 oz. 9 dwt. No inscription.

4. Replica, marks same. Weight 30 oz. 3 dwt. No inscription.

5. A magnificent reproduction of the Nettlecombe chalice. Gold and jewelled. $7\frac{1}{2}$ in. high; bowl, $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. diameter; $2\frac{3}{8}$ in. deep; foot hexagonal; on foot cross of 13 diamonds and I.H.S. of 30 diamonds.

Monograms: (i.) "R. C."; (ii.) "G. M. C."; (iii.) "A. M. C."; (iv.) "R. E. M."

Inscription: "In gloriam dei cui fideliter servierat Benjamin Morgan Cowie S. T. P. Eccles: Cathedr: Exon: XVI annos Decanus qui obiit III die Mai MDCCCC."

Marks: (i.) maker, J. E. L. & S. (J. Ellet Lake & Son); (ii.) leopard's head; (iii.) crown; (iv.) 18; (v.) date-letter, 1904 (London).

6. Silver-gilt, modern mediæval shape, 8 in. high; bowl, $3\frac{3}{4}$ in. diameter, $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. deep; hexagonal stem with open-work knop; six-lobed foot.

Marks : (i.) maker, W. C. J. L. ; (ii.) leopard's head ; (iii.) lion passant ; (iv.) date-letter, 1898 (London).

7. "The Cradle Chalice," a silver-gilt, two-handled standing cup, with cover. $14\frac{1}{2}$ in. high ; $9\frac{1}{4}$ in. high to cover ; bowl is $5\frac{3}{8}$ in. diameter, $7\frac{1}{2}$ in. deep ; ornamented with repoussé work.

Inscriptions : "Quod amico annus gravi vivent genua tuum est. The Cradle Chalice Xmas Day, 1901. They found no room for him. A. M. Ep^s Dec^s."

Arms : impaled Baron, Gules with a bordure engrailed arg., 3 escallops with martlets over ; Femme, Azure, two bars and a bend or. Crest : a lion's head erased, pierced with an arrow.

Marks : (i.) maker's mark, W. T. in oval (William Tuite ?) ; (ii.) leopard's head crowned ; (iii.) lion passant ; (iv.) date-letter, 1771 (London).

Patens.—1. Silver-gilt plain plate on stand. $7\frac{1}{4}$ in. diameter ; "I.H.S." in halo in centre. Weight, 10 oz. 9 dwt.

Marks : as on No. 1 chalice.

2. Replica, similar marks. Weight, 11 oz. 2 dwt.

3. Another replica, similar marks. Weight, 11 oz. 7 dwt.

4. Another replica, similar marks. Weight, 11 oz. 8 dwt.

5. Mediæval pattern, gold. $7\frac{1}{2}$ in. diameter. Sunk sexafoil centre with Agnus Dei.

Inscription : "In piam memoriam patris sui hanc patinam cum calice legavit Alicia Margareta Cowie Fest Pasch MDCCCCIV."

Marks : as on chalice No. 5, and J. Ellet Lake fecit.

6. Modern mediæval, silver-gilt, sunk sexafoil centre with "I.H.S." $6\frac{1}{8}$ in. diameter.

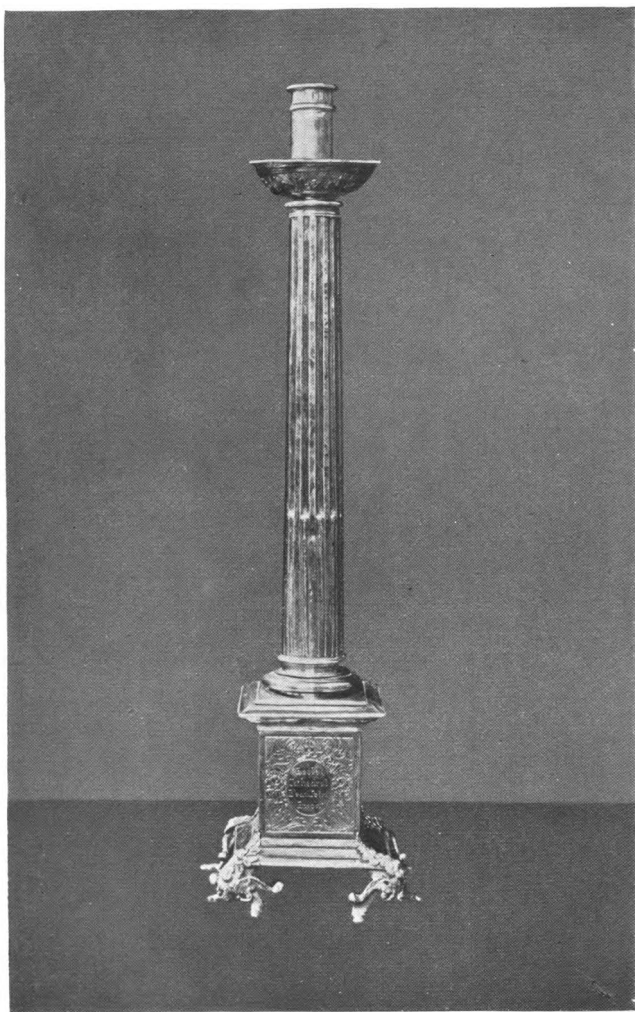
Marks as on chalice No. 6.

Flagons.—1. Tankard-shaped, with domed lid, silver-gilt. 16 in. high ; $10\frac{3}{4}$ in. to lid ; $4\frac{1}{8}$ in. diameter at lid ; $5\frac{3}{8}$ in. at foot. Engraved with arms of the See. Weight, 54 oz. 15 dwt.

Marks : (i.) maker, R. C. with pheon below in dotted border ; (ii.) leopard's head crowned ; (iii.) lion passant ; (iv.) date-letter, 1629 (London).

2. Replica, similar marks. Weight, 55 oz. 10 dwt.

Alms Dishes.—1. Silver-gilt, square, with scalloped corners. $8\frac{1}{2}$ in. diameter.



ALTAR CANDLESTICKS AT CATHEDRAL.
LATE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

Inscription : "Remember the words of the Lord Jesus it is more blessed to give than to receive. Acts xx. 35."

Marks : as on chalice No. 1. 1771.

2. Replica. Marks, etc., as on No. 1.

3. A silver-gilt dish on foot. $15\frac{1}{2}$ in. diameter ; $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. high. A very remarkable piece, which has the appearance of being pieced together of plate of different periods. The rim, $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. wide, ornamentation of repoussé work, consists of six long ovals all differently filled : (a) skull between two hearts pierced with cross-bone ; (b) conventional flowers ; (c) skull and cross-bones, flowers between two cherubs ; (d) flowers ; (e) skull between cross-bones and pierced heart ; (f) four cherubs ; between each of the ovals are flowers of different patterns. Centre of dish is west end of a church with central tower, nave and aisles, three west windows and door under central window, figure standing at door. Crosses over gables.

Inscription : (pricked) "Eccloe B P Exon Soror Batter Virgo prim^{mo} Pietatis in vita cultrix et in mote [*sic*] exemplar." Foot is a later addition of very rough work. $8\frac{1}{2}$ in. diameter. Weight, 40 oz.

Marks : (i.) W W with mullet and pellets under ; (ii.) as No. 1 (date of mark is *circ.* 1673).

4. Large oval dish, silver-gilt, $22\frac{1}{2}$ in. by $17\frac{1}{2}$ in., with scalloped edge, ornamented with repoussé work, cupids, etc. ; on the edges are four heads of boys with ruff screwed on.

Inscription : "Vasa et lagenas calices patinas restaurari exornari et inaurari jussit Dec et Cap Exon 1772."

Marks : (i.) H. P. interlinked in oval ; (ii.) covered cup ; (iii.) the sign of Aquarius.

This curious dish is apparently a German rose-water dish.

Candlesticks.—A fine pair, fluted columns reeded in the lower third on square pedestals with feet. Height, $28\frac{1}{2}$ in. ; pedestals, $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. diameter.

Inscription : "Eccles Cathedral Beati Petri Exon."

Marks : (i.) maker, I. J. ; (ii.) lion passant ; (iii.) leopard's head crowned ; (iv.) date-letter, 1681 (according to Cripps) ; they appeared to me, 1693. (See illustration.)

Spoon.—Pierced for straining. 8 in. long.

Marks : no maker ; (i.) leopard's head ; (ii.) lion passant ; (iii.) Exeter Castle ; (iv.) 1730 (?) (Exeter).

Verges.—1. Silver. 43 in. long, with oval on top; on one side, Dean's arms; on other, Chapter seal.

Inscription: "Exon Anno Dom 1739."

Marks: (i.) maker indecipherable; (ii.) leopard's head crowned; (iii.) lion passant; (iv.) date-letter, 1760 (London).

2. Similar to No. 1. 40 in. long. Inscription and marks as on No. 1.

With the Cathedral Plate should be catalogued also—

Chalice found in tomb of Bishop Bitton, died 1307; it is broken, and its measurements cannot be accurately given; is of usual early thirteenth-century type. Bowl, 4 in. diameter, and shallow round foot; stem with knop, of somewhat later pattern.

Paten.—Plain, plate with Manus Dei in centre.

ALL HALLOWS, GOLDSMITH STREET.

The church has been lately pulled down, but the plate is preserved with that of St. Pancras.

Chalices.—1. Elizabethan parcel-gilt with cover of Exeter pattern. 7 in. high; bowl, $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. diameter; 4 in. deep; usual band in centre of bowl, $\frac{1}{2}$ in. wide; stem round, with knop; foot circular, $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. diameter.

No marks, except a rough P N stamped and partly scratched out.

Cover.—Dome-shaped, with button, on which is Tudor rose. 4 in. diameter; 1 in. high.

No marks. Total weight, 11 oz.

An illustration of it may be seen in *Trans. Devon. Assoc.*, Vol. XXXV, p. 590.

2. Goblet-shaped. $7\frac{1}{2}$ in. high; bowl, 4 in. diameter, $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. deep; foot circular, $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. diameter.

Inscription: "Presented to the parish of All Hallows Goldsmith Street by Mr. George Ferris. George Ferris Sobey, bap. Jan. 1st, 1841." I.H.S. with halo.

Marks: (i.) maker, W B (William Bayley); (ii.) leopard's head crowned; (iii.) lion passant; (iv.) date-letter, 1784 (London). Weight, 11 oz.

Patens.—1. Cover to chalice No. 1, which see.

2. Plain, on stand. $6\frac{1}{2}$ in. diameter; 2 in. high in centre; raised quatrefoil, with I.H.S. in halo.

Marks: (i.) SOBEY (W. R. Sobey); (ii.) lion passant;

(iii.) Castle ; (iv.) Queen's head ; (v.) date-letter, 1845 (Exeter).

3. Replica, parcel-gilt.

Mark : (i.) lion passant. Weight of two patens, 18 oz. 15 dwt.

Flagon.—Plain. 12 in. high ; $9\frac{3}{4}$ in. to lid, which has a cross on top. Handle, twisted shape ; eight-lobed foot. Weight, 24 oz. 15 dwt.

Marks : (i.) maker, W. R. S. (William Rawlins Sobey) ; (ii.) lion passant ; (iii.) castle ; (iv.) Queen's head ; (v.) date-letter, 1842 (Exeter).

Alms Bowl.—A silver-gilt mazer, diameter $6\frac{1}{8}$ in., depth $2\frac{1}{4}$ in., boss $2\frac{3}{8}$ in. ; the rim is $1\frac{1}{2}$ in., moulding set with flowers and rayed and scalloped fringe.

Inscription, on a small plate on bottom : "Presented to the Church of All Hallows Goldsmith Street by W. R. S. 1843." The date is *circ.* 1510.

Pewter Vessels.—Flagon, a flat-lid tankard, $11\frac{1}{2}$ in. high ; plate marked R. D. (Richard Daw, Exeter, *circ.* 1780), 10 in. diameter ; alms bowl, 9 in. diameter.

Inscription : "All Hallows Exon 1682."

ALL HALLOWS ON THE WALL.

Chalice.—Modern mediæval pattern, 10 in. high ; bowl, 6 in. diameter, 4 in. deep ; hexagonal stem ; knob with six bosses ; foot six-lobed, 5 in. diameter.

Inscription on band round bowl : "Hic est sanguis meus ✠." On foot, crucifix and ✠ affixed.

Inscription : "This chalice was made out of two belonging to the parish of All Hallows on the Wall one of which was given by John Bowden Cresswell of Newcourt 1844."

Marks : (i.) maker, W. H. ; (ii.) leopard's head ; (iii.) lion passant ; (iv.) Queen's head ; (v.) date-letter, 1865 (London).

Patén.—Plain plate on stand, 7 in. diameter.

Inscription : "The gift of John Bowden Cresswell Esq. of Newcourt Topsham to the Church of All Hallows on the Walls, 1844."

E. E.

Marks : (i.) maker, B. (Barnard's) ; (ii.) leopard's head ; J. W.

(iii.) lion passant ; (iv.) Queen's head ; (v.) date-letter, 1842 (London).

Flagon.—Domed lid, 13 in. high.

Marks and inscription as on paten.

Alms dish.—Plain plate, 9 in. diameter.

Marks and inscription as paten.

BEDFORD CHAPEL.

Chalices.—Two early Victorian, Sheffield plate. 8½ in. high.

Paten.—Plate on stand, gadroon border. 8½ in. diameter. Sheffield plate.

Flagon.—14 in. high; dome lid; Sheffield plate.

Alms Dishes.—Two plain plates, 9½ in. diameter; Sheffield plate.

ST. DAVID.

Chalices.—1. Elizabethan, with cover of Exeter pattern. Height, 7 in.; bowl conical, with lip 3½ in. diameter; 4 in. deep. Instead of usual floral band it has round bowl, THE $\diamond$ PARIS $\diamond$ OF $\diamond$ S $\diamond$ DAVIS. Foot circular, with usual ornamentation, 3½ in. diameter; stem with rounded knop.

Marks: $\text{I} \text{ } \Omega$, probably John North.

Cover.—Usual shape, with button, 3½ in. diameter; 1½ in. high on button.

Inscription: "The paris of saynt Davis 1571."

No marks.

2. A modern and inexact copy of No. 1.

Inscription: "The Parish of St. David, Exeter, 1835."

Marks: (i.) maker (E. E. J. and W. Barnard); (ii.) leopard's head; (iii.) lion passant; (iv.) King's head; (v.) date-letter, 1835 (London).

3. Modern mediæval pattern; a very handsome piece, silver-gilt and jewelled. 9½ in. high; bowl, 4½ in. diameter; 3½ in. deep. Has round it a string of fine pearls, and engraved "Hauriat hinc populus vitam de sanguine sacro ✠" Stem hexagonal, with six bosses for knop; foot six-lobed, on which in repoussé work Agnus Dei, crucifixion, SS. Mary and John, sacred monogram, etc.

Inscription: "Dono dedit Sarah Thornton West in usum altaris S. Davids, 1900."

Marks: (i.) maker, J. W., E. G. W.; (ii.) leopard's head; (iii.) lion passant; (iv.) date-letter, 1899 (London).

Patens.—1. Cover to No. 1 chalice, which see.

2. Plain, on stand. 9 in. diameter; 3 in. high; foot, $3\frac{1}{8}$ in. diameter.

Inscription: "S. D. 1714."

Marks: (i.) maker, *T.* with crown (Anthony Tripe) (?); (ii.) Britannia; (iii.) lion's head erased; (iv.) castle; (v.) date-letter, 1714 (Exeter).

3. Plain silver-gilt. 6 in. diameter.

Inscription: "Dono dedit in usum altaris perpetuum Ch. Ch. B. presbyter Anno Dom. 1847."

Marks: (i.) maker, *H. E.*; (ii.) lion passant; (iii.) castle; (iv.) Queen's head; (v.) date-letter, 1847 (Exeter).

4. Plain gilt. $6\frac{1}{4}$ in. diameter. Cross. Marks as on chalice No. 3.

5. Large paten, on stand; gilt. $7\frac{1}{2}$ in. diameter; $2\frac{1}{8}$ in. high; foot repoussé, six-lobed, as foot of chalice No. 4.

Marks: as on chalice No. 4.

Flagons.—1. Elizabethan shape, with spout. 15 in. high, $12\frac{3}{4}$ in. to lid; diameter at lid, $2\frac{3}{4}$ in.; girth, centre, $19\frac{1}{2}$ in.; foot, six-lobed, $5\frac{1}{2}$ in. diameter.

Marks: (i.) maker, E. J. B. W. (E. J. & W. Barnard); (ii.) leopard's head; (iii.) lion passant; (iv.) Queen's head; (v.) date-letter, 1850 (London).

2. Silver-gilt, modern mediæval shape, with repoussé work. 12 in. high; six-lobed foot, 5 in. diameter.

Inscription: (engraved) "Et tu fons es semper plenus et superabundans."

Marks: as on chalice No. 3.

Alms Dishes and Bowls.—1. A two-handled porringer, with domed cover. $5\frac{1}{4}$ in. high, 5 in. diameter; foot, $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. diameter.

Inscription: "St. Davids Exon, 1717."

Marks: (i.) maker, *R.* (Edmond Richards); (ii.) Britannia; (iii.) lion's head erased; (iv.) castle; (v.) date-letter, 1718 (Exeter).

2. Gilt bowl. $3\frac{1}{8}$ in. high; $6\frac{1}{4}$ in. diameter.

Inscription: "Ex dono Gulielmi Tomkins parochiæ St. Davidis Armigeri. In usum baptismi perpetuum Anno Dom. 1804."

Arms: Azure, a chevron or, between 3 pheasants.

Crest: a lion rampant, holding a spear.

Marks: (i.) maker, W. E., with ornament over; (ii.)

lion passant ; (iii.) leopard's head crowned ; (iv.) King's head ; (v.) date-letter indecipherable.

3. A six-lobed plate. $8\frac{1}{2}$ in. diameter.

Inscription : "Presented to the parish of S. David's, Exeter, by Elizabeth Tomkins, daughter of the late Rev. Chichester Tomkins, Dec., 1835."

Marks : (i.) maker, J. A., I. A., in four-lobed shield (J. & I. Aldouss) ; (ii.) lion passant ; (iii.) leopard's head ; (iv.) date-letter, 1835 (London) ; (v.) King's head.

Verge.—A staff nearly six feet long, on top, "In resicapis O S^t David R," Arms of Dean of Exeter.

Inscription : "The gift of Wm. Hooper, Esq., to the parish of St. David's, Exeter. Easter, 1843."

Marks : (i.) makers, E. E. J. W. B. (Barnard's) ; (ii.) lion passant ; (iii.) leopard's head ; (iv.) Queen's head ; (v.) date-letter, 1843 (London).

ST. EDMUND.

Chalice.—Elizabethan parcel-gilt, with cover. Exeter pattern ; a rather plain example. $8\frac{1}{2}$ in. high ; bowl, $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. diameter ; $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. deep, with usual foliated band round centre, $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. wide ; plain circular knop, round foot, $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. diameter.

Mark : RH interlinked in circle with ring of dots, probably the mark of Richard Hilliard, of Exeter (1548–94).

Cover.—5 in. diameter ; $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. high ; button has been flattened and engraving hammered out.

Inscription : "This Challis belongeth to the parish of Edmonds on the Bridge in Exon Ap. 17 1659." On rim : "Holyness becometh thy Chvrch and thy people for euer." On button : "Edmonds on the Bridge 1659."

Mark : as on chalice. Weight, 24 oz. 10 dwt.

Note.—The inscription has led to this old piece being described as of 1659.

Paten.—Plain plate, on stand. $8\frac{1}{2}$ in. diameter ; $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. high.

Inscription : "St. Edmunds, 1684. Thomas Horsham, Isaack Walland, Wardens."

The foot is a later addition to a platter.

No marks. Weight, 12 oz. 5 dwt.

Flagons.—1. Tankard-shaped. $11\frac{1}{2}$ in. high, domed lid ; $9\frac{1}{2}$ in. to lid ; $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. diameter at lid ; $6\frac{1}{2}$ in. at foot.

Inscription : " S Edmonds on the Bridge Exon 1728."

Marks : (i.) maker, PE in oval (Philip Elston) ; (ii.) lion passant ; (iii.) leopard's head crowned ; (iv.) castle ; (v.) date-letter, 1728 (Exeter). Weight, 51 oz. 15 dwt.

2. Replica. Inscription and marks the same. Weight, 49 oz. 14 dwt.

Alms Bowl.—Plain. 8 in. diameter ; 3 in. high.

Inscription : " St. Edmund on the Bridge. Exon 1746."

Marks : (i.) maker ; (ii.) lion passant ; (iii.) leopard's head crowned ; (iv.) castle ; (v.) date-letter, 1744 (Exeter). Weight, 13 oz. 15 dwt.

Straining Spoon.—Nineteenth century.

Marks : (i.) maker, J. H. ; (ii.) leopard's head ; (iii.) lion passant ; no date-letter.

EMMANUEL.

Chalices.—1. A modern chalice, yet of very curious and quite unique design. The bowl is almost hemispherical, supported on a trumpet-shaped stem with a cable-shaped flange close up under bowl. The trumpet-shaped stem is divided into three portions by two bands. The upper one is set with six stones ; (i.) a jasper ; (ii.) a sapphire ; (iii.) a chalcedony ; (iv.) an emerald ; (v.) a sardonyx ; (vi.) a sard ; the lower band is of cable pattern.

Height, $7\frac{1}{2}$ in. ; bowl, $5\frac{1}{2}$ in. diameter ; 2 in. deep.

Inscription : " In their mouth was found no guile, for they are without fault before the throne of God."

Marks : (i.) maker, T. T. & Co. ; (ii.) lion passant ; (iii.) anchor ; (iv.) date-letter, 1898 (Birmingham).

2. A replica of No. 1, except that the stones are (i.) a chrysolite ; (ii.) a beryl ; (iii.) a topaz ; (iv.) a chrysoprasus ; (v.) a jacinth ; (vi.) an amethyst, and the inscription is : " For the service of God and as a memorial of Reginald George : Lester Allen Howard, and Alice Gertrude."

Marks : as on No. 1. Both are silver-gilt.

Patens.—1. On foot. $6\frac{1}{4}$ in. diameter ; foot, $2\frac{1}{4}$ in. diameter.

Inscription : " To the glory of God and in affectionate memory of Ethel H. Norman this vessel is presented by the boys of Blundell's School 1892."

Marks (i.) Maker, S. B. P. W. ; (ii.) Lion passant ; (iii.) leopard's head ; (iv.) date-letter, 1892 (London).

2. Plain, mediæval style. $6\frac{1}{4}$ in. diameter, with sunk quatrefoil.

Marks : (i.) maker, T. T. & Co. ; (ii.) lion passant ; (iii.) leopard's head ; (iv.) date-letter, 1898 (Birmingham).

Alms Dish.—Brass.

Inscription : "To the glory of God and in memory of Thomas Uttermare Cross, M.A., Chaplain of Blundell's School, Nov. 30, 1899."

ST. GEORGE.

This church has been destroyed. The plate is at St. John's, with which it has been united.

Chalice.—Seventeenth century. Of a style frequently found in the county, the chief peculiarity being stem and foot which, instead of baluster, or evenly divided stem with knop, consists of an inverted trumpet shape, flowing in an even curve from bottom of bowl to the foot. Height, $7\frac{3}{8}$ in. ; bowl, $4\frac{1}{4}$ in. diameter ; $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. deep, with lip.

Inscription : "Richard Mew, Warden, 1684."

Mark : (i.) maker, E. G. between mullets ; (ii.) lion passant ; (iii.) leopard's head crowned ; (iv.) date-letter, 1684 (London).

Paten.—Forms cover to chalice. 5 in. diameter ; 1 in. high.

Marks : as on chalice.

Flagon.—Tankard shape ; domed lid. $12\frac{1}{8}$ in. high ; 10 in. to lid ; $4\frac{1}{8}$ in. diameter at lid ; $6\frac{1}{2}$ in. at base.

Inscription : "Exon Oct. xxi CIO IO CC XXIV. St. George the Martyr. Thy father which seeth in secret himself shall reward thee openly. Matt. Ch. vi. v. 6."

Marks : (i.) maker, E. R. (Edmond Richards) ; (ii.) leopard's head crowned ; (iii.) lion passant ; (iv.) castle ; (v.) date-letter, 1724 (Exeter).

Alms Dishes.—1. Plain, on stand. 10 in. diameter, $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. high.

Inscription : "St. George Martyr in Exon. Richard Mew, Warden, 1684."

Marks : as on chalice.

2. Plain plate, with gadroon edge. $9\frac{1}{2}$ in. diameter ; I.H.S. with dove.

Inscription : St. George the Martyr, I. K. Cleeve, D.D. Rector. William Youlden, Thomas Hart, Wardens, 1829."

Marks : (i.) maker, M. C. (Mark Cripps) ; (ii.) lion passant ; (iii.) leopard's head crowned ; (iv.) date-letter, 1769 (London).

Straining Spoon.—Inscription : “ Wm. Pain, Rd. Hodge, Wardens S. George, Exeter, 1833.”

Marks : (i.) maker, T. W. (Thos. Wynne) ; (ii.) lion passant ; (iii.) leopard’s head crowned ; (iv.) date-letter, 1760 (London).

HEAVITREE AND ITS CHAPELS.

Chalices.—1. Goblet shape. 9 in. high ; bowl conical, $3\frac{7}{8}$ in. diameter, $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. deep ; small knop, foot, $3\frac{3}{8}$ in. diameter.

Inscription : “ Parish of Heavitree 1833.”

Marks : makers indecipherable ; rest usual, and London date-letter, 1832.

2. Replica. Marks and inscription same.

3. Modern mediæval style. $7\frac{1}{8}$ in. high ; bowl circular, $4\frac{1}{8}$ in. diameter, $2\frac{5}{8}$ in. deep ; hexagonal stem, knop with six lozenges ; hexagonal foot, 4 in. diameter.

Inscription : “ Given by Mrs. Chambers Hodges, 1894.”

Marks : (i.) maker, G. K. (G. Krall) ; (ii.) leopard’s head ; (iii.) lion passant ; (iv.) date-letter, 1894 (London).

4. Modern mediæval style. $5\frac{7}{8}$ in. high ; bowl, $2\frac{3}{4}$ in. diameter, $1\frac{7}{8}$ in. deep ; hexagonal stem, small knop. Engraved on bowl, “ Drink this in remembrance of me † . On foot, St. Michael.

Marks : (i.) maker, T. F. ; (ii.) lion passant ; (iii.) leopard’s head ; (iv.) Queen’s head ; (v.) date-letter, 1878 (London).

Patens.—1. Plain, on stand. $7\frac{3}{8}$ in. diameter, $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. high ; foot, 3 in. diameter.

Marks : (i.) maker, indecipherable ; (ii.) Britannia ; (iii.) lion’s head erased ; (iv.) date-letter, 1697 (London).

2. Replica. Same marks, etc.

3. Modern mediæval style ; very sunk centre. 6 in. diameter.

Marks : (i.) maker, R. M. E. H. (Martin Hall & Co.) ; (ii.) crown ; (iii.) lion passant ; (iv.) date-letter, 1897 (Sheffield).

Flagons.—1. Plain, flat-lid tankard. 9 in. high ; $7\frac{7}{8}$ in. to lid ; $4\frac{3}{8}$ in. diameter at lid ; $6\frac{1}{2}$ in. at foot.

Inscription : “ This is a new years gift to the Church at Hevitree by Mr. Wm. Banks, Vicar, for the use of the Communion Tabell. Año 1684.”

The finger-piece, consisting of a twisted cross, is well executed.

Marks : none.

2. Replica, slightly smaller.

Inscription : "This is a new year's gift to the Church at Hevitree, by Mrs. Elizabeth Banks, for the use of the Communion Tabell. Año 1684."

Marks : none.

Alms Bowls.—1. Plain. 8 in. diameter ; hexagonal centre with I. H. S, and +.

Inscription : "Heavitree Church 1 Aug. 1846 given by Ralph Barnes."

Mark : (i.) maker, E. E. J. W. B. (Barnard's) ; (ii.) lion passant ; (iii.) leopard's head ; (iv.) Queen's head ; (v.) date-letter, 1846 (London).

2. Plain dish of base metal.

Straining Spoon.—Shape like mustard spoon, pierced with holes, cross-shape. $6\frac{3}{4}$ in. long ; fiddle pattern.

Mark : G. S.

CHAPEL OF ALL SAINTS, WHIPTON.

Chalice.—Modern mediæval style. $7\frac{1}{2}$ in. high. Bowl, rounded, 4 in. diameter, $2\frac{5}{8}$ in. deep ; stem hexagonal ; knop with six lozenges ; six-lobed foot, 5 in. diameter.

Inscription : "I.H.S." on bowl and foot.

Marks : (i.) maker, I. K. (J. Keith) ; (ii.) lion passant ; (iii.) leopard's head ; (iv.) Queen's head ; (v.) date-letter, 1862 (London).

Paten.—Modern mediæval style. $6\frac{1}{2}$ in. diameter ; six-lobed centre.

Inscription : "I.H.S. By thy cross and passion good Lord deliver us."

Marks : as on chalice.

Flagon.—Modern mediæval style. $11\frac{1}{2}$ in. high.

Inscription : "Glory be to God on high."

Marks : as on chalice.

ST. MARK, POLSLOE PARK.

Chalices.—1. Modern mediæval style. $7\frac{1}{2}$ in. high ; bowl, 4 in. diameter, $2\frac{1}{4}$ in. deep ; hexagonal shaft and knop ; six-lobed foot, 5 in. diameter.

Inscription : "The offering of Mary Hole, Easter, 1911, to the Church of S. Mark, Polsloe Park, Heavitree."

Marks : (i.) Depree & Young, Exeter ; E. B. S. Lt. ; (ii.) lion passant ; (iii.) leopard's head ; (iv.) date-letter, 1910 (London).

2. Modern mediæval style ; quite plain. $6\frac{1}{2}$ in. high ; conical bowl. London marks, 1900.

Patens.—1. Plain. 5 in. diameter.

Mark : London, 1900.

2. Modern mediæval. $5\frac{3}{8}$ in. diameter.

Marks : (i.) maker, A. B. W. W. ; (ii.) lion passant ; (iii.) leopard's head ; (iv.) date-letter, 1899 (London).

Silver and Glass Cruets : date-letter, London, 1900.

ST. LOYES, SOUTH WONFORD.

Here is a curious miniature set of Altar Vessels.

Chalice.— $3\frac{3}{8}$ in. high. Bowl, $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. diameter, 2 in. deep ; circular foot.

Mark : B. W. Nix, Exeter.

Paten.— $3\frac{3}{8}$ in. diameter, $\frac{3}{4}$ in. high.

Mark : B. W. NIX.

Flagon.— $7\frac{1}{2}$ in. high, 6 in. to lid.

Inscription : " St. Loyes 1881 presented by Mr. and Mrs. E. A. Sanders."

ST. CLARUS, LIVERY DOLE.

Chalice.—Plain Georgian style. 6 in. high. Bowl, $3\frac{1}{4}$ in. diameter, $3\frac{1}{4}$ in. deep ; foot, $3\frac{1}{8}$ in. diameter.

No marks.

Paten.—8 in. diameter, 3 in. high ; foot, $3\frac{1}{8}$ in.

Both of these are plated.

Flagon.—Domed lid. 11 in. high.

Marks : E. & Co. (Elkington plate).

HOLY TRINITY.

Chalices.—1. A very fine example of an Elizabethan chalice of the Exeter pattern, with cover—gilt. $7\frac{3}{4}$ in. high. Bowl, conical, 4 in. diameter, $4\frac{1}{4}$ in. deep ; circular stem with knop ; foot, $4\frac{3}{8}$ in. diameter. Bowl has two foliated bands, one round concave lip, and a broad one $1\frac{1}{8}$ in. wide round centre, and ornamentation on foot.

Inscriptions on bowl : " Weight, 18 oz., 1780." On foot, " This cup of Trenitie, Wth, XXII ounces less vi^d."

Marks : (i.) I ; (ii.) IONS ; (iii.) 1 (this mark may be a slip of punch) ; (iv.) X crowned with pellets in double circle of line and pellets ; (v.) date-letter, A. prob., 1575 (Exeter).

Cover.— $4\frac{1}{4}$ in. diameter, 1 in. high ; button with Tudor rose, 2 in. diameter ; very elaborate ornamentation.

Inscription : " THE PARYSHE OF TRYWITYE IN THE YEARE OF OVR LORDE 1575."

Marks : as on chalice.

This is one of the best examples of the work of the Exeter goldsmith, John Jones (1558–83).

2. Elizabethan style, with cover. $8\frac{1}{2}$ in. high. Bowl, $4\frac{1}{8}$ in. diameter, $4\frac{1}{4}$ in. deep ; foot, circular, 4 in. diameter. The only ornamentation is a narrow band in Elizabethan style round centre of bowl.

Inscriptions : “ The gift of Katherine Mathew to the Parish of Holy Trinity in Exon, Anno Domine, 1639.” “ Weight, 16 oz. 10 dwt., 1780.”

Marks : (i.) maker, IG, annulet below ; (ii.) lion passant ; (iii.) leopard’s head crowned ; (iv.) date-letter, 1638 (London).

Cover.—5 in. diameter, $1\frac{1}{8}$ in. high ; plain button ; narrow, small foliated band.

Inscription : “ Weight, 5 oz. 7 dwt.”

This chalice is of a pattern quite Elizabethan ; the maker’s mark is found on a chalice dated 1640, at Hedon, with hall-mark of 1603. He evidently used old patterns.

Patens.—1 and 2. Covers to chalices 1 and 2, which see.

3. Plain, on stand. $9\frac{9}{16}$ in. diameter, 2 in. high ; foot, 4 in. diameter.

Inscription : “ Weight, 15 oz., 1780.”

Marks : (i.) maker, TE, with coronet over ; (ii.) lion passant ; (iii.) leopard’s head crowned ; (iv.) date-letter, 1683 (London).

Flagons.—1. Flat-lid tankard. 10 in. high, 5 in. diameter at lid ; $7\frac{1}{2}$ in. at foot.

Inscription : “ For the use of the Holy Sacrament this fflagon was bought by some of the Inhabitants of the Parish of the Holy Trinity in Exon, March ye 25th, 1685, ptium 15^{li} 04^s 07^d. Weight, 53 oz. $\frac{1}{2}$, 1780.”

Marks : as on paten No. 3.

2. Tankard with domed lid. $14\frac{1}{4}$ in. high, $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. diameter at lid ; $7\frac{3}{4}$ in. at foot.

Inscription : “ The gift of Mr. Thomas Facey, late of Parkers Well in the p’ish of St. Leonards to the p’ish church of the Holy Trinity in Exon 1703. For the use of the Holy Communion. Weight, 60 oz.”

Marks : (i.) maker, EI with castle over (John Elston) ; (ii.) Britannia ; (iii.) lion’s head erased ; (iv.) castle ; (v.) date-letter, 1703 (Exeter).

Alms Dish.—A “ decent bason,” plain. 9 in. diameter, $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. high. Bowl, $2\frac{1}{4}$ in. deep ; foot, $3\frac{3}{8}$ in. diameter.

Inscription : "Prov. 3. 9, Honour the Lord with thy substance Sum Ecclesiæ SS^{tae} Trinitatis, Exon. 6 Maii Anno Dom. 1703. Weight, 18 oz. 10 dwt. 1780."

Marks : (i.) **EI** with crown ; (ii.) Britannia ; (iii.) lion's head erased ; (iv.) castle ; (v.) date-letter, 1704 (Exeter).

Straining Spoon.—Eighteenth-century style. $9\frac{5}{8}$ in. long.

Inscription : "Holy Trinity, 1779. Weight, 3 oz."

Marks : (i.) maker, R. B. ; (ii.) lion passant ; (iii.) leopard's head crowned ; (iv.) date-letter, 1764 (London).

WYNARD'S CHAPEL.

Chalice.—A two-handled porringer, ornamented with repoussé work. $5\frac{1}{2}$ in. diameter, $5\frac{1}{2}$ in. high.

Inscription : "Wynard's Hospital. William Kennaway, Esq., 1793."

Arms : Arg. a fesse az. between two eagles displayed, and a wreath of palm and olive. Crest, an eagle rousant.

Marks : (i.) maker, I. K. ; (ii.) lion passant ; (iii.) leopard's head crowned ; (iv.) date-letter, 1777 (London).

Patén.—Plain plate. 8 in. diameter.

Arms and inscription as on porringer.

Alms Dish.—A salver. 13 in. diameter, with a border 3 in. wide of repoussé work, standing on three feet.

Arms and inscription as on porringer and patens, "E. T." (pricked).

Marks : (i.) a shield charged with three objects, billets or castles ; (ii.) a fleur-de-lis.

ST. JAMES WITH ST. ANNE'S CHAPEL.

Chalices.—1. Modern mediæval style. $7\frac{3}{4}$ in. high ; bowl, $3\frac{3}{4}$ in. diameter, 3 in. deep ; stem and knop hexagonal ; foot, 5 in. diameter.

Inscription : "Presented to the Church of St. James, Exeter, on the day of consecration, by Robert S. Cornish, Esq., A.D. 1836. Remodelled A.D. 1866."

Marks : (i.) maker, I. J. K. (I. J. Keith) ; (ii.) lion passant ; (iii.) leopard's head ; (iv.) Queen's head ; (v.) date-letter, 1866 (London).

2. Very similar to No. 1. $7\frac{5}{8}$ in. high.

Inscription and marks as on No. 1.

Patens.—1. A plain plate. $5\frac{1}{2}$ in. diameter.

Inscription : "From a gift made to the Church of St. James, Exeter, by Samuel Langstan and John Hayman, Anno Dom. 1836."

Marks : (i.) maker, T. T. & Co. ; (ii.) lion passant ; (iii.) Queen's head ; (iv.) anchor ; (v.) date-letter, 1877 (Birmingham).

2. On foot, plain. 7 in. diameter, $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. high.

Inscription : " Presented to the Church of St. James, Exeter, on the day of consecration by Robert S. Cornish, Esq., A.D. 1836."

Marks : (i.) maker, E. E. J. W. B. (Barnard's) ; (ii.) lion passant ; (iii.) King's head ; (iv.) leopard's head ; (v.) date-letter, 1833 (London).

Flagon.—1. Tankard-shaped, domed lid. $10\frac{1}{4}$ in. high, $4\frac{1}{4}$ in. diameter at lid ; $6\frac{1}{2}$ in. diameter at foot.

Inscription and marks as on paten No. 2.

2. Small cruets. Modern mediæval shape. 5 in. high.

Marks : (i.) maker, J. H. & Co. ; (ii.) lion passant ; (iii.) anchor ; (iv.) Queen's head ; (v.) date-letter, 1867 (Birmingham).

Alms Dish.—Plate. 9 in. diameter.

Marks and inscription as on paten No. 2.

ST. JOHN.

Chalices.—1. Elizabethan, with cover, parcel-gilt, Exeter pattern. Height, $7\frac{1}{4}$ in. ; bowl conical, with peculiar Exeter lip, 4 in. diameter, $4\frac{1}{4}$ in. deep, and usual foliated band round centre. Circular stem with knop ; foot with usual ornamentation, $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. diameter.

Mark : HD interlinked in D-shaped shield. Die is unusually well cut for an Exeter maker's mark. It is a mark I have never seen before, and cannot identify.

Cover.— $4\frac{1}{4}$ in. diameter, 1 in. high ; button with Tudor rose.

Mark : as on chalice.

2. Baluster stem pattern, with cover. $8\frac{3}{4}$ in. high ; bowl conical, with lip, $4\frac{1}{4}$ in. diameter, $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. deep ; foot, $4\frac{3}{8}$ in. diameter.

Inscription (pricked) : " This belongeth unto the Parish of St. Johns Above in Exeter Anno Dom. 1643 and given by the Parishioners."

Marks : (i.) maker indecipherable ; (ii.) lion passant ; (iii.) leopard's head crowned ; (iv.) date-letter, 1631 (London).

Cover.— $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. diameter ; plain.

Marks : as on chalice.

Patens.—See chalice covers above.

Flagons.—1. Flat-lidded tankard. $10\frac{1}{2}$ in. high ; $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. diameter at lid ; $7\frac{1}{2}$ in. diameter at foot.

Inscription : “ Donum Thomæ Potter parāh S^u Johannis Exon. 8 Dec. 1694.”

Marks : (i.) maker IC with crown (James Chadwick) ; (ii.) lion passant ; (iii.) leopard’s head crowned ; (iv.) date-letter, 1694 (London).

2. Replica. Inscription and marks the same.

Alms Dishes.—1. A bowl on stand. $9\frac{1}{8}$ in. diameter ; $2\frac{1}{8}$ in. high, with good chasing and a border of flat chasing tulip pattern.

Inscription : “ The gift of Margaret Stabick widow 1679 to remaine in the parish of St. John for ever.”

Marks : (i.) maker, R. N., pellets and mullet above, mullet below (Richard Neale) ; (ii.) lion passant ; (iii.) leopard’s head crowned ; (iv.) date-letter, 1656 (London).

2. Plate, with gadroon edge. $8\frac{1}{2}$ in. diameter.

Inscription : “ Purchased by the Parish 1810. Richard Gould and John Woosley, Wardens, St. John’s, Exon.”

Marks : (i.) maker, W. W. ; (ii.) King’s head ; (iii.) lion passant ; (iv.) castle ; (v.) date-letter, 1809 (Exeter).

Snuff Box.—Inscription : “ The Rev. J. Hill, Minister of St. John’s, Exon, presents this box to his parishioners, 1810.”

Marks : (i.) maker, J. W. (John Wren, ent. 1777) ; (ii.) King’s head ; (iii.) lion passant ; no date-letter.

Straining Spoon.—Silver-gilt, eighteenth-century pattern.

Inscription : “ St. John’s, Exon, 1730.”

Marks : (i.) lion passant ; (ii.) leopard’s head ; (iii.) castle ; (iv.) date-letter, 1730 (Exeter).

Maker indecipherable.

ST. KERRIAN.

Chalice.—Elizabethan, with cover parcel-gilt, Exeter pattern. $7\frac{1}{4}$ in. high ; bowl more conical than usual, $3\frac{1}{8}$ in. diameter, $4\frac{1}{8}$ in. deep ; one band on bowl, usual foliated style, $\frac{5}{8}$ in. diameter ; stem with knop ; circular foot, $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. diameter.

Inscription : “ By the parish of S. Kerrian, May, 1881, entrusted to the Churchwardens of S. Petrock.”

Marks : (i.) I ; (ii.) IONS. ; (iii.) crowned X with stars in double concentric circle. The punch marks are on foot and very small.

Cover.—Parcel-gilt, $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. diameter, with dash ornamentation; button, $1\frac{1}{8}$ in. diameter.

Inscription: "▼▼."

Marks: 1. **IOVS.**; a larger punch than that on chalice.

ST. LAURENCE.

Chalices.—1. Georgian style. Egg-shaped bowl, $3\frac{1}{8}$ in. diameter, 4 in. deep; stem without knop; foot, $3\frac{1}{8}$ in. diameter.

Marks: (i.) maker, J. E. (John Edward?); (ii.) King's head; (iii.) lion passant; (iv.) date-letter, S, probably 1813 (London). No town mark.

2. Replica. Marks, etc., same.

Patens.—1. A good piece, with chasing and slight repoussé work, on stand. $7\frac{1}{2}$ in. diameter; 2 in. high.

Inscription: "I B^{ant} I D^{avy} Wardens St. Laurence 1690."

Marks: (i.) maker, W. H., star above pellet in anuulet below; (ii.) leopard's head crowned; (iii.) lion passant; (iv.) date-letter, 1654 (London).

2. Plain plate, with beaded edge. $8\frac{3}{8}$ in. diameter.

Marks: (i.) maker, J. H. (Joseph Hicks); (ii.) King's head; (iii.) lion passant; (iv.) castle; (v.) Exeter date-letter S, 1791.

Flagon.—Tankard shape, with domed lid. $13\frac{1}{2}$ in. high; $10\frac{1}{2}$ in. to lid, $4\frac{3}{8}$ in. diameter at lid; $7\frac{1}{2}$ in. at foot.

Inscription: "The gift of Mr. Robert Dawe to the Church of St. Laurence in Exeter A.D. 1735."

Marks: (i.) maker, R. G. T. C. (Richard Gurney Thomas Cook); (ii.) lion passant; (iii.) leopard's head crowned; (iv.) date-letter, 1735 (London).

Straining Spoon.—A sugar-sifter. $5\frac{1}{2}$ in. long.

Inscription: "St. Lawrence 1791."

Marks: H. B. (Hester Bateman); (ii.) lion passant; (iii.) leopard's head; (iv.) King's head; (v.) date-letter, 1790 (London).

Alms Dishes.—(i.) plain plate, plated; (ii.) pewter plates, $9\frac{3}{8}$ in. diameter. Dated 1838.

Pewter marks: X with crown and Ellen Bright.

ST. LEONARD.

Chalices.—1. Modern, mediæval pattern. $8\frac{3}{8}$ in. high; bowl, spherical, $4\frac{1}{8}$ in. diameter, $2\frac{3}{4}$ in. deep; stem hexagonal; knop, openwork with six lozenges; foot, six-lobed.

Engraved band on bowl: "This cup is the new testament in my blood which is shed for you."

Marks: (i.) maker, J. A. J. A. (Joseph & John Angel); (ii.) lion passant; (iii.) leopard's head; (iv.) Queen's head; (v.) date-letter, 1846 (London).

2. Replica. Inscription, marks, etc.

Patens.—1. Plain, on stand. $8\frac{1}{4}$ in. diameter; $2\frac{3}{8}$ in. high; foot, $3\frac{1}{4}$ in. diameter.

Inscription: "St. Leonard's, 1834."

Marks: (i.) maker, Lo (Robert Lovell); (ii.) Britannia; (iii.) lion's head erased; (iv.) date-letter, 1697 (London) (note, a black letter, small "t," not "a").

2. Plain, on stand. $8\frac{1}{2}$ in. diameter; $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. high; foot, $3\frac{1}{4}$ in. diameter.

Inscription: "St. Leonard Church, Exon, 1892."

Marks: (i.) maker, C. S. H. (C. S. Harris); (ii.) lion passant; (iii.) leopard's head; (iv.) date-letter, 1891.

Flagon.—Sheffield plate. $11\frac{1}{2}$ in. high.

Inscription: "S. Leonard's, 1834."

Alms Dishes.—Two plain plates. $8\frac{1}{2}$ in. diameter.

Inscription: "St. Leonard's 1834," on each.

Marks: (i.) maker, E. E. J. W. B. (Barnard's); (ii.) lion passant; (iii.) leopard's head; (iv.) King's head; (v.) date-letter, 1834 (London).

ST. MARTIN.

Chalices.—1. Elizabethan parcel-gilt, with cover. A somewhat unusual pattern. Straight bowl, with slight lip. It is divided into two parts by a gilt moulding. On higher part near edge, usual foliated band, $\frac{3}{4}$ in. diameter, and on lower part a similar band. Bowl, $3\frac{3}{4}$ in. diameter, $4\frac{1}{4}$ in. deep; stem with usual knop. Weight, 10 oz. 18 dwt.

Inscription: "St. Martin's in Exon."

Marks: (i.) apparently a head in a shield; (ii.) lion passant; (iii.) leopard's head crowned; (iv.) date-letter, 1573 (London).

Cover.—Domed, with button. 4 in. diameter.

Inscription: "S. Martin's in Exon. Weight, 2 oz. 14 dwt."

Four marks, all very indistinct.

2. *Baluster stem pattern*, with curious cover which has button and five small feet. $5\frac{1}{2}$ in. high; bowl, an inverted cone, 2 in. diameter, $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. deep; foot circular, $2\frac{7}{8}$ in. diameter.

Inscription : "Deo Christo et Ecclesiæ S^{ti} Martini Exon in usu infirmorum." Also same on cover.

Marks : (i.) maker, *J. S.* (Jackson says James Stevens, but ? more probably James Strang) ; (ii.) leopard's head crowned ; (iii.) lion passant ; (iv.) castle ; (v.) date-letter, 1729 (Exeter).

Patens.—1. Plain, on stand, with gadroon border. 10 in. diameter, 2½ in. high. Weight, 13 oz. 10 dwt.

Inscription : "St. Martins in Exeter."

Marks : (i.) maker, E. G. ; (ii.) leopard's head crowned ; (iii.) lion passant ; (iv.) date-letter, 1680 (London).

2. Replica. Weight, 14 oz. 4 dwt.

Inscription and marks the same.

3. Plain, on stand. 8½ in. diameter, 1½ in. high. Weight, 7 oz. 18 dwt.

Inscription : "S. Martin, Exon."

Mark : **EL** crowned.

4. Plain, on stand. 4¾ in. diameter, 1½ in. high.

Inscription : "Ecclesiæ S^{ti} Martini I. Danicus Præb. qui Rectoris viceni gerebat A. S. M.DCCXVII."

Marks : (i.) J. S. ; (ii.) lion passant ; (iii.) leopard's head crowned ; (iv.) date-letter, 1724 (Exeter).

Flagons.—1. Tankard with flat lid. 11⅞ in. high, 9¾ in. to lid ; 4½ in. diameter at lid ; 6¾ in. at foot.

Marks : (i.) maker, *Y*, a horse between ; (ii.) lion passant ; (iii.) leopard's head crowned ; (iv.) date-letter, 1692 (London).

2. Replica. Marks same.

Alms Bowl.—Fine hammered bowl. 8½ in. diameter, 2½ in. high. Weight, 13 oz. 3 dwt.

Marks : (i.) **EL** with crown (John Elston) ; (ii.) Britannia ; (iii.) lion's head erased ; (iv.) castle ; (v.) date-letter, 1702 (Exeter).

Spoon.—10 in. long.

Inscription : "St. Martin's, Exon, 1756."

Marks : (i.) maker, I. S. ; (ii.) lion passant ; (iii.) leopard's head crowned ; (iv.) date-letter indecipherable (London).

ST. MARY ARCHES.

Chalice.—A very fine example of an Elizabethan chalice, Exeter pattern, with cover, gilt. 8¾ in. high ; bowl, with usual Exeter lip, conical, 4¼ in. diameter, 5 in. deep ; very elaborate chasing on lip band, ⅞ in. deep, and on a



ELIZABETHAN CHALICE AND COVER AT ST. MARY ARCHES.

BY J. JONES, OF EXETER.

broad band $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. deep, subdivided into three, round centre of bowl; stem with knop; foot, $4\frac{3}{8}$ in. diameter, with usual ornamentation. See illustration.

Marks: (i.) I; (ii.) IONNS (punch has slipped); (iii.) Exeter Town mark, also marks on foot. Cover has been enlarged by an addition of a rim 1 in. broad, is now $6\frac{1}{8}$ in. diameter. Button has five-petalled rose, 2 in. diameter.

Inscription: "The Paryshe of Saynte Marye Archys 1573."

Marks: as on chalice, but IONS.

Patens.—1. See cover to chalice.

2. Plain, on foot. 9 in. diameter, $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. high; foot, 4 in. diameter.

Inscription: "Donum Johanna Andrew."

Marks: (i.) maker, **El** with crown (John Elston); (ii.) Britannia; (iii.) lion's head erased; (iv.) castle; (v.) date-letter, 1706 (Exeter).

3. Plain, on foot. $9\frac{1}{8}$ in. diameter, $2\frac{5}{8}$ in. high; foot, 4 in. diameter.

Marks: T. C. in monogram; (ii.) lion passant; (iii.) leopard's head crowned; (iv.) date-letter, 1688 (London).

Flagon.—Tankard, with flat lid. $11\frac{1}{2}$ in. high, $10\frac{1}{2}$ in. to lid, $5\frac{1}{2}$ in. diameter at lid; $7\frac{3}{4}$ in. diameter at foot.

Inscription: "This flaggon was given to the Parish of St. Mary Arches by Coll. James Walker, Decemb^r 1691."

Arms: Mantled, Arg., a bordure, engrailed ermine, a griffin segreant. Crest: a greyhound sejant.

Marks: (i.) maker, I. C. crowned (James Chadwick); (ii.) lion passant; (iii.) leopard's head crowned; (iv.) date-letter, 1691 (London).

Alms Bowl.—A fine bowl. 15 in. diameter, $2\frac{3}{8}$ in. high.

Inscription: "The gift of Johanna Andrews unto the Church of St. Mary Arches."

Marks: (i.) maker, **El** crowned (John Elston); (ii.) Britannia; (iii.) lion's head erased; (iv.) castle; (v.) date-letter, 1706 (Exeter).

Pewter.—Flagon, $14\frac{1}{2}$ in. high, 11 in. to lid; domed lid; $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. diameter at lid; $5\frac{3}{4}$ in. at foot.

Inscription on handle: "MARY - ARCH - ES - 1628."

ST. MARY MAJOR, WITH ST. MARY MAGDALEN.

Chalices.—1. Goblet shape. $8\frac{1}{2}$ in. high; bowl, $3\frac{3}{4}$ in. diameter, $4\frac{1}{4}$ in. deep; foot, circular, $3\frac{3}{4}$ in. diameter.

Inscription : "S. Mary Major, Exeter, Anno Dom. 1831."

Marks : (i.) maker, J. A. I. A. (J. & J. Aldouss) ; (ii.) lion passant ; (iii.) leopard's head ; (iv.) King's head ; (v.) date-letter, 1831 (London).

2. Replica.

Inscription and marks same.

Patens.—1. Plain, on stand. 8 in. diameter, 3 in. high.

Inscription and marks as on chalices.

2. Modern mediæval style. 6 in. diameter ; hexagonal centre.

Inscription : "Agnus Dei qui tollis peccata mundi da nobis tuam pacem +."

Marks : (i.) maker, E. B. J. B. (E. & J. Barnard) ; (ii.) lion passant ; (iii.) leopard's head ; (iv.) Queen's head ; (v.) date-letter, 1857 (London).

Flagon.—Plain tankard, domed lid ; 12 in. high, with cross $1\frac{1}{4}$ in., 10 in. to lid ; $3\frac{1}{4}$ in. diameter at lid ; $5\frac{1}{4}$ in. at foot.

Inscription : "The old communion plate having been much worn, the feofees of the parish of St. Mary Major liberally substituted this new service Anno Dom. 1831."

Marks : as on chalices.

Alms Dish.—Plain plate. $8\frac{1}{4}$ in. diameter.

Arms : Az. a bordure engrailed ermine, a griffin segreant.

Crest : a greyhound sejant, "Candidi et constanter. B. H. Walker, St. Mary Major, Exeter."

Marks : (i.) maker, F. T. ; (ii.) lion passant ; (iii.) leopard's head crowned ; (iv.) King's head ; (v.) date-letter, 1789 (London).

Also a *Porringer*.—Two-handled, with cover. 6 in. high, $3\frac{3}{4}$ in. to top of bowl, $5\frac{1}{4}$ in. diameter ; foot, 4 in.

Inscriptions : "St. Mary Major, Exon 1724. Ex dono Arthuri Bury, M.D. Weight, 7 oz. 10 dwt."

Marks : (i.) maker, E. R. (Edmond Richards) ; (ii.) lion passant ; (iii.) leopard's head crowned ; (iv.) castle ; (v.) date-letter, 1723 (Exeter).

Straining Spoon.—Cross and I.H.S. on bowl, eighteenth-century style.

Inscription : "In usum Mar^{ae} Maj^{rs} Eccles^{ae} 1757."

Marks : (i.) maker, S. W. (Samuel Wheat) ; (ii.) lion passant ; (iii.) leopard's head crowned ; (iv.) date-letter, 1757 (London).

ST. MARY MAGDALEN.

Chalices.—1. Goblet shape. $7\frac{1}{2}$ in. high. Bowl, $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. diameter ; $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. deep ; foot, circular, $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. diameter ; stem with slight knop.

Inscription : "Chapel of S. Mary Magdalene in the Parish of S. Mary Major, Exeter, 1861."

Marks : (i.) maker, E. B. J. B. in four-lobed shield (E. & J. Barnard) ; (ii.) lion passant ; (iii.) leopard's head ; (iv.) Queen's head ; (v.) date-letter, 1861 (London).

2. Replica of No. 1. Marks and inscription same.

Paten.—Plain, on stand. 7 in. diameter, $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. high ; foot, $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. diameter.

Marks and inscription same as on chalices.

Flagon.—Plain, tankard shape, with cross on top of lid. Height, $13\frac{1}{2}$ in. to top of cross, 12 in. to foot of cross ; base, 6 in. diameter.

Marks and inscription same as on chalices.

Alms Dish.—Plain plate. 6 in. diameter.

Marks and inscription same as on chalices.

ST. MARY STEPS.

Chalices.—1. Baluster stem style. $9\frac{7}{8}$ in. high ; bowl, with marked lip, $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. diameter ; 5 in. deep, foot.

Inscription : "St. Mary Steps, 1760."

Marks : (i.) maker, C. W. T. W. (Chas. Wright and Thos. Whipham) ; (ii.) lion passant ; (iii.) leopard's head crowned ; (iv.) date-letter, 1759 (London).

2. A beautiful modern chalice modelled with renaissance ornamentation, silver-gilt. $9\frac{1}{2}$ in. high ; bowl, with six cherubs, $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. diameter, 3 in. deep ; stem with knop ornamented with amethysts ; foot, circular, 5 in. diameter, with foliage and amethysts in cross.

Marks : (i.) maker, J. W. F. C. W. ; (ii.) lion passant ; (iii.) leopard's head ; (iv.) date-letter, 1898 (London).

Patens.—1. Plain, on stand. $5\frac{1}{2}$ in. diameter, $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. high.

Marks : as on chalice No. 1.

2. Plain, on stand. $8\frac{1}{2}$ in. diameter, $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. high.

Mark : (i.) maker, **EI**, with crown (John Elston) ; (ii.) Britannia ; (iii.) lion's head erased ; (iv.) castle ; (v.) date-letter, 1708 (Exeter).

3. Plain, no edge, silver-gilt, 6 in. diameter.

Marks : as on chalice No. 2.

Alms Dish.—Plain plate. $9\frac{1}{2}$ in. diameter.

Inscription : " St. Mary Steps, Exon."

Marks : (i.) maker, ID ; (ii.) lion passant ; (iii.) leopard's head crowned ; (iv.) date-letter, 1770 (London).

ST. MATTHEW.

Chalices.—1. Modern mediæval style, a good specimen, parcel-gilt. $8\frac{1}{2}$ in. high ; bowl, $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. diameter, 3 in. deep ; stem circular, with hexagonal knop set with six amethysts.

Inscription : " To the glory of God and for the use of the Church of St. Matthew, Exeter, this chalice and paten are given in thankful memory of a dearly loved husband who entered into rest 27th March, 1886, aged 42."

Marks : (i.) maker, C. K. (C. Krall) ; (ii.) lion passant ; (iii.) Queen's head ; (iv.) leopard's head ; (v.) date-letter, 1886 (London).

2. Modern mediæval, poor style. $8\frac{3}{8}$ in. high ; conical bowl, $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. diameter, $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. deep ; circular stem, small knop ; foot, $4\frac{3}{4}$ in. diameter.

Marks : (i.) maker, W. E., F. D., J. T. (Ellis, Depree, & Tucker) ; (ii.) lion passant ; (iii.) Queen's head ; (iv.) castle ; (v.) date-letter, 1882 (Exeter).

Patens.—1. Plain, mediæval style. $5\frac{7}{8}$ in. diameter.

Marks : as on chalice No. 1.

2. Plain. $5\frac{7}{8}$ in. diameter.

Marks : as on chalice No. 2.

3. Plain, on foot. 7 in. diameter, $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. high ; foot, 3 in. diameter.

Marks : (i.) maker, H. E. W. in trefoil (H. E. Willis) ; (ii.) lion passant ; (iii.) Queen's head ; (iv.) leopard's head ; (v.) date-letter, 1882 (London).

Flagons.—1. Modern mediæval style, silver and glass, hexagonal foot.

Marks : (i.) maker, T. T. & Co. ; (ii.) lion passant ; (iii.) Queen's head ; (iv.) anchor ; (v.) date-letter, 1882 (Birmingham).

2. Similar.

ST. MICHAEL AND ALL ANGELS.

Chalice.—Modern mediæval style. $8\frac{1}{4}$ in. high ; bowl, $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. diameter, $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. deep, with floral band ; stem and knop hexagonal ; foot six-lobed, $5\frac{1}{2}$ in. diameter.

Marks : (i.) maker, I. K. (John Keith) ; (ii.) lion passant ;

(iii.) leopard's head ; (iv.) Queen's head ; (v.) date-letter, 1867 (London).

Patens.—1. Modern mediæval style, in six-lobed centre, I. H. S. Engraved on edge in Lombardic lettering, "Lord, ever more give us this bread +." $7\frac{1}{2}$ in. diameter.

Marks : as chalice No. 1.

2. On foot. $6\frac{1}{8}$ in. diameter, 2 in. high.

Inscription : "In memory of George Rowland Berkeley Tudor, M.A., who served for four years as assistant curate of this parish, and died on the Vigil of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary, 1898. He that eateth of this bread shall live for ever. John vi."

Marks : (i.) maker, F. W. ; (ii.) lion passant ; (iii.) leopard's head ; (iv.) Queen's head ; (v.) date-letter, 1891 (London).

Flagon.—Modern mediæval style. $11\frac{1}{2}$ in. high, $10\frac{1}{2}$ in. to lid ; foot, $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. diameter.

Inscription : "Glory be to God on High."

Marks : as on chalice.

Cruets.—Glass and silver. Makers, S. B., F. W. ; date-letter, 1894 (London).

ST. OLAVE.

Chalice.—Modern mediæval style, parcel-gilt. $7\frac{1}{8}$ in. high ; bowl, $3\frac{1}{4}$ in. diameter, $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. deep ; hexagonal stem and knop, with amethysts and carbuncles ; foot, six-lobed, repoussé work of roses, set with emeralds and sapphires, $5\frac{1}{4}$ in. diameter.

Mark : (i.) maker, J. E. in two-lobed shield ; (ii.) lion passant ; (iii.) leopard's head ; (iv.) Queen's head ; (v.) date-letter, 1873 (?).

Paten.—Modern mediæval style. $6\frac{1}{4}$ in. diameter, with Agnus Dei.

Arms : Impaled : Dexter, Sable, on a fesse, a lion passant between three helmets ; sinister, a cross raguly between four leopards' heads.

Marks : as on chalice.

Alms Dishes.—1. Bowl, $7\frac{1}{2}$ in. diameter, $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. high, with gadroon edge.

Marks : (i.) maker, BU (probably John Burdon, entered 1719, but his mark not entered that year) ; (ii.) Britannia ; (iii.) lion's head erased ; (iv.) castle ; (v.) date-letter, 1719 (*Exeter*).

2. A fine piece of modern decorative work, repoussé with jewelled and enamelled centre. 13 in. diameter.

Inscription : “ +In the year 1815 William Compton, M.A., of Carham, in the county of Northumberland, Rector of this parish, gave a paten and an alms dish. +In 1844 Eliza Bradford gave a flagon. +In the year 1874 W. K. W. Chafy Chafy, M.A., clerk, of Sherriffes Lench, in the county of Worcester, gave an alms dish, a flagon, and a water cruets, all of them gilt and jewelled, also an Altar Cross. The Lord grant unto them mercy in that day.”

Arms : Impaled : Dexter, Chafy, ancient, Az., a fesse lozengy, argent, a canton ; sinister, Party per pale, gules and az., in a chief, ermine, three lozenges, az., a dragon sejant.

Pyx Box.—Silver-gilt. 3 in. long.

Marks : (i.) maker, J. B. ; (ii.) lion passant ; (iii.) Queen’s head ; (iv.) leopard’s head ; (v.) date-letter, 1853 (London).

Spoon.—Elizabethan style, with rat-tail, gilt. 5 in. long.

Marks : 1874 (London). Maker indecipherable.

ST. PANCRAS.

Chalice.—Baluster stem, but in other respects Elizabethan in style and ornamentation, but rather more florid than usual. Bowl has the concave lip of the Exeter pattern Elizabethan chalice ; conical with foliated band, $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. diameter, $3\frac{3}{4}$ in. deep ; foot, with usual Elizabethan ornamentation, $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. diameter.

Inscription : “ This chalice belongs to the parish of S. Pancras, 1746.”

Marks : none. See illustration.

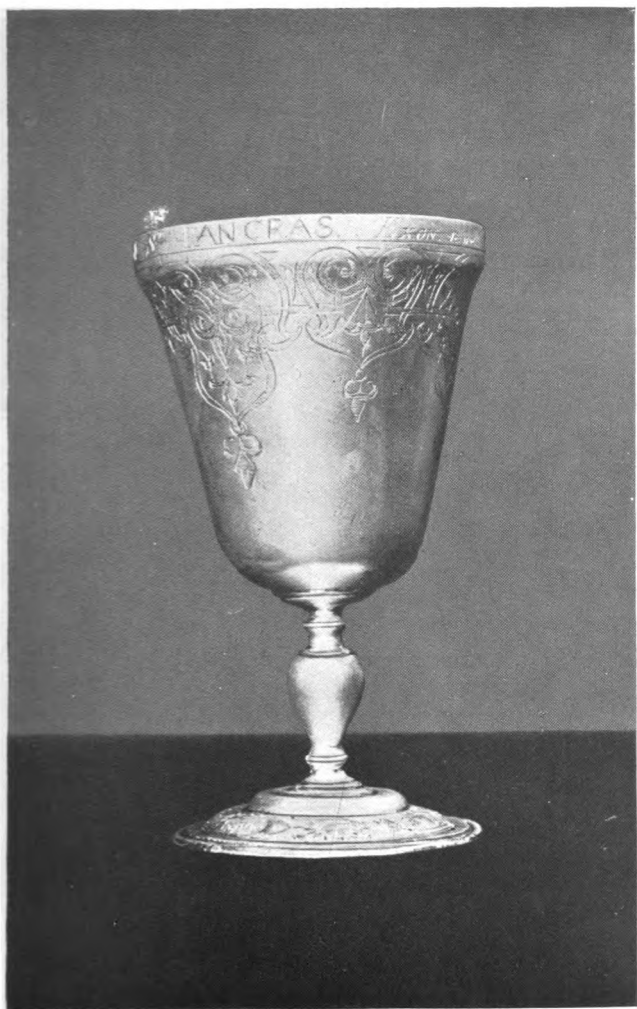
Paten.—Plain, on stand. $6\frac{7}{8}$ in. diameter, $1\frac{7}{8}$ in. high.

Inscription : “ Parish of St. Pancras, Exon. The gift of George Martin, B.A., Rector, 1840.” I.H.S. in halo.

Marks : (i.) maker, E. E. J. W. B. (Barnard’s) ; (ii.) lion passant ; (iii.) leopard’s head ; (iv.) Queen’s head ; (v.) date-letter, 1839 (London).

Flagons.—Two pewter ones. One is of peculiar shape, being an inverted cone, smaller at base than at lid ; other, usual tankard shape, domed lid.

Alms Plates.—Three pewter plates, $8\frac{1}{4}$ in. diameter.



EARLY SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY CHALICE AT ST. PANCRAS.

ST. PAUL.

Chalice.—Elizabethan, of Exeter pattern, with cover, parcel-gilt. 7 in. high; bowl, conical, 4 in. diameter, 4 in. deep; two bands, one on lip, other in centre of bowl, each $\frac{1}{2}$ in. wide; foot with usual ornamentation.

Inscription: "St. Paul's, Exon, 1758."

Marks: (i.) I; (ii.) IOWS.

Cover.— $4\frac{3}{8}$ in. diameter; parcel-gilt; button with Tudor rose.

Inscription: "St. Paul's, Exon, 1758."

Marks: as on chalice.

Patens.—1. Cover of chalice.

2. Plain on stand. $7\frac{1}{4}$ in. diameter, $2\frac{1}{4}$ in. high; foot, 4 in. diameter.

Inscription: "St. Paul's, Exon, 1758."

Marks: (i.) JD; (ii.) JD.; (iii.) JD. Letters interlinked.

3. Replica. Inscription and marks same.

Flagons.—1. Domed-lid tankard. $12\frac{1}{2}$ in. high, $10\frac{1}{4}$ in. to lid, 4 in. diameter at lid; $7\frac{1}{4}$ in. diameter at foot.

Inscription: "St. Paul's, Exon, 1758."

Marks: (i.) maker, T. W. C. W. (Thomas Whipham, Charles Wright); (ii.) lion passant; (iii.) leopard's head crowned; (iv.) date-letter, 1758 (London).

2. Replica. Marks and inscription same.

Alms Bowl.—Bowl on stand. $7\frac{1}{2}$ in. diameter, 3 in. high. Inscription and marks as on flagons.

Spoon.—Old English pattern, eighteenth century. 6 in. long.

Inscription: "St. Paul's, Exon. John Phillips, Warden, 1736" (pricked).

Marks: (i.) leopard's head crowned; (ii.) lion passant; (iii.) castle; (iv.) date-letter, 1730 (Exeter?).

ST. PETROCK.

Chalices.—1. Elizabethan, of Exeter pattern, gilt, with cover. 8 in. high; bowl, conical, with usual Exeter concave lip, 4 in. diameter, $4\frac{3}{8}$ in. deep; foliated band on lip, $\frac{5}{8}$ in. deep, and round centre of bowl $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. deep; knop ornamented with ovals; foot, usual ornamentation.

Marks: (i.) I.; (ii.) IOWS.

Inscription: "St. Petrox, Exon" (pricked).

Chalice Cover.— $4\frac{1}{4}$ in. diameter, $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. high; usual style, with button and chasing all over. On button, 2 in. diameter, is a twisted trefoil pattern with date, 1572.

Marks: as on chalice. See illustration.

2. Regular Elizabethan pattern, gilt, with cover. 8 in. high; bowl, with usual Exeter lip, is slightly straighter than usual, $4\frac{3}{8}$ in. diameter, $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. deep. There is an Elizabethan style foliated band on lip, and one in centre of bowl $\frac{3}{4}$ in. diameter, slightly less elaborate than usual; stem with usual knop; foot, circular, $4\frac{1}{4}$ in. diameter.

Inscription (pricked): "S. Petrox in Exon."

Marks: (i.) J. R. interlinked; (ii.) RADCLIFFE; (iii.) X crowned in X-shaped shield.

Cover.— $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. diameter, 2 in. high; is more transition style than chalice; button, 2 in. diameter.

Inscription: "1640."

Marks: (i.) J. R. interlinked; (ii.) RADCLIFFE.

Jasper Radcliffe dates are 1624–1675, and chalice may be some years earlier than date inscribed on it.

Patens.—1 and 2. Covers to chalices, which see.

3. Plain, on stand, with gadroon edge and gilt. 10 in. diameter, 3 in. high; foot, with gadroon border, 4 in. diameter.

Inscription: "A gift to ye Parish Church of St. Petrock," and a plain shield with mantlings.

Marks: (i.) maker, IV, a horse between letters; (ii.) lion passant; (iii.) leopard's head crowned; (iv.) date-letter, 1692 (London).

Flagons.—1. Tankard, with flat lid, gilt. $11\frac{1}{2}$ in. high, 10 in. to lid, $4\frac{5}{8}$ in. diameter at lid; $6\frac{1}{2}$ in. at foot.

Inscription: "A gift to ye Parish of St. Petrock in Exon, 1692."

Marks: as on paten No. 3.

2. Replica. Marks and inscription as on No. 1.

Alms Bowl.—An old mazer. $6\frac{1}{2}$ in. diameter, $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. high; silver-gilt rim, $1\frac{3}{8}$ in. wide, with quatrefoil belts and fringe; boss $2\frac{1}{8}$ in. diameter.

Inscription on boss: "A gift to the parish of St. Petrock * A.D. 1490."

No marks. It was given to the parish between 1661 and 1689.

Spoon.—Rat-tailed. 8 in. long.

Inscription: "1719."

Marks: (i.) maker, BU, with mullet over (Thos. Burridge); (ii.) Britannia; (iii.) lion's head erased; (iv.) date-letter, 1719.



ELIZABETHAN CHALICE AND COVER AT ST. PETROCK'S.

By J. JONES, OF EXETER.

ST. SIDWELL.

Chalices.—1. A fine Elizabethan chalice, but without cover. Exeter pattern, parcel-gilt. $8\frac{7}{8}$ in. high; bowl, conical, with usual lip, 5 in. diameter, $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. deep; foliated band near rim; knop with beading also on shaft; foot with usual ornamentation.

Inscription: "S" (pricked on foot).

Mark: R. H., interlinked in double circle, inner of dots, probably Richard Hilliard (Exeter, 1548-94).

2. A modern copy of No. 1.

Marks: (i.) maker, E. E. J. W. B. (Barnard's); (ii.) lion passant; (iii.) leopard's head; (iv.) King's head; (v.) date-letter, 1834 (London).

3. Modern mediæval style, silver-gilt; jewelled with pearls and diamonds. Height, $6\frac{1}{2}$ in.; bowl, $2\frac{5}{8}$ in. diameter, 2 in. deep; stem, hexagonal; knop with six circles; foot with three pearl clusters, cross and vine leaves.

Marks: (i.) maker, I. E.; (ii.) lion passant; (iii.) leopard's head; (iv.) Queen's head; (v.) date-letter, 1889 (London).

4. Modern mediæval style, silver-gilt. $8\frac{1}{2}$ in. high; bowl, very conical, $4\frac{5}{8}$ in. diameter; $3\frac{3}{8}$ in. deep; round it, engraved, "Hic est sanguis meus novi testamenti +." Stem, circular, with rings of diamonds, emeralds, and rubies clasping it; knop four sides set with amethysts; foot, circular, 5 in. diameter, with cross on it.

Inscription: "This and a similar chalice, with two patens, were made in 1882, from a flagon given to the Church of S. Sidwell, Exon, A.D. 1712."

Marks: (i.) maker, W. E., F. D., J. T. (Ellis, Depree, & Tucker); (ii.) lion passant; (iii.) Queen's head; (iv.) castle; (v.) date-letter, 1882 (Exeter).

5. Modern mediæval. $7\frac{1}{2}$ in. high; bowl, $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. diameter, $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. deep; engraved on it in circle, "I believe in the communion of Saints"; circular shaft knop, four bosses, with amethysts; foot circular, $4\frac{1}{2}$ in.

Inscription: "+The gift of her mother in memory of Elizabeth Pownoll Griffin, who was born Aug. 26, 1834, married by the Rev. J. L. Galton in S. Sidwell's Church, Dec. 9th, 1856, to F. A. Griffin, Capt. Royal Artillery, entered into rest at Fort William, Calcutta, June 30th, 1859+."

Marks : (i.) maker, F. S. ; (ii.) lion passant ; (iii.) Queen's head ; (iv.) anchor ; (v.) date-letter, 1860 (Birmingham).

6. Modern mediæval style. 8 in. high ; bowl, slightly conical, $3\frac{7}{8}$ in. diameter, $2\frac{3}{4}$ in. deep ; hexagonal shaft, knop of six squares ; foot, hexagonal ; on it opals and carbuncles form a cross.

Marks : (i.) maker, T. P. ; (ii.) lion passant ; (iii.) leopard's head ; (iv.) date-letter, 1895 (London).

Patens.—1. Plain plate, on stand. $6\frac{3}{4}$ in. diameter, 2 in. high ; foot, $2\frac{1}{8}$ in. diameter.

Inscription : "S. Sidwell, 1910."

Marks : (i.) maker, **EL** with crown (John Elston) ; (ii.) Britannia ; (iii.) lion's head erased ; (iv.) castle ; (v.) date-letter, 1709 (Exeter).

2. Plain, on stand. $6\frac{9}{16}$ in. diameter, $2\frac{1}{8}$ in. high ; foot, $2\frac{3}{4}$ in. diameter.

Marks and inscription as on No. 1 paten.

3. A fine example of a seventeenth-century paten in pre-Reformation style. $5\frac{3}{4}$ in. diameter, hammered silver.

Inscription : "John Withers, Minister. Thomas Jones and Richard Sweetland, Wardens of St. Sidwell in Exon, 1674."

No marks.

4. Plain gilt. $5\frac{3}{4}$ in. diameter, with engraved cross.

Marks : as on chalice No. 4.

5. Plain gilt. $5\frac{1}{2}$ in. diameter.

Marks : as on chalice No. 6.

6. Plain gilt. $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. diameter, with engraved cross.

Marks : as on chalice No. 3.

Flagons.—Cruets, silver and glass.

Alms Dishes.—1. $7\frac{3}{4}$ in. diameter, 2 in. high.

Inscription : "Thomas Pike and Samuel Bishop, Wardens, 1735, S. Sidwell."

Marks : (i.) maker, T. C. (Thomas Coffin, Exeter) ; (ii.) lion passant ; (iii.) leopard's head crowned ; (iv.) castle ; (v.) date-letter, 1733 (Exeter).

2. A modern copy of No. 1.

Inscription : "The gift of George Hayman to the parish of St. Sidwell, 25 Oct., 1841."

Marks : (i.) maker, C. T. F., G. F. (C. T. & G. Fox) ; (ii.) lion passant ; (iii.) leopard's head ; (iv.) Queen's head ; (v.) date-letter, 1841 (London).

3. A large salver. 16 in. diameter ; border, repoussé work, grapes and rose leaves, and symbols of four evangelists.

Inscriptions : "I.H.S. It is more blessed to give than to receive" in centre. On rim, "To the glory of God and in memory of Benj. James Fisher, 1897. (Given by staff of L. & S.W. Railway.)"

Marks : (i.) maker, G. H. ; (ii.) lion passant ; (iii.) anchor ; (iv.) date-letter, 1897 (Birmingham).

Spoon.—Trifid and rat-tailed, and modern chasing. $7\frac{1}{8}$ in. long.

Marks : (i.) leopard's head ; (ii.) date-letter, 1692 (London).

Strainer and Funnel.—Inscription : "Parish of S. Sidwell. G. Shears, A. Merrifield, Wardens, 1825."

Marks : maker, R. E. E. B. (Emes & Barnard) ; (ii.) lion passant ; (iii.) leopard's head ; (iv.) King's head ; (v.) date-letter illegible.

Verge.—Inscription : "The feoffees of the Parish Lands of St. Sidwell," with figure of St. Sidwell.

Pewter.—Four alms bowls. $7\frac{3}{4}$ in. diameter, $2\frac{1}{4}$ in. high. No marks.

ST. STEPHEN.

Chalice.—1. Goblet-shaped with domed lid. $8\frac{1}{8}$ in. high ; bowl, 4 in. diameter, $4\frac{1}{4}$ in. deep ; stem, circular ; no knob, but small band ; foot, circular, $4\frac{1}{8}$ in. diameter.

Inscription : "St. Stephen's. K. I. M., 1664."

Marks : (i.) maker, F. V. with crown over (this is a mark that cannot be traced—some such name as Fulford) ; (ii.) Britannia ; (iii.) lion's head erased ; (v.) date-letter, 1709 (Exeter).

Cover.—Domed, with handle. $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. diameter, $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. high.

Marks : as on chalice.

2. Similar to No. 1. $10\frac{1}{2}$ in. to top of cover, $8\frac{1}{4}$ in. to bowl.

Inscription and marks as on No. 1.

Patens.—1 and 2. Covers to chalices.

3. Plain, on foot. $8\frac{3}{8}$ in. diameter, $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. high ; foot, $3\frac{3}{8}$ in. diameter.

Inscription : "St. Stephen's. K. I. M., 1664."

Marks : (i.) maker, S with crown over ; (ii.) lion passant ; (iii.) leopard's head crowned ; (iv.) date-letter, 1662 (London).

Flagons.—1. Tankard, with flat lid, frosted. 10 in. high, $9\frac{1}{8}$ in. to lid, $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. diameter at lid ; $6\frac{1}{4}$ in. at foot.

Inscription : "St. Stephen's. K. I. M., 1664."

Marks : (i.) maker, W. M., star and pellets under ; (ii.) lion passant ; (iii.) leopard's head ; (iv.) date-letter, 1648 (London).

2. Replica.

Marks and inscription the same.

Alms Dish.—Plain plate with gadroon edge. 11 in. diameter.

Arms : on mantled shield, quarterly, ermine and az., a cross, or.

Marks : (i.) maker, I. C. crowned (James Chadwick) ; (ii.) lion passant ; (iii.) leopard's head crowned ; (iv.) date-letter, 1679 (London).

ST. THOMAS.

Chalices.—The old Elizabethan chalice belonging to St. Thomas is now at Oldridge, under which it will be described.

1. Modern mediæval style, silver-gilt. 7 in. high ; bowl, $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. diameter, $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. deep ; stem, hexagonal ; knop, six lozenges ; foot, $4\frac{1}{4}$ in.

No marks. A very light piece.

2. Modern mediæval style, silver-gilt. $8\frac{7}{8}$ in. high ; bowl, $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. diameter, $2\frac{3}{4}$ in. deep ; stem, hexagonal, of open-work ; foot, hexagonal, with instruments of Passion.

Inscription : "Quid retribuam Domino pro omnibus quæ retribuit mihi."

Marks : (i.) maker, E. E. J. W. B. (Barnard's) ; (ii.) lion passant ; (iii.) leopard's head ; (iv.) Queen's head ; (v.) date-letter, 1843 (London).

3. Similar to No. 2.

Inscription : "Calicem salutaris accipiam et nomen Dominem invocabo."

Ornaments on foot are sacred hands, feet, cross, scourge, pillar, cord, crown of thorns, bleeding heart.

Marks as on No. 2.

Paten.—Silver-gilt, on stand, with gadroon border. $8\frac{1}{8}$ in. diameter, $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. high ; foot, $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. diameter.

Inscription : "S. Thomas the Apostle. William Lane, Nicholas Worell, Wardens. March 23rd, 1694."

Marks : (i.) maker, I. C. with crown (James Chadwick) ; (ii.) lion passant ; (iii.) leopard's head ; (iv.) date-letter, 1694 (London).

2. Replica. Inscription and marks the same.

3. Modern mediæval, gilt. $6\frac{3}{8}$ in. diameter; centre, six-lobed, with Agnus Dei.

Inscription (engraved): "Agnus Dei qui tollis peccata mundi miserere nobis."

Marks: (i.) maker, I. J. K. (I. J. Keith); (ii.) lion passant; (iii.) leopard's head; (iv.) Queen's head; (v.) date-letter, 1843 (London).

Flagons.—1. Tankard, with flat lid, gilt. 13 in. high, 11 in. to lid, $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. diameter at lid; $6\frac{1}{4}$ in. diameter at foot.

Inscription: "S. Thomas the Apostle, 1701." Engraved, "Pascha nostrum immolatus est Christus + I.H.C."

Marks: (i.) maker, DE with mullets (William Denney); (ii.) Britannia; (iii.) lion's head erased; (iv.) date-letter, 1698 (London).

2. Replica. $12\frac{3}{4}$ in. high.

Inscription (engraved at later date): "In terris pax in excelsis gloria (cross in crown of thorns), S. Thomas the Apostle, 1701."

Marks: as on No. 1.

Alms Dish.—Gilt. 11 in. diameter.

Inscription: "Ex dono Thomæ Northmore Armigeri in usum ecclesiæ St. Thomæ Apostoli Anno Dni. 1701. Tua sunt omnia Domine et ex tuis dedimus tibi I.H.C. +."

Marks: as on flagons, except date-letter is 1701 (London).

Straining Spoon.—An apostle spoon, gilt, round stem, $7\frac{1}{4}$ in. long. Figure with staff. No marks decipherable.

2. Large brass dish, Flemish work; spies with grapes.

OLDRIDGE CHAPEL.

Chalice.—Elizabethan, with cover, Exeter pattern, parcel-gilt. $7\frac{3}{4}$ in. high; bowl, conical, with concave lip, 4 in. diameter, $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. deep; chasing round lip and in centre instead of usual foliated band, SANTUS ♦ TOMAS ♦ APOSTOLUS. Stem circular, round knob; foot, $3\frac{5}{8}$ in. diameter.

Marks: (i.) I; (ii.) IOWS; (iii.) X with crown and stars of six points in ring and dotted circle. On foot are same marks repeated.

Cover.— $4\frac{1}{4}$ in. diameter, 1 in. high; on button, seven-petalled flower; foliated band on rim.

Marks: as on chalice.

Alms Dish.—Sheffield plated bowl. 8 in. diameter.

Inscription : “ Jacobus Buller Capellæ de Oldridge, D.D. 1798.”

COUNTESS WEIR.

Though this is a new parish formed out of Topsham in 1844, the church possesses an Elizabethan chalice of Exeter make and of the date 1576. I have not been able to ascertain as yet to what parish it originally belonged.

Chalice.—Elizabethan style, parcel-gilt, but somewhat different from the usual Exeter type. Height, $7\frac{3}{4}$ in.; bowl, conical, with two narrow foliated bands dividing it into three equal portions, 4 in. diameter, $4\frac{1}{4}$ in. deep; stem, circular, with a slight enlargement one-third of way up, forming slight knob; foot, circular, $4\frac{1}{4}$ in. diameter. The cover is wanting.

Marks : (i.) I; (ii.) IONS in oblong; (iii.) crowned X with two six-pointed stars in angles; (iv.) B. (1576, Exeter).

Patens.—1. Plain, on foot. $8\frac{1}{8}$ in. diameter, $2\frac{1}{4}$ in. high; foot, $3\frac{3}{4}$ in. diameter. Cross, I.H.S., and nails in halo. Sheffield plate.

2. Modern mediæval style, sunken six-lobed centre, with ijt in circle. $5\frac{1}{2}$ in. diameter.

Marks : (i.) maker, G. & S. Co., Lt., in three-lobed shield; (ii.) lion passant; (iii.) leopard's head; (iv.) date-letter, 1904 (London).

Inscription : “ From L. E. B., Countess Wear Church, a thankoffering, 10.3.01. Ad Gloriam Dei ” with cross in oval.

Flagon.—Plain, Sheffield plated. 12 in. high.

Alms Dish.—Plain plate. Sheffield plated. 9 in. diameter.

Inscription : “ Chapelry of Weer, 1847. Charles Barne, Incumbent, Chas. Harris, Edw. Randolph, Wardens.”

EXWICK.

A modern parish formed in 1872 out of St. Thomas, yet, like Countess Weir, it also possesses an Elizabethan chalice, from a source as yet unascertained, with its cover.

Chalice.—Elizabethan, parcel-gilt. $7\frac{3}{4}$ in. high; bowl has two foliated bands, one at lip, other in centre, 4 in.

diameter, $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. deep ; circular stem, with knop ; foot, circular, $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. diameter.

Marks : none.

Cover.— $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. high, $4\frac{7}{8}$ in. diameter, with foliated band, and usual button, which has slight ornamentation.

No marks.

Patens.—1. Cover to chalice.

2. Plain plate. $5\frac{3}{8}$ in. diameter.

Marks : (i.) maker, T. T. & Co. ; (ii.) lion passant ; (iii.) anchor ; (iv.) Queen's head ; (v.) date-letter, 1872 (Birmingham).

Flagon.—Silver-gilt, tankard shape, domed lid and spout. $11\frac{1}{2}$ in. high, $8\frac{1}{2}$ in. to lid ; foot, 5 in. diameter.

Inscription : "The gift of Samuel Banfill, Esq., Exwick."

Marks : (i.) maker, E. E. J. W. B., in four-lobed shield (Barnard's) ; (ii.) lion passant ; (iii.) leopard's head ; (iv.) Queen's head ; (v.) date-letter, 1840 (London).

FOURTH REPORT OF THE BOTANY COMMITTEE.

FOURTH REPORT of the Committee—consisting of Miss Rose E. Carr-Smith, The Honble. Mrs. Colborne, Sir Alfred Croft, Miss C. E. Larter, Mr. C. H. Laycock, Dr. H. G. Peacock, Miss C. L. Peck, Dr. A. B. Prowse, Miss Helen Saunders, Mr. A. Sharland, Mr. T. Wainwright, and Mr. W. P. Hiern (Secretary), with power to add to their number—for the purpose of investigating matters connected with the Flora and Botany of Devonshire.

Edited by W. P. HIERN.

(Read at Exeter, 24th July, 1912.)

THE genus *Fumaria* L. in Britain has been receiving, in the supplementary parts of the *Journal of Botany* for 1912, a second revision by Mr. H. W. Pugsley. The Devon localities there given are mentioned herein.

In July and August, 1911, the Rev. W. Moyle Rogers visited the Dart valley and neighbouring hills; he has kindly supplied a list of the plants which he observed; the more rare or interesting species are enumerated below under their proper districts. The records for the parishes of Ashburton, Buckland-in-the-Moor, Holne, Staverton, and Widecombe-in-the-Moor (in the No. 6 Torquay botanical district), and Buckfastleigh East, Buckfastleigh West, Rattery, and Dartington (in the No. 7 Plymouth botanical district) are due to Mr. Rogers. He has also determined some recent gatherings of brambles from these and some other parts of the county.

RECORDS.

1. BARNSTAPLE BOTANICAL DISTRICT.

Ranunculus auricomus L. Stoke Rivers.

Fumaria capreolata L., var. *Babingtonii* Pugsl. Morte-hoe.
Ilfracombe. Lynton.

F. capreolata L., var. *devoniensis* Pugsl. Morte-hoe.

F. purpurea Pugsl. Morte-hoe. Ilfracombe. Ashford.

- F. muralis* Sond., subsp. *F. Boræi* Jord. Morte-hoe. Ilfracombe. Lynton.
- F. muralis* Sond., subsp. *F. Boræi* Jord., var. *ambigua* Pugsl. Morte-hoe. Ilfracombe.
- F. muralis* Sond., subsp. *F. Boræi* Jord., var. *britannica* Pugsl. Ilfracombe.
- F. Bastardi* Boreau. Morte-hoe. Ilfracombe. Northam.
- Erysimum perfoliatum* Crantz. Barnstaple and Fremington (F. A. Brokenshire).
- Vogelia paniculata* Hornem. Fremington (casual, F. A. Brokenshire).
- Silene gallica-rosea* and var. *quinquevulnera*. Bishop's Tawton (Frank Halls).
- Trigonella ornithopodioides* DC. Northam.
- Rubus pulcherrimus* Neum. Landkey (perhaps this species).
- R. pyramidalis* Kalt. High Bray.
- R. apiculatus* Weihe & Nees, var. *setulosus* (*R. anglosaxonicus* Gelert, subsp. *setulosus* Rogers). High Bray (the first Devon specimen seen by Mr. Rogers).
- R. Marshalli* Rogers. Lynton (a variety or form of this species).
- R. hirtus* Waldst. & Kit., var. *rotundifolius* Bab. High Bray. Landkey.
- R. corylifolius* Sm. Swimbridge (apparently this species).
- Plantago Coronopus* L., var. *ceratophyllum* Rapin. Lynton (Mr. A. Sharland).
- Orchis Morio* L. Branton.
- Ophrys apifera* Huds. Tawstock (Mr. T. Wainwright).
- Juncus compressus* Jacq. Monkleigh.
- Schistostega osmundacea* Mohr. Arlington.
- Chroolepus aureum* Kütz. Abbotsham. Arlington. Bideford. Bratton Fleming. East Down. Heanton Punchardon. Ilfracombe. Loxhore. Lynton. Stoke Rivers. Swimbridge.
- Fucus ceranoides* L. Combe Martin, December, 1908 (Miss C. E. Larter).
- Gelidium pulchellum* Kütz. Combe Martin, November, 1907 (Miss C. E. Larter).
- Neottiella polytrichi* Massee. Combe Martin, about 1902 (Miss C. E. Larter).

2. TORRINGTON BOTANICAL DISTRICT.

- Stellaria graminea* L. Clawton. The Rev. H. H. Harvey has collected a form of this common species with very small petals and quite short styles ; in some flowers the anthers were affected with smut (*Ustilago antherarum* Fr.).
- Rubus uncinatus* P. J. Müll., var. *Griffithianus* Focke. Wear Gifford.
- R. hirtus* Waldst. & Kit., var. *rotundifolius* Bab. Wear Gifford.

Phuopsis stylosa B. D. Jacks. Northlew. The Rev. H. H. Harvey has found this "crosswort" near an old garden. It is native in N.W. Persia.

Euphrasia foulaensis Towns. Belstone (Miss Peck).

Veronica scutellata L. Abbotsbickington (Rev. H. H. Harvey).

Mentha alopecuroides Hull. Wear Gifford.

Pinguicula lusitanica L. Abbotsbickington (Rev. H. H. Harvey).

Equisetum maximum Lam. High Bickington.

Ceterach officinarum DC. Little Torrington.

Chroolepus aureum Kütz. Little Torrington.

Spærospora trechispora Sacc. (*Peziza trechispora* Berk. & Br.). Belstone, in the black mud of Taw Marsh, 3 July, 1912 (Miss C. E. Larter).

3. SOUTH MOLTON BOTANICAL DISTRICT.

Clematis Vitalba L. Burrington.

Barbarea intermedia Boreau. Chawleigh.

Sisymbrium thalianum Gay. Crediton town.

Geranium pusillum L. South Molton (Miss H. Saunders).

Rubus fruticosus L., var. *hemistemon* (Müll.). Lapford (perhaps this variety).

R. holerythros Focke. Chawleigh (perhaps a shade form of this species).

R. argenteus Weihe & Nees. Chawleigh (a form with whitish petals).

R. pubescens Weihe, var. *subinermis* Rogers. Chawleigh (a new record for Devon).

R. leucostachys Schleich. or *R. pyramidalis* Kalt. hybrid? South Molton.

R. ægocladus Müll. & Lef. Newton St. Cyres.

R. scaber Weihe & Nees. Newton St. Cyres.

R. Borreri Bell Salt., var. *dentatifolius* Briggs. Newton St. Cyres.

R. apiculatus Weihe & Nees, var. *curvidens* (A. Ley). Chulmleigh (perhaps this variety).

R. apiculatus Weihe & Nees, var. *horridicaulis* Focke. Chulmleigh.

R. hirtus Waldst. & Kit., var. *rotundifolius* Bab. Newton St. Cyres.

Filago minima Fr. Newton St. Cyres.

Gnaphalium sylvaticum L. Newton St. Cyres.

Orchis Morio L. Chittlehamholt.

Gymnadenia conopsea R. Br. South Molton. Bishop's Nympton.

Carex diandra Schrank. North Molton (Mr. J. Hicking).

C. pallescens L. Chittlehamholt.

C. inflata Huds. Twitchen (Miss H. Saunders).

- Polypodium Phegopteris* L. North Molton.
Asplenium Ruta-muraria L., var. *elatum* T. Moore. George Nympton (about 25 cm. long; Miss H. Saunders).
Phyllitis Scolopendrium Newm., var. *bifida*. South Molton (Miss H. Saunders).
Ophioglossum vulgatum L. Molland.
Schistostega osmundacea Mohr. Filleigh. North Molton.
Chroolepus aureum Kütz. South Molton. Chittlehampton. Chittlehamholt. Burrington. Down St. Mary. Woolfardisworthy, East.
Psalliota campestris Quél. South Molton (head 112 mm. in diameter; Miss H. Saunders).
Coprinus comatus Pers. South Molton (Mr. Biffin).
Ascomyces alnitorquus Massee. Ashreigney.

4. EXETER BOTANICAL DISTRICT.

- Thlaspi arvense* L. Cadbury.
Scleranthus annuus L. Cadbury.
Rubus leucostachys Schleich. Alphington. Ashton.
R. lasiocladus Focke. Silvertown. It is generally fairly easy to know even without careful examination; Mr. G. B. Savery).
R. lasiocladus, var. *longus* Rogers & Ley. Silvertown (Mr. G. B. Savery).
R. insericatus P. J. Müll. Whitestone.
R. ægocladus Müll. & Lef. Whitestone.
R. nemorosus Hayne. Whitestone (doubtful).
Ceratophyllum demersum L. River Exe, below Exeter, November, 1849; Herb. Parfitt (Miss C. E. Larter).

The remaining species from the list of Devonshire fungi in Ed. Parfitt's Illustrated MSS., identified by him and Dr. M. C. Cooke and not included in the Devonshire Association Transactions, are for this district given by Dr. H. G. Peacock, as follows:—

- Tricholoma personatum* Quél. Exeter, 1888.
Clitocybe cerussata Quél. Exwick, 1888.
Mycena mirabilis Quél. Sandy Gate, near Clyst St. Mary, 1887.
M. lactea Quél. Exeter, 1888.
M. stannea Quél. Exeter, 1888.
Omphalia muralis Quél. Topsham Road, Exeter, 1888.
Flammula astragalina Quél. Sandy Gate, near Clyst St. Mary, 1887.
F. inopus Karst. Sandy Gate, near Clyst St. Mary, 1887.
Naucoria abstrusa Sacc. Exeter, 1888.
Galera lateritia Quél. Exwick, 1881.

- Tubaria inquilina* Gill. Exwick, 1888.
Psalliota cretacea Quél. Heavitree, 1890.
Stropharia coronilla Quél. Exwick, 1888.
S. spintrigera Sacc. Exeter, 1888.
Psilocybe subericæa Sacc. Tiverton, 1888.
P. cernua Quél. Exwick, 1888.
Coprinus aratus B. & Br. Exeter, 1888.
Cortinarius (Phlegmacium) *balteatus* Fr. Exeter, 1890.
C. (Hydrocybe) *illuminus* Fr. Exwick, 1888.
Hygrophorus (Camarophyllus) *irrigatus* Fr. Exeter, 1889.
H. (Hygrocybe) *obrusseus* Fr. Exeter, 1889.
Russula rosacea Fr. Exeter, 1890.
R. consobrina Fr. Exwick, 1888.
Auricularia lobata Sommerf. Basin Yard, Exeter, 1888.

5. HONITON BOTANICAL DISTRICT.

- Ranunculus floribundus* Bab. Combe Raleigh.
Fumaria muralis Sond., subsp. *F. Boræi* Jord. Budleigh Salterton. Seaton.
Armoracia rusticana G. M. & S. Lympstone (a form bearing dissected leaves and growing in 1911 close to the edge of a gravel walk in somewhat impoverished ground and exposed to the sun nearly all day; J. R. Jackson). For a note on this phenomenon, see *Journal of Botany*, 1912, pp. 95, 96. A somewhat similar form occurred during the same summer in Stokenham (in No. 7 Plymouth botanical district).
Scleranthus annuus L. Budleigh Salterton (Miss Peck).
Geranium pyrenaicum Burm. f. Dunkeswell (confirmation of an old record).
Genista tinctoria L. Axminster (Mr. A. Sharland).
Lotus tenuis W. & K. Littleham and Exmouth.
Pimpinella Saxifraga L., var. *nigra* Mill. Axminster (Mr. A. Sharland).
Aster Novi-Belgii L. Axminster (alien; Mr. A. Sharland).
Hyoscyamus niger L. Combe Raleigh (Miss Fursdon).
Salicornia lignosa Woods. Mouth of the Axe (*Journ. Bot.*, 1911, p. 366).
Ophrys apifera Huds. Combe Raleigh (Miss Fursdon).
Carex muricata L., var. *pseudo-divulsa* Hook. Axminster (Mr. A. Sharland).
Schistostega osmundacea Mohr. Branscombe to Otterton: see *Memorials, Journal, and Botanical Correspondence of Charles Cardale Babington* (1897), pp. 83, 281; "in every hole in the hedge-banks."

The remaining species from Ed. Parfitt's fungi, not

previously recorded for this district, are given by Dr. H. G. Peacock, as follows :—

- Stropharia stercoraria* Quél. Sidmouth, 1889.
Panæolus retirugis Gill. Woodbury Common, 1888.
Cortinarius (Dermocybe) *cinnabarinus* Fr. Harpford Wood, 1888.
Cortinarius (Dermocybe) *infucatus* Fr. Harpford Wood, 1888.
C. (Hydrocybe) *acutus* Fr. Harpford Wood, 1888.
Polyporus perennis Fr. Harpford Wood, 1888.
Xylaria digitata Grev. Harpford Wood, 1888.

6. TORQUAY BOTANICAL DISTRICT.

- Helleborus viridis* L. Stokeinteignhead (Miss Peck).
Aconitum Napellus L. Stokeinteignhead (Miss Peck). Staverton.
Nymphaea lutea L. Staverton.
Fumaria capreolata L., var. *Babingtonii* Pugsl. Paignton.
F. purpurea Pugsl. Torquay.
F. muralis Sond., var. *F. Boræi* Jord. Torquay.
 " " forma *rubens* Pugsl. Dawlish.
Diplotaxis muralis DC., form 1, Bab. Man. Torquay, in waste ground, 16 October, 1911 (Miss C. E. Larter).
Lepidium Draba L. Stokeinteignhead or Haccombe with Coombe (Miss Peck).
Dianthus Armeria L. Between Bishopsteignton and Kingsteignton (Dr. H. G. Peacock).
Alsine rubra Cr. Widecombe-in-the-Moor.
Tilia cordata Mill. Staverton.
Impatiens glandulifera Royle. Kingsteignton, 24 August, 1911 (Miss C. E. Larter).
Lathyrus Nissolia L. Kingsteignton.
Rubus fissus Lindl. Widecombe-in-the-Moor.
R. imbricatus Hort. Staverton. Holne.
R. rhamnifolius Weihe & Nees. Widecombe-in-the-Moor.
R. pulcherrimus Neum. Widecombe-in-the-Moor. Buckland-in-the-Moor.
R. argenteus Weihe & Nees. Widecombe-in-the-Moor. Ashburton. Staverton.
R. vulgaris Weihe & Nees, var. *Lindleyanus* Focke. Staverton. Widecombe-in-the-Moor.
R. Selmeri Lindeb. Widecombe-in-the-Moor.
R. ulmifolius Schott. f. $\times$ *sublustris*? Staverton.
R. macrostemon Focke, forma *dynatos* Focke. Staverton.
R. Godroni Lec. & Lamotte. Ashburton?
R. macrophyllus Weihe & Nees. Staverton.
R. Schlechtendalii Weihe. Widecombe-in-the-Moor.
R. macrophylloides Genev., forma *umbrosa*. Widecombe-in-the-Moor.

132 FOURTH REPORT OF THE BOTANY COMMITTEE.

- R. silvaticus* Weihe & Nees. Staverton. Widecombe-in-the-Moor.
R. hypoleucus Lef. & Müll. Ashburton. Staverton. Widecombe-in-the-Moor.
R. hypoleucus Lef. & Müll. × *ulmifolius*. Holne (probably).
R. leucostachys Schleich. Ashburton. Staverton.
R. leucostachys Schleich. × *ulmifolius* Schott f. Holne. Ashburton. Staverton.
R. pyramidalis Kalt. Widecombe-in-the-Moor.
R. longithyriger E. Lees. Ashburton. Staverton. Widecombe-in-the-Moor.
R. Borreri Bell Salt. Widecombe-in-the-Moor.
R. hirtus Waldst. & Kit. Dunsford.
R. cæsius L. Ashburton. Staverton.
R. cæsius L. × *ulmifolius* Schott f. Ashburton. Staverton.
R. ferox Weihe. Dunsford.
R. nemorosus Hayne. Staverton. Ashburton.
R. corylifolius Sm., var. *sublustris* Leight. Ashburton. Staverton. Buckland-in-the-Moor.
Sedum Telephium L. Staverton.
Pimpinella Saxifraga L., var. *nigra* Mill. Holne.
Viburnum Lantana L. Staverton.
Scabiosa columbaria L. Staverton.
Arctium minus Bernh. Ashburton. Staverton.
Taraxacum erythrospermum DC. St. Mary Church (Miss C. E. Larter).
Erica ciliaris L. Manaton.
Cuscuta suaveolens Ser. Stokeinteignhead (Mrs. Warry).
Primula vulgaris L., β. *variabilis*. Stokeinteignhead.
Mentha rotundifolia Huds. Ashburton. Staverton.
M. gentilis L., var. *Pauliana* (F. Schultz). Widecombe-in-the-Moor.
M. Pulegium L. Widecombe-in-the-Moor.
Plantago major L., var. *intermedia* (Gilib.). Widecombe-in-the-Moor. Staverton.
Rumex Hydrolapathum Huds. Staverton.
Juncus tenuis Willd. Bovey Tracey (Miss J. Down).
Potamogeton densus L. Dartmouth.
Carex disticha Huds. Widecombe-in-the-Moor.
C. pendula Huds. Ashburton. Staverton.
C. hirta L. Wolborough.
Setaria viridis Beauv. Widecombe-in-the-Moor.
Poa compressa L. Ashburton.
Glyceria plicata Fr. Staverton.
Ceterach officinarum DC. Ashburton. Staverton.
Ophioglossum vulgatum L. Kingsteignton.
Chroolepus aureum Kütz. Dartmouth. Drewsteignton. North Bovey. Widecombe-in-the-Moor.

Miss C. E. Larter contributes the following notes :—

The spring of 1912 was notable for the abundance of blossom in this district on all the flowering trees and shrubs, both native and foreign. The elms in February were so full of bloom that, where they grew in multitude, they formed masses of a distinct brown-purple in the landscape. The sycamores, maples, chestnuts, oaks, and hawthorns have all followed suit in the remarkable luxuriance of their flowers. On 2 May, at Shiphay Collaton, near Torquay, a large elm was seen with all the fruit quite ripe and falling, but the tree was still bare of leaves. So thick was the fruit that the tree looked as if hung with full green tassels. *Crepis taraxacifolia* Thuill. is abundant about Torquay; it edges in scattered masses the limestone quarries, apparently finding in the grass on downs above them most congenial habitation. On 15 May on the plateau of one jutting-out and turf-covered crag no less than fifty-six spikes of its bloom, clustered together, were counted.

As to the phenological facts of the district this spring, it may be noted that on one and the same day, 15 April, the two gromwells, *Lithospermum purpuroceruleum* L. and *L. officinale* L., were in flower. On 16 April, in the parish of Marldon, a well was so thickly crested with *Saxifraga tridactylites* L., that in the sunset light the yards of crimson stalks glomed like miniature pine-trunks, making a ridge of conspicuous colour. By that day all the blossom on trees of *Prunus avium* L. in the same parish was completely withered. On 18 April *Hippocrepis comosa* L., a frequent growth in the district, was freely flowering on a ridge where a sandstone formation meets one of limestone. It is at such junctures that the plant is said most frequently to flourish. By 27 April all the seeds of *Erodium cicutarium* L'Herit. were shed, and the five twisted styles stood out like sets of bare projecting spears in the great patches of the plant filling hollows and nooks below the rocks of a limestone hill.

Miss C. E. Larter also contributes the following list of MUSCI, HEPATICA, LICHEN, and FUNGI :—

Sphagnum subsecundum Nees (*sensu restricto*). Bovey Tracey, 26 August, 1911 (new to South Devon).

Sphagnum subsecundum Nees, var. *viride* Boul. (*S. inundatum* Warnst.). Manaton, Hound Tor Bog, September, 1910 (Mrs. H. Bell-Irving).

134 FOURTH REPORT OF THE BOTANY COMMITTEE.

- Schistostega osmundacea* Mohr. Ilington, Rippon Tor, August, 1911 (Mrs. J. C. Drake).
Aneura sinuata Limpr. St. Mary Church, in the spray of a very small spring near the sea, 20 October, 1911.
Urceolaria gypsacea Ach. St. Mary Church, Anstey's Cove, September, 1911. New record for Devon (E. M. Holmes).
Lepiota procera Quél. Manaton, 3 October, 1911.
L. cristata Quél. St. Mary Church, 27 November, 1911.
Coprinus congregatus Fr. Torquay, on wood, 25 November, 1911.
Hygrophorus psittacinus Fr. St. Mary Church, in grass on seaward cliffs, 27 November, 1911.
Fomes applanatus Karst. St. Mary Church, on the bark of a tree, December, 1911.
Tremella mesenterica Retz. St. Mary Church.
Neottiella polytrichi Mass. St. Mary Church, March, 1912.
Peziza vesiculosa Bull. St. Mary Church.

The following is a list of fungi, found by Dr. H. G. Peacock in this district since May, 1911 :—

- Tricholoma personatum* Quél. Bishopsteignton.
Clitocybe nebularis Quél. Bishopsteignton.
C. flaccida Quél. Bishopsteignton.
Collybia dryophila Quél. Milber Down.
Flammula sapinea Quél. Bishopsteignton.
Hypholoma lacrymabundum Quél. Bishopsteignton.
Coprinus comatus Pers. Bishopsteignton.
Gomphidius viscidus Fr. Milber Down.
Hygrophorus (*Hygrocybe*) *psittacinus* Fr. Bishopsteignton.

7. PLYMOUTH BOTANICAL DISTRICT.

- Fumaria muralis* Sond., subsp. *F. Borœi* Jord. Plymouth.
F. Bastardi Boreau. Plymouth.
Armoracia rusticana G. M. & S., form with dissected leaves. Stokenham (see note under No. 5 Honiton botanical district).
Arenaria serpyllifolia L., var. *viscidula* Roth. Buckfastleigh, east.
Hypericum montanum L. Buckfastleigh, east.
Impatiens glandulifera Royle. Totnes (F. H. Davey).
Rubus imbricatus Hort. Buckfastleigh, east.
R. rhamnifolius Weihe & Nees. Buckfastleigh, east.
R. argenteus Weihe & Nees. Buckfastleigh, east.
R. vulgaris Weihe & Nees, var. *Lindleyanus* Focke. Buckfastleigh, east.
R. macrostemon Focke, forma *dynatos* Focke. Buckfastleigh, east.
R. Godroni Lec. & Lamotte. Buckfastleigh, east.
R. Schlechtendalii Weihe. Buckfastleigh, east.

- R. silvaticus* Weihe & Nees. Buckfastleigh, east.
R. hypoleucus Lef. & Müll. Buckfastleigh, east.
R. leucostachys Schleich. Buckfastleigh, west.
R. leucostachys Schleich. $\times$ *ulmifolius* Schott f. Buckfastleigh, west.
R. lasiocladus Focke. Buckfastleigh, west.
R. lasiocladus Focke, var. *angustifolius* Rogers. Buckfastleigh, west.
R. pyramidalis Kalt. Rattery.
R. Borreri Bell Salt. Buckfastleigh, east.
R. apiculatus Weihe & Nees. Buckfastleigh, east.
R. cæsius L. Buckfastleigh, east.
R. cæsius L. $\times$ *ulmifolius* Schott f. Buckfastleigh, east.
R. ferox Weihe. Buckfastleigh, east.
R. ferox Weihe, var. *diversifolius*. Buckfastleigh, east.
R. nemorosus Hayne. Buckfastleigh, east.
Pyrus Malus L. Buckfastleigh, east.
Epilobium lanceolatum S. & M. Rattery. Dartington. Buckfastleigh, east.
Sedum reflexum L., var. *S. albescens* Haw. Buckfastleigh, east.
Matricaria suaveolens Buchen. Stokenham.
Carduus crispus L. Buckfastleigh, east.
Picris hieracioides L. Buckfastleigh, east.
Myosotis scorpioides L. Buckfastleigh, east.
Mimulus Langsdorffii Donn. Buckfastleigh, east.
Mentha gentilis L., var. *Pauliana* (F. Schultz). Dartington.
M. Pulegium L. Stokenham (Miss H. Saunders).
Typha angustifolia L. Stokenham.
Asplenium Ruta-muraria L., var. *elatum* T. Moore. Buckfastleigh, east.
Ceterach officinarum DC. Dartington.
Lejeunea cavifolia Lindb. Berry Pomeroy (Miss C. E. Larter).

8. TAVISTOCK BOTANICAL DISTRICT.

- Alsine rubra* Crantz. Lydford.
Rubus Schlechtendalii Weihe, var. *amplificatus*. Lydford.
R. Borœanus Genev. Lydford.
R. ægocladus Müll. & Lef. Lydford.
Cotoneaster integerrimus Medic. Mary Tavy (well established ; F. H. Davey).
Anthemis nobilis L. Lydford.
Mimulus moschatus Dougl. Whitchurch.
Populus tremula L. Lydford.
Avena fatua L. Lydford.
Chroolepus aureum Kütz. Lydford.
Leptonia placida Karst. Lydford (E. Parfitt, 1888 ; from Dr. H. G. Peacock's list).

THIRTIETH REPORT (THIRD SERIES) OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE CLIMATE OF DEVON.

THIRTIETH REPORT of the Committee—*Mr. J. S. Amery, Sir Alfred W. Croft, Mr. Thomas Wainwright, and Mr. R. Hansford Worth (Secretary)—appointed to collect and tabulate trustworthy and comparable Observations on the Climate of Devon.*

Edited by R. HANSFORD WORTH, Secretary of the Committee.

(Read at Exeter, 24th July, 1912.)

THE Committee is glad to have been able, by the kind assistance of Mr. W. J. Monk, to replace the lost station at Tavistock, Whitchurch, by a new station at Tavistock, London and South-Western Railway Station. The instruments are those which were formerly used by Mr. Glyde.

For some time at least the records from Castle Hill School, Southmolton, will not be available, Mr. W. H. Reeve having been obliged by pressure of other work to abandon his observations. We lose with regret this interesting station.

In order, however, that North Devon shall be represented, the Committee has, through the intermediary of its member Mr. Wainwright, been able to secure the assistance of Mr. J. H. Mead-Briggs, of Lynmouth, and the Rev. H. F. Ramsay, of Simonsbath. If it be objected that Simonsbath is not within the political county of Devon, it must be answered that physically it should be regarded as a Devonshire station.

The rainfall of the year 1911 was very irregularly distributed over the months; taken as a whole it was practically an average fall. Thus, at Druid, Ashburton, 51.56 inches of rain fell, as compared with a forty-seven years' average of 51.47. But from January to October, inclusive, only a month wet above the average, the comparison for this station :—

	1911			Average of 46 years.
January	.. 1·90	..	..	5·57
February	.. 2·94	..	..	4·60
March	.. 3·93	..	..	3·95
April	.. 2·20	..	..	3·22
May	.. 1·75	..	..	2·71
June	.. 2·98	..	..	2·64
July	.. 1·13	..	..	3·00
August	.. 1·97	..	..	3·64
September	.. 2·72	..	..	3·84
October	.. 5·98	..	..	6·00
November	.. 7·27	..	..	5·51
December	.. 16·78	..	..	6·79

The abnormal rainfall in December should be noted. Anticipating somewhat the next report, it may be added that at many stations an amount of rain equal to the full annual average fell in the months October, November, December, 1911, and January, February, March, 1912.

At Oaklands, Okehampton, it will be noted that more than half the total rain of 1911 fell in the last three months of the year, and this same remark is true of nearly every station on our list. Holne accomplished a record of 19·55 ins. in December, Princetown reached 23·94 ins. in the same month, and Post Bridge 20·04 ins.

Miss C. M. Radford has favoured us with a record of the droughts which occurred at Sidmouth in 1911. These were :—

Absolute droughts, January 24 to February 9, inclusive (only 0·26 ins. fell in small quantities from January 12 to February 13), May 12 to May 26, May 30 to June 14, July 1 to July 28.

Partial droughts, April 3 to April 17, only ·01 and ·02 ins. fell ; May 4 to June 15, only five days on which rain fell, total amount, 0·36 ins. ; August 6 to September 12, greatest fall in this time was 0·08, total 0·33 ins. ; October 1 to October 17, 0·34 ins. on five days.

Mr. Charles Barran continues his day and night observations at Berry Pomeroy, and from 1906 to 1911 inclusive the night fall has exceeded the day fall by practically 10 per cent.

Mr. Barran writes : “ The winter rains after summer’s drought just balanced my average for 1911, and we had, from October 1, 1911, to March 31, 1912, 40·17 inches of

rain, practically a year's rainfall in six months, my average being 40·90 for the past eighteen years."

An exceptional fall of rain occurred on 27 May at Bere Alston. Two and a half inches of rain fell between 2.30 p.m. and 4 p.m., when the receiver was found full and overflowing. At Mount Tamar, 666 yards to the S.E., where the conditions were much the same and the receiver was larger, 3 inches were measured in the same time. This gives a fall at the rate of one inch per half-hour, maintained for three successive half-hours.

The sunshine record for the year is excellent, Torquay making the best return with 2111·9 hours. But Brandis Corner, although the total was somewhat less, being 1985·5 hours of sun, creates a record of a different character. For five successive months, May to September inclusive, there was not a day on which the sun did not shine, and in six successive months, May to October inclusive, there was but one sunless day. If the period is extended to seven months by the inclusion of April, then there were only three sunless days.

PAIGNTON WATERWORKS, VENFORD CATCHMENT.

Your Committee again applied for information as to the rainfall on the Venford Catchment area, and permission to publish the same. In the interest of Devon meteorology this would appear to be of the greatest interest, but the Water Committee of the Paignton Urban District Council has replied that the Council does not publish its records. It appeared also, when the recent Paignton Water Act was before Parliament, that the records on which the average of 80 inches of rain per annum was ascertained (as referred to in a previous report of this Committee) were either lost or were no longer available. Later in the proceedings, however, Mr. Baldwin Latham produced the record for one gauge for the year 1901. Independently, the complete records of two gauges for the year 1910 were also produced, with an eleven-month record of one other gauge, and a nine-month record of yet a fourth gauge for the same year.

The four gauges in question are—

(a) "Ringleshutes," situate near the southern margin of the catchment.

(b) "Combestone" ("Cumsdon"), situate near the northern margin of the catchment.

(a) and (b) are the gauges on which the 80-inch average was founded.¹

(c) "Reservoir," situate near the reservoir and approximately centrally to the catchment.

(d) "Home," situate near the eastern margin of the catchment.

Gauge (d) is an interesting example of the sudden variations in fall which occur within comparatively small distances on hilly country; it in no way represents the conditions which really obtain on this watershed. The other three gauges are placed with excellent judgment; the location of the first two above named was selected by Mr. Latham.

The following table gives the details as put forward in evidence :—

	Ringlesthutes.		Combestone.		Reservoir.		Home.	
	1901. Ins. fall.	1910. Ins. fall.	1910. Ins. fall.	1910. Ins. fall.	1910. Ins. fall.	1910. Ins. fall.	1910. Ins. fall.	1910. Ins. fall.
Jan. ..	8·61	10·12	10·29	—	—	—	—	—
Feb. ..	3·39	12·00	11·43	12·40	—	—	—	—
Mar. ..	8·55	2·08	2·10	2·34	—	—	—	—
April ..	8·96	5·10	4·90	5·49	—	—	—	—
May ..	3·18	4·13	4·29	4·55	—	—	—	—
June ..	2·81	2·78	2·82	2·98	—	—	—	—
July ..	1·78	4·92	5·04	5·52	—	—	—	—
Aug. ..	4·88	8·86	9·10	9·32	—	—	—	—
Sept. ..	6·56	0·61	0·62	0·65	—	—	—	—
Oct. ..	4·38	11·25	11·26	11·63	—	—	—	—
Nov. ..	2·49	9·17	9·05	10·19	—	—	—	—
Dec. ..	15·56	16·79	17·31	18·06	—	—	—	—
	71·15	87·81	88·21	83·13 ²	—	—	—	—

STATION.	ELEVATION (feet).	OBSERVER OR AUTHORITY.
Abbotskerswell (Court Grange)	150	Mrs. Marcus Hare.
Ashburton (Druid)	584	J. S. Amery.
Barnstaple	25	Thomas Wainwright.
Bere Alston (Rumleigh).	124	Sir Alfred W. Croft, M.A., K.C.I.E.
Brandis Corner	400	G. V. Corbet.
Cullompton	202	Murray T. Foster, F.R.MET.SOC.

¹ Ringlesthutes and Combestone gauges are both at an approximate level of 1136 O.D., and Reservoir and Home gauges both at 940 O.D.

² Eleven months only, 12 months estimated 94·42.

³ Nine months only, 12 months estimated 74·83.

140 THIRTIETH REPORT (THIRD SERIES) OF THE

STATION.	ELEVATION (feet).	OBSERVER OR AUTHORITY.
Devonport Watershed :—		
Cowsic Valley (weekly)	1352	} F. W. Lillicrap.
Devil's Tor (near Bear-down Man) (monthly)	1785	
Exeter (Devon and Exeter Institution)		
	155	John E. Coombes, Librarian.
Holne (Vicarage)	650	The Rev. John Gill, M.A.
Huccaby	900	R. Burnard, F.S.A.
Ilfracombe	20	M. W. Tattam.
Kingsbridge (Westcombe)	100	T. W. Latham.
Lynmouth (Rock House)	22	T. H. Mead-Briggs.
Newton Abbot (The Chest-nuts)	100	E. D. Wylie.
Okehampton (Oaklands)	505	Maj.-Gen. E. H. Holley, R.A., J.P.
Plymouth Observatory	116	H. Victor Prigg, A.M.I.C.E., F.R.Met.Soc.
Plymouth Watershed :—		
Head Weir (Plymouth Reservoir)	720	} Frank Howarth, M.I.C.E.
Siward's Cross (monthly)	1200	
Postbridge (Archerton)	1200	E. A. Bennett.
Princetown (H.M. Prison)	1359	W. Marriott, F.R.Met.Soc. (Asst. Sec. Roy. Met.Soc.).
Roborough Reservoir	548	Frank Howarth, M.I.C.E.
Rousdon (The Observatory)	516	Lady Peek.
Sidmouth (Sidmount)	186	Miss Constance M. Radford.
Simonsbath	1080	Rev. H. F. Ramsay.
South Brent (Great Aish)	500	Miss C. M. Kingwell.
Castle Hill School (South-molton)	363	W. H. Reeve.
*Tavistock (L. and S.W. Rly. Station)	375	W. J. Monk.
Teignmouth Observatory	20	G. Rossiter.
Teignmouth (Benton)	320	W. C. Lake, M.D.
Torquay Observatory	12	Frederick March, F.R.Met.Soc.
Torquay Watershed :—		
Kennick	842	} S. C. Chapman, M.I.C.E.
Laployd	1030	
Mardon	836	
Torrington, Great (Enfield)	336	George M. Doe.
Totnes (Berry Pomeroy)	185	Charles Barran, J.P.
Totnes (Northgate)		H. Lovejoy.
Woolacombe (N. Devon)	60	R. N. Kivell, for Miss Chichester.

* Records starred in the margin are supplied in whole or in part from an adjacent station in Tavistock. The new station commences with July 1st.

JANUARY, 1911.

STATIONS.	RAINFALL.				TEMPERATURE IN SCREEN.						Humidity, 9 a.m.	Cloud, 9 a.m. (0-10).	Sunshine.	Sunless Days.
	Total Depth.	GREATEST FALL IN 24 HOURS.	Wet Days.	MEANS.				EXTREMES.						
		Depth.		Date.	Temperat. 9 a.m.	Minima.	Maxima.	Mean.	Minimum.	Maximum.				
	ins.	ins.			deg.	deg.	deg.	deg.	deg.	deg.	%	0-10	hours.	
Abbotskerswell .	1.28	.41	11	9	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Ashburton .	1.90	.58	6	11	39.3	36.1	44.0	40.0	29.8	52.6	89	6.1	...	...
Barnstaple .	1.51	.33	11	14	39.6	35.6	46.1	40.8	25.0	52.2	87	7.6	...	...
Bere Alston .	1.28	.40	4	11	39.2	35.1	44.2	39.6	24.0	51.0	...	...	...	...
Brandis Corner .	2.09	.44	12	13	...	33.0	41.0	37.0	17.0	46.0	...	...	80.3	12
Cowsie Valley .	4.05	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Cullompton .	1.23	.41	11	15	38.1	34.0	44.4	39.2	22.2	52.9	88	8.1	65.6	12
Devil's Tor .	2.60	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Exeter .	0.74	.20	6	11	40.0	35.6	43.8	39.7	26.0	53.0	...	...	...	...
Holne .	2.39	.78	6	16	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Huccaby .	1.88	.55	6	15	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Ilfracombe .	1.77	.71	5	14	43.8	39.5	46.4	42.9	30.0	52.0	77	7.4	...	...
Kingsbridge .	1.89	.42	5	13	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Lynmouth .	2.04	.65	5	14	...	32.5	44.3	38.4	24.0	50.0	...	...	...	...
Newton Abbot .	1.01	.31	11	7	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Okehampton .	2.05	.34	5	12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Plymouth Obs. .	1.34	.50	5	10	41.3	37.0	45.9	41.5	28.0	51.0	92	8.8	60.0	12
Plymouth Wtshd. .														
Head Weir .	2.32	.66	11	16	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Siward's Cross .	2.75	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Postbridge .	3.08	.74	11	13	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Princetown .	4.07	1.02	11	14	35.9	32.7	40.7	36.7	27.0	46.1	95	7.7	...	...
Roborough .														
(S. Devon)	2.07	.48	5	16	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Rousdon .	0.98	.21	6	11	38.6	34.7	43.2	39.0	28.2	48.7	88	6.8	85.3	11
Sidmouth .	0.92	.36	6	11	39.3	35.3	44.9	40.1	27.5	53.0	90	7.5	69.8	8
Simonsbath .	3.88	.88	11	17	...	...	...	...	22.0	47.0	...	...	...	...
South Brent .	2.84	.70	11	15	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Castle Hill School .														
(Southmolton)	1.93	.32	11	17	37.5	33.8	44.4	39.1	22.0	51.0	89	8.0	...	...
*Tavistock .	1.73	.60	6	14	35.0	33.8	44.2	39.0	22.0	50.5	...	...	...	...
Teignmouth Obs. .	0.82	.17	11	7	40.4	37.4	46.2	41.8	28.0	54.5	86	6.9	70.6	7
Teignmouth .														
(Benton)	0.87	.29	22	8	39.9	35.5	45.1	40.3	27.1	53.9	86	7.3	...	...
Torquay Obs. .	0.78	.21	6	11	40.9	36.7	46.3	41.5	28.8	52.0	87	7.0	74.7	9
Torquay Wtrshd. .														
Kennick .	1.09	.24	6	13	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Laployd .	1.15	.34	6	14	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Mardon .	1.17	.33	5	13	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Torrington .	1.63	.45	5	16	...	...	...	...	19.0	46.0	...	...	...	...
Totnes .														
(Berry Pomeroy)	1.28	.62	6	8	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Totnes .	1.62	.50	6	11	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Woolacombe .	1.30	.36	5	14	42.6	38.8	45.9	42.4	30.0	50.8	83	7.2	64.8	14

FEBRUARY, 1911.

STATIONS.	RAINFALL.				TEMPERATURE IN SCREEN.						Humidity, 9 a.m.	Cloud, 9 a.m. (0-10).	Sunshine.	Sunless Days.
	Total Depth.	GREATEST FALL IN 24 HOURS.		Wet Days.	Temperat. 9 a.m.	MEANS.			EXTREMES.					
		Depth.	Date.			Minima.	Maxima.	Mean.	Minimum.	Maximum.				
	ins.	ins.			deg.	deg.	deg.	deg.	deg.	deg.	%	0-10	hours.	
Abbotskerswell .	2.64	.75	27	14	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Ashburton .	2.94	.70	27	16	41.5	37.4	46.5	41.8	27.0	58.5	84	6.6	...	...
Barnstaple .	1.96	.42	27	16	40.2	36.1	47.3	41.7	20.0	53.4	84	7.4	...	...
Bere Alston .	2.13	.50	27	15	41.4	37.3	46.9	42.1	21.0	55.0	...	...	...	...
Brandis Corner .	3.03	.72	27	16	...	33.0	44.0	38.0	18.0	52.0	...	...	80.3	10
Cowsic Valley .	4.35	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Cullompton .	2.34	.39	27	17	40.3	35.7	47.8	41.8	21.2	56.2	86	7.5	71.0	11
Devil's Tor .	3.95	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Exeter .	0.98	.20	18	15	42.6	39.1	47.7	43.4	27.0	57.0	...	...	...	...
Holne .	4.20	.84	27	16	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Huccaby .	2.88	.84	28	15	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Ilfracombe .	2.43	.48	21	14	44.5	40.1	47.4	43.6	29.6	53.2	82	7.9	...	...
Kingsbridge .	3.24	.60	27	15	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Lynmouth .	3.01	.34	16	16	...	35.3	47.0	41.1	25.0	55.0	...	...	...	...
Newton Abbot .	1.86	.49	27	14	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Okehampton .	3.37	.90	27	14	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Plymouth Obs.	2.82	.76	27	17	43.8	39.0	47.5	43.3	26.0	55.0	84	8.2	68.0	8
Plymouth Wtshd.														
Head Weir .	3.96	1.12	27	17	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Siward's Cross .	5.00	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Postbridge .	6.23	1.64	27	17	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Princetown. .	7.50	1.80	27	17	37.5	34.4	42.4	38.4	25.0	49.0	89	8.2	...	...
Roborough														
(S. Devon)	3.48	.94	27	17	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	11
Rousdon .	1.88	.39	27	14	40.7	36.3	45.8	41.1	24.3	55.1	83	6.9	85.8	10
Sidmouth .	1.65	.32	27	15	41.9	37.5	47.8	42.7	24.1	57.5	85	7.2	77.8	...
Simonsbath .	6.51	1.47	27	18	...	...	...	...	20.0	48.0	...	...	...	...
South Brent .	5.97	1.61	27	16	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Castle Hill School														
(Southmolton)	2.88	.52	27	16	38.0	34.8	46.7	40.7	19.8	53.1	86	7.0	...	...
*Tavistock .	2.59	.55	27	16	42.1	35.0	47.7	41.4	22.0	54.0	...	...	...	...
Teignmouth Obs.	1.13	.23	27	11	42.3	39.6	48.4	44.0	28.3	58.3	82	6.7	70.4	9
Teignmouth														
(Benton)	1.05	.25	27	11	41.9	37.8	47.4	42.6	25.8	58.1	84	7.0	...	...
Torquay Obs. .	1.47	.39	27	14	43.1	38.9	49.3	44.1	28.4	60.4	83	7.5	75.8	11
Torquay Wtshd.														
Kennick .	1.65	.28	18	16	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Laployd .	2.10	.43	23	15	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Mardon .	1.87	.36	18	15	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Torrington .	2.75	.74	27	16	...	...	...	...	17.0	50.0	...	...	...	...
Totnes														
(Berry Pomeroy)	3.15	.66	27	14	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Totnes .	3.72	1.02	27	16	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Woolacombe .	2.07	.57	27	16	43.3	38.9	47.1	43.0	26.0	55.4	83	6.5	70.5	11

MARCH, 1911.

STATIONS.	RAINFALL.			Wet Days.	TEMPERATURE IN SCREEN.								Humidity, 9 a.m.	Cloud, 9 a.m. (0-10).	Sunshine.	Sunless Days.
	Total Depth.	GREATEST FALL IN 24 HOURS.			MEANS.				EXTREMES.							
		Depth.	Date.		Temperat. 9 a.m.	Minima.	Maxima.	Mean.	Minimum.	Maximum.						
	ins.	ins.			deg.	deg.	deg.	deg.	deg.	deg.	%	0-10	hours.			
Abbotskerswell .	4.16	.80	17	18	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Ashburton .	3.93	1.10	17	20	42.2	37.3	47.2	42.2	39.0	56.0	84	6.3	...	...	...	
Barnstaple .	1.90	.59	12	17	42.7	38.0	49.8	43.9	27.0	61.3	78	7.0	...	...	...	
Bere Alston .	3.11	.86	10	17	43.3	37.9	48.1	43.0	27.0	60.0	...	...	...	...	...	
Brandis Corner .	2.54	.58	10	14	...	33.0	47.0	40.0	19.0	58.0	...	...	118.5	5	...	
Cowsic Valley .	6.60	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Cullompton .	2.35	.83	12	20	41.5	36.3	48.6	42.5	24.1	60.8	82	8.1	82.2	10	...	
Devil's Tor .	3.45	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Exeter .	2.05	.55	12	19	43.6	39.9	49.2	44.5	32.0	56.0	...	...	...	...	...	
Holne .	4.23	.94	10	21	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Huccaby .	4.72	1.12	18	20	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Ilfracombe .	2.19	.87	10	15	44.6	40.4	47.6	43.9	34.4	55.4	81	7.2	...	...	...	
Kingsbridge .	4.39	.95	10	21	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Lynmouth .	2.16	.88	10	17	...	43.3	50.3	46.8	32.0	57.0	...	...	...	...	...	
Newton Abbot .	3.57	.73	17	18	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Okehampton .	2.73	.59	17	15	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Plymouth Obs.	3.69	1.03	10	17	44.7	38.6	49.0	43.8	30.0	59.0	85	6.9	126.0	5	...	
Plymouth Wtshd.																
Head Weir .	3.98	1.11	10	22	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Siward's Cross .	4.40	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Postbridge .	4.98	.91	17	25	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Princetown .	6.74	1.15	10	19	37.5	34.0	43.0	38.5	27.6	60.6	91	7.5	...	...	...	
Roborough .																
(S. Devon)	3.97	1.25	10	22	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Rousdon .	2.74	1.04	12	13	41.6	36.2	47.4	41.8	30.3	55.1	83	6.9	109.4	9	...	
Sidmouth .	2.51	.84	12	20	43.0	37.2	48.8	43.0	29.2	57.9	83	7.3	123.7	7	...	
Simonsbath .	4.20	1.24	10	22	...	...	...	...	22.0	55.0	...	...	...	...	...	
South Brent .	5.70	1.30	10	23	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Castle Hill School																
(Southmolton)	1.94	.63	12	17	39.5	35.2	47.5	42.3	23.4	60.3	86	7.0	...	...	...	
Tavistock .	2.98	.64	13	21	45.2	35.8	48.8	42.3	25.0	5.0	...	...	...	...	...	
Teignmouth Obs.	2.49	.50	12	13	42.7	39.5	48.4	44.0	29.6	56.9	84	6.8	97.8	6	...	
Teignmouth .																
(Benton)	2.75	.52	12	17	42.3	37.2	48.0	42.6	31.0	57.8	82	7.9	...	...	...	
Torquay Obs.	2.29	.41	17	21	44.0	39.0	49.3	44.2	30.7	57.7	81	6.5	107.3	7	...	
Torquay Wtshd.																
Kennick .	3.00	.87	17	24	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Laploay .	3.20	.85	17	22	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Mardon .	3.04	.87	17	21	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Torrington .	2.13	.55	12	16	...	...	...	...	22.0	58.0	...	...	...	...	...	
Totnes .																
(Berry Pomeroy)	3.62	.70	10	15	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Totnes .	3.93	.86	10	17	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Woolacombe .	2.27	.76	12	16	44.4	39.8	48.6	44.2	35.0	60.4	82	6.0	137.1	7	...	

APRIL, 1911.

STATIONS.	RAINFALL.				TEMPERATURE IN SCREEN.						Humidity, 9 a.m.	Cloud, 9 a.m. (0-10).	Sunshine.	Sunless Days
	Total Depth.	GREATEST FALL IN 24 HOURS.		Wet Days.	Temperat. 9 a.m.	MEANS.			EXTREMES.					
		Depth.	Date.			Minima.	Maxima.	Mean.	Minimum.	Maximum.				
	ins.	ins.			deg.	deg.	deg.	deg.	deg.	deg.	%	0-10	hours.	
Abbotskerswell .	1.75	.55	28	12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Ashburton .	2.20	.56	28	14	46.6	39.5	55.4	47.5	25.4	62.5	77	6.0	...	...
Barnstaple .	1.99	.46	28	11	47.1	40.2	53.1	46.6	24.0	59.0	77	6.2	...	...
Bere Alston .	2.13	.49	26	14	47.1	40.4	51.1	46.7	28.0	60.0	...	...	...	...
Brandis Corner .	2.50	.60	28	11	...	34.0	51.0	42.0	17.0	62.0	...	...	166.5	2
Cowsic Valley .	4.60	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Cullompton .	2.41	.51	28	18	47.5	38.8	54.2	46.5	24.9	66.0	74	7.9	141.4	3
Devil's Tor .	3.20	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Exeter .	1.41	.42	28	13	48.9	42.5	54.7	48.6	32.0	61.5	...	...	...	...
Holne .	3.24	.69	28	16	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Huccaby .	3.27	.61	18	15	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Ilfracombe .	2.19	.43	26	11	48.5	42.8	51.2	46.8	31.2	58.3	82	7.0	...	...
Kingsbridge .	2.12	.57	26	12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Lynmouth .	2.52	.55	26	13	...	43.3	53.0	48.2	32.0	62.0	...	...	...	...
Newton Abbot .	1.28	.38	28	13	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Okehampton .	3.37	.72	28	10	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Plymouth Obs.	2.19	.47	26	15	48.7	40.3	52.0	46.2	28.0	59.0	84	6.4	181.0	2
Plymouth Wtshd.														
Head Weir .	3.22	.60	26	18	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Siward's Cross.	4.15	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Postbridge .	4.02	1.03	28	17	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Princetown .	5.96	1.04	26	17	41.4	36.4	46.9	41.7	22.1	57.2	86	7.2	...	...
Roborough .														
(S. Devon)	2.75	.68	26	14	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Rousdon .	2.04	.51	29	12	45.5	38.7	50.6	44.7	24.4	57.1	77	6.5	152.4	2
Sidmouth .	1.76	.43	28	15	46.8	39.8	51.7	45.8	26.2	61.0	78	7.4	174.3	2
Simonsbath .	4.77	1.03	26	18	...	...	...	...	22.0	56.0	...	...	...	...
South Brent .	3.69	.83	26	14	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Castle Hill School														
(Southmolton)	2.43	.50	28	18	44.5	37.9	51.6	44.7	23.8	62.1	82	7.0	...	...
*Tavistock .	2.54	.60	26	15	45.6	34.2	50.3	42.3	26.6	60.0	...	...	...	...
Teignmouth Obs.	1.19	.36	28	12	46.9	41.2	53.4	47.3	28.2	62.7	79	5.5	164.5	3
Teignmouth .														
(Benton)	1.19	.34	28	13	46.7	39.3	52.9	46.1	25.7	61.4	66	7.6	...	...
Torquay Obs.	1.10	.38	28	13	47.6	41.5	53.1	47.3	29.4	61.3	75	6.5	191.0	3
Torquay Wtshd.														
Kennick .	1.77	.42	28	14	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Laployd .	2.07	.54	28	14	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Mardon .	2.01	.51	28	14	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Torrington .	2.63	.70	28	14	...	...	...	...	22.0	57.0	...	...	...	...
Totnes .														
(Berry Pomeroy)	2.22	.48	26	12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Totnes .	2.67	.52	28	13	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Woolacombe .	1.61	.35	26	10	47.0	41.4	50.4	45.9	31.0	57.2	81	6.2	156.0	2

MAY, 1911.

STATIONS.	RAINFALL.				TEMPERATURE IN SCREEN.							Humidity, 9 a.m.	Cloud, 9 a.m. (0-10).	Sunshine.	Sunless Days.	
	Total Depth.	GREATEST FALL IN 24 HOURS.		Wet Days.	MEANS.				EXTREMES.							
		Depth.	Date.		Temperat. 9 a.m.	Minima.	Maxima.	Mean.	Minimum.	Maximum.						
Abbotskerswell .	ins.	ins.			deg.	deg.	deg.	deg.	deg.	deg.	%	0-10	hours.			
Ashburton .	1.75	.80	2	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Barnstaple .	1.22	.27	10	7	59.3	48.9	62.5	55.6	40.9	74.1	74	3.9	...	...	...	...
Bere Alston .	4.20	2.61	27	7	57.6	45.7	64.6	55.2	36.0	78.5	73	5.0	...	...	...	...
Brandis Corner .	1.59	.46	3	6	58.0	46.7	66.3	56.5	37.0	78.0	...	...	...	...	...	...
Cowsic Valley .	1.90	...	...	...	...	41.0	65.0	53.0	32.0	79.0	...	...	259.1	0	...	...
Cullompton .	1.72	.64	26	9	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Devil's Tor .	1.90	...	...	...	59.1	45.6	67.2	56.4	34.4	78.1	70	6.4	203.8	1	...	...
Exeter .	0.73	.21	27	7	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Holne .	2.03	1.02	2	6	59.6	49.4	66.2	57.8	41.0	76.0	...	...	...	...	...	...
Huccaby .	1.74	.50	2	7	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Ilfracombe .	.78	.45	10	5	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Kingsbridge .	1.02	.52	2	4	55.8	50.5	61.4	55.9	44.0	74.4	82	5.1	...	...	...	...
Lynmouth .	2.50	1.34	10	9	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Newton Abbot .	.65	.38	1	3	...	49.2	60.1	54.7	37.0	76.0	...	...	...	...	...	...
Okehampton .	1.58	.42	3	9	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Plymouth Obs. .	0.96	.30	2	6	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Plymouth Wtshd. .					59.4	49.1	63.2	56.2	40.0	77.0	80	5.5	246.0	1	...	...
Head Weir .	1.58	.65	2	6	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Siward's Cross .	1.70	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Postbridge .	2.52	.88	2	8	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Princetown .	2.35	1.25	2	6	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Roborough .					53.8	45.8	60.1	53.0	37.5	72.5	75	5.5	...	...	...	...
(S. Devon) .	1.89	.85	27	5	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Rousdon .	0.61	.37	2	5	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Sidmouth .	0.89	.42	2	7	55.9	47.0	62.4	54.7	37.3	73.5	75	5.7	234.7	0	...	...
Simonsbath .	2.50	.84	10	10	57.3	47.6	63.7	55.7	36.8	75.9	74	6.4	233.8	0	...	...
South Brent .	1.60	.84	2	4	...	...	...	...	31.0	72.0	...	...	...	...	...	...
Castle Hill School .					...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
(Southmolton) .	1.15	.48	3	10	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
*Tavistock .	1.37	.66	2	5	54.1	44.8	65.5	55.1	32.8	75.9	82	6.0	...	...	...	...
Teignmouth Obs. .	0.61	.36	2	4	53.8	45.7	66.1	56.0	33.0	76.5	...	...	...	...	...	...
Teignmouth .					57.2	49.2	63.7	56.5	40.8	75.5	78	4.2	233.5	2	...	...
(Benton) .	0.87	.32	10	6	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Torquay Obs. .	0.55	.32	2	4	58.0	48.2	64.6	56.4	40.0	76.8	73	5.5	...	...	...	...
Torquay Wtshd. .					58.4	49.9	64.5	57.2	40.0	76.2	72	4.0	273.2	0	...	...
Kennick .	1.63	.33	2	9	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Laployd .	1.88	.53	27	9	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Marden .	1.81	.55	29	8	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Torrington .	1.16	.46	3	6	...	...	...	...	33.0	78.0	...	...	...	...	...	...
Totnes .					...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
(Berry Pomeroy) .	0.98	.65	2	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Totnes .	1.11	.57	2	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Woolacombe .	0.93	.37	10	5	57.0	49.7	62.7	56.2	43.2	76.4	77	4.5	262.5	2	...	...

JUNE, 1911.

STATIONS.	RAINFALL.				TEMPERATURE IN SCREEN.								Humidity, 9 a.m.	Cloud, 9 a.m. (0-10).	Sunshine.	Sunless Days.
	Total Depth.	GREATEST FALL IN 24 HOURS.		Wet Days.	MEANS.				EXTREMES.							
		Depth.	Date.		Temperat. 9 a.m.	Minima.	Maxima.	Mean.	Minimum.	Maximum.						
	ins.	ins.			deg.	deg.	deg.	deg.	deg.	deg.	%	0-10	hours.			
Abbotskerswell .	2.74	.70	19	11	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Ashburton .	2.98	.82	16	13	60.9	52.1	65.8	59.0	45.2	79.1	74	4.5	...	...	...	...
Barnstaple .	2.85	.85	29	12	60.5	51.3	66.4	58.8	37.0	81.6	71	4.4	...	...	...	...
Bere Alston .	3.53	.68	24	14	61.1	51.6	68.9	60.3	39.0	82.0	...	...	...	...	...	...
Brandis Corner .	4.34	.92	29	16	...	45.0	68.0	56.0	30.0	81.0	...	...	218.0	...	0	...
Cowsic Valley .	3.80	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Cullompton .	2.22	.33	18	13	62.2	50.2	69.4	59.8	37.0	81.6	68	6.4	219.9	...	1	...
Devil's Tor .	4.00	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Exeter .	1.97	.46	19	12	63.3	52.9	69.0	60.9	61.0	81.0	...	...	...	...	...	...
Holne .	3.49	.93	16	13	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Huccaby .	3.29	.64	16	13	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Ilfracombe .	2.14	.74	29	11	60.2	54.1	65.0	59.4	46.5	76.0	80	4.7	...	...	...	...
Kingsbridge .	1.94	.63	29	11	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Lynmouth .	3.44	.80	19	13	...	50.2	66.3	61.2	42.0	77.0	...	...	...	...	...	...
Newton Abbot .	2.43	.73	19	11	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Okehampton .	3.64	.73	29	14	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Plymouth Obs. .	1.95	.50	29	12	62.6	53.1	65.7	59.4	43.0	81.0	79	4.9	223.0	...	1	...
Plymouth Wtshd. Head Weir .	3.25	.80	24	15	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Siward's Cross. .	3.74	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Postbridge .	4.59	.82	28	13	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Princetown .	5.15	.97	29	14	56.0	49.4	61.8	55.6	41.1	77.9	75	6.1	...	...	...	...
Roborough (S. Devon) .	3.17	.81	19	13	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Rousdon .	1.62	.49	16	12	59.2	50.9	64.4	57.7	44.3	78.1	72	4.8	229.5	...	4	...
Sidmouth .	2.19	.58	24	13	60.9	50.2	65.8	58.0	41.5	79.8	71	5.8	214.0	...	0	...
Simonsbath .	5.60	1.20	29	15	...	...	...	...	36.0	74.0	...	...	...	...	...	...
South Brent .	3.80	.83	29	14	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Castle Hill School (Southmolton) .	3.84	.93	29	15	57.2	48.7	66.4	57.5	33.1	81.1	83	5.0	...	...	...	...
*Tavistock .	2.91	.56	24	14	60.3	50.1	68.8	59.5	39.0	80.5	...	...	...	...	...	...
Teignmouth Obs. .	2.44	.44	24	11	60.8	53.3	66.0	59.6	43.8	77.2	75	4.6	237.6	...	1	...
Teignmouth (Benton) .	2.34	.42	24	11	61.3	51.9	66.4	59.0	42.0	80.3	71	5.0	...	...	...	...
Torquay Obs. .	1.88	.48	19	11	61.0	53.5	65.8	59.7	46.0	78.2	71	5.0	246.4	...	1	...
Torquay Wtshd. Kennick .	3.92	.91	9	15	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Laployd .	4.26	.92	16	15	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Mardon .	3.41	.92	16	15	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Torrington .	3.62	.76	24	13	...	...	...	...	34.0	81.0	...	...	...	...	...	...
Totnes (Berry Pomeroy) .	2.28	.45	19	10	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Totnes .	2.50	.47	29	12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Woolacombe .	2.30	.72	29	14	59.5	53.3	65.0	59.2	46.6	79.0	75	4.3	245.9	...	4	...

JULY, 1911.

STATIONS.	RAINFALL.				TEMPERATURE IN SCREEN.								Humidity, 9 a.m.	Cloud, 9 a.m. (0-10).	Sunshine.	Sunless Days.
	Total Depth.	GREATEST FALL IN 24 HOURS.		Wet Days.	MEANS.				EXTREMES.							
		Depth.	Date.		Temperat. 9 a.m.	Minima.	Maxima.	Mean.	Minimum.	Maximum.						
	ins.	ins.			deg.	deg.	deg.	deg.	deg.	deg.	%	0-10	hours.			
Abbotskerswell .	0.58	.58	29	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Ashburton .	1.13	.79	29	3	67.8	57.0	74.5	65.7	48.7	84.0	66	2.4	...	...	...	
Barnstaple .	0.25	.15	29	3	67.3	51.7	72.0	61.5	46.0	87.0	66	4.0	...	...	...	
Bere Alston	1.16	.86	29	3	66.6	56.8	77.2	67.0	45.0	90.0	...	...	...	...	...	
Brandis Corner	0.52	.24	29	4	...	49.0	75.0	62.0	44.0	87.0	...	...	378.1	0	...	
Cowsic Valley	0.60	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Cullompton	0.30	.20	29	3	70.5	53.5	79.0	66.3	44.1	90.2	57	4.3	335.6	0	...	
Devil's Tor	1.10	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Exeter .	0.38	.30	29	2	69.2	57.5	77.0	67.2	64.0	86.0	...	...	...	...	...	
Holne .	1.01	.45	29	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Huccaby .	0.74	.27	29	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Ilfracombe .	0.24	.09	30	6	66.4	59.2	73.4	66.0	53.2	89.0	78	6.0	...	...	...	
Kingsbridge	1.00	.83	29	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Lynmouth .	0.54	.22	29	5	...	59.5	71.3	65.4	52.0	85.0	...	...	...	...	...	
Newton Abbot	0.48	.43	29	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Okehampton	0.33	.24	29	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Plymouth Obs.	1.45	1.34	29	5	68.5	58.4	73.3	65.9	47.0	85.0	67	4.1	356.0	0	...	
Plymouth Wtshd.																
Head Weir	1.23	.80	29	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Siward's Cross.	1.35	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Postbridge	0.74	.35	29	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Princetown	1.20	.75	29	3	62.5	54.5	70.1	62.3	45.9	82.5	69	4.2	...	...	...	
Roborough																
(S. Devon)	1.27	1.04	29	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Rousdon .	0.28	.28	29	1	66.5	55.1	72.9	64.0	46.6	83.9	63	3.3	344.7	0	...	
Sidmouth .	0.60	.53	29	2	67.6	56.4	73.4	64.9	48.2	84.4	63	3.6	364.9	0	...	
Simonsbath	0.64	.26	29	5	...	...	...	...	45.0	81.0	...	...	...	...	...	
South Brent	1.48	1.00	29	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Castle Hill School																
(Southmolton)	0.56	.28	26	5	63.4	51.8	74.7	63.2	42.1	86.2	74	5.0	...	...	...	
Tavistock	1.07	.81	29	4	70.1	56.3	76.5	66.3	50.0	88.3	63	3.9	...	...	...	
Teignmouth Obs.	0.62	.57	29	2	66.7	58.2	74.3	66.2	51.8	82.6	67	2.5	366.1	0	...	
Teignmouth																
(Benton)	0.73	.64	29	3	67.6	57.0	75.3	66.1	48.8	84.8	60	3.1	...	...	...	
Torquay Obs.	0.41	.35	29	3	67.9	58.5	74.3	66.4	50.3	83.2	66	2.5	382.7	0	...	
Torquay Wtshd.																
Kennick .	0.90	.76	29	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Laployn .	0.92	.74	29	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Mardon .	1.04	.91	29	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Torrington	0.54	.32	26	4	...	...	...	...	44.0	86.0	...	...	...	...	...	
Totnes																
(Berry Pomeroy)	0.87	.79	29	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Totnes	1.00	.88	29	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Woolacombe	0.23	.10	29	4	66.6	57.5	72.3	65.0	52.8	87.0	69	3.4	326.8	0	...	

AUGUST, 1911.

STATIONS.	RAINFALL.				TEMPERATURE IN SCREEN.						Humidity, 9 a.m.	Cloud, 9 a.m. (0-10).	Sunshine.	Sunless Days.
	Total Depth.	GREATEST FALL IN 24 HOURS.		Wet Days.	Temperat. 9 a.m.	MEANS.			EXTREMES.					
		Depth.	Date.			Minima.	Maxima.	Mean.	Minimum.	Maximum.				
	ins.	ins.			deg.	deg.	deg.	deg.	deg.	deg.	%	0-10	hours.	
Abbotskerswell .	0.81	.22	5	11	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Ashburton .	1.97	.65	5	11	66.2	57.6	72.6	65.1	50.2	82.4	80	3.4	...	...
Barnstaple .	2.60	.63	27	13	66.9	56.6	73.4	65.0	43.0	87.3	73	4.7	...	...
Bere Alston .	3.54	.76	4	11	64.9	56.8	73.3	65.5	44.0	84.0	...	...	...	...
Brandis Corner .	2.20	.58	5	13	...	52.0	73.0	62.0	39.0	87.0	...	...	236.4	0
Cowsic Valley .	5.80	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Cullompton .	2.67	1.24	5	15	67.6	55.1	76.7	65.9	43.3	89.8	72	5.7	219.7	0
Devil's Tor .	4.90	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Exeter .	1.42	.67	5	10	68.0	57.9	75.4	66.6	47.5	84.0	...	...	...	...
Holne .	2.62	.71	5	9	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Huccaby .	2.86	.77	2	10	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Ilfracombe .	2.73	.58	1	15	67.2	61.1	71.8	66.3	54.5	83.2	75	5.5	...	...
Kingsbridge .	1.01	.20	26	9	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Lynmouth .	2.49	.57	27	15	...	59.9	70.1	65.0	52.0	82.0	...	...	...	...
Newton Abbot .	0.81	.22	5	9	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Okehampton .	1.76	.46	27	9	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Plymouth Obs.	2.51	.83	2	11	67.3	59.3	72.2	65.8	48.0	83.0	72	5.2	256.0	1
Plymouth Wtshd.														
Head Weir .	3.92	.85	2	12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Siward's Cross .	4.75	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Postbridge .	4.68	1.00	2	10	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Princetown .	6.77	1.45	2	11	61.6	55.7	68.8	62.3	48.1	82.3	80	6.1	...	...
Roborough .														
(S. Devon)	3.77	1.02	2	11	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Rousdon .	0.41	.14	28	7	65.6	57.6	71.7	64.7	50.1	84.0	76	4.4	220.1	2
Sidmouth .	0.75	.29	5	11	67.0	57.8	72.7	65.3	51.4	86.3	73	5.5	252.5	1
Simonsbath .	4.15	1.46	21	13	...	...	...	...	42.0	92.0	...	...	...	...
South Brent .	2.92	.72	5	11	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Castle Hill School														
(Southmolton)	2.34	.57	27	14	62.8	53.9	74.5	64.2	41.7	88.9	85	6.0	...	...
Tavistock .	3.93	.82	4	13	68.5	56.5	73.7	65.1	43.2	85.3	73	5.1	...	...
Teignmouth Obs.	0.62	.21	21	7	66.7	59.0	73.7	66.3	50.2	82.1	75	4.3	244.5	0
Teignmouth .														
(Benton)	0.67	.20	21	9	66.7	58.4	74.4	66.4	48.9	85.7	72	4.7	...	...
Torquay Obs.	0.48	.21	2	6	67.3	59.6	73.3	66.5	50.9	83.4	72	4.0	260.7	1
Torquay Wtrshd.														
Kennick .	3.11	1.15	21	12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Laployd .	2.77	.84	5	10	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Mardon .	3.30	1.38	21	9	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Torrington .	2.83	1.69	1	14	...	...	...	...	41.0	82.0	...	...	...	...
Totnes .														
(Berry Pomeroy)	0.73	.21	2	9	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Totnes .	1.08	.23	2	10	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Woolacombe .	2.47	.52	1	16	67.0	59.8	72.1	66.0	54.0	86.8	76	4.8	222.0	0

SEPTEMBER, 1911.

STATIONS.	RAINFALL.				TEMPERATURE IN SCREEN.						Humidity, 9 a.m.	Cloud, 9 a.m. (0-10).	Sunshine.	Sunless Days	
	Total Depth.	GREATEST FALL IN 24 HOURS.		Wet Days.	MEANS.				EXTREMES.						
		Depth.	Date.		Temperat. 9 a.m.	Minima.	Maxima.	Mean.	Minimum.	Maximum.					
Abbotskerswell .	2.29	ins.	ins.	19 12	deg.	deg.	deg.	deg.	deg.	deg.	%	0-10	hours.		
Ashburton .	2.72	.62	22 14	60.8	52.6	68.0	60.3	43.9	85.0	76	4.8	...	...	...	...
Barnstaple .	3.04	.55	20 12	59.1	49.2	67.9	58.6	36.0	87.6	76	6.3	...	...	...	...
Bere Alston .	2.73	.73	19 14	58.2	49.2	66.6	57.9	37.0	79.0	...	...	...	...	...	...
Brandis Corner .	3.03	.54	29 12	...	45.0	67.0	56.0	32.0	89.0	...	...	197.0	0	...	...
Cowsic Valley .	2.60	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Cullompton .	1.60	.33	1 ¹⁰ / ₂ 13	60.5	46.7	70.2	58.5	34.2	88.8	76	5.6	183.8	1	...	...
Devil's Tor .	3.30	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Exeter .	1.10	.28	19 13	58.5	49.3	65.2	57.2	40.0	78.0	...	...	...	...	...	...
Holne .	3.14	.87	19 12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Huccaby .	2.46	.74	19 12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Ilfracombe .	2.31	.52	12 13	62.7	56.4	66.4	61.4	47.2	80.4	76	5.4	...	...	...	...
Kingsbridge .	2.78	.65	22 14	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Lynmouth .	3.47	.83	20 13	...	53.3	68.1	60.7	45.0	82.0	...	...	...	...	...	...
Newton Abbot .	1.91	.44	22 12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Okehampton .	2.95	.50	12 13	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Plymouth Obs.	2.28	.50	22 14	63.8	52.4	67.8	60.1	41.0	84.0	72	5.2	215.0	1	...	...
Plymouth Wtshd.															
Head Weir .	3.07	.90	19 15	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Siward's Cross .	3.30	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Postbridge .	6.09	2.28	21 13	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Princetown .	4.42	1.35	19 12	56.6	50.1	63.0	56.6	39.3	83.5	78	6.2	...	...	...	...
Roborough															
(S. Devon)	2.76	.81	19 16	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Rousdon .	1.23	.27	19 11	60.7	52.0	66.2	59.1	40.6	80.8	75	5.0	194.6	2	...	...
Sidmouth .	1.55	.42	13 13	61.6	51.8	66.9	59.4	41.0	78.3	73	5.5	213.6	0	...	...
Simonsbath .	4.09	.60	1 ¹⁰ / ₂ 13	...	...	...	...	36.0	78.0	...	...	...	...	...	...
South Brent .	2.88	.68	19 13	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Castle Hill School															
(Southmolton)	3.27	.62	20 14	54.4	46.9	67.3	57.1	32.9	89.2	85	6.0	...	...	...	...
Tavistock .	2.67	.70	19 13	60.3	49.3	64.5	56.9	36.7	84.5	78	5.4	...	...	...	...
Teignmouth Obs.	1.45	.31	19 11	59.2	52.3	67.5	59.9	42.1	80.2	79	4.4	195.5	1	...	...
Teignmouth															
(Benton)	1.51	.36	22 13	61.0	51.2	68.7	59.9	41.3	81.5	73	5.7	...	...	...	...
Torquay Obs.	1.81	.42	22 12	61.7	53.4	68.1	60.8	44.0	80.4	77	4.0	210.8	1	...	...
Torquay Wtshd.															
Kennick .	2.21	.65	19 15	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Laployd .	2.20	.53	19 14	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Mardon .	2.28	.75	19 15	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Torrington .	2.59	.40	13 13	...	...	...	...	33.0	80.0	...	...	...	...	...	...
Totnes															
(Berry Pomeroy)	2.14	.47	19 12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Totnes .	2.27	.65	19 11	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Woolacombe .	2.29	.49	12 14	61.9	54.9	66.8	60.8	47.0	88.0	72	4.9	186.4	3	...	...

OCTOBER, 1911.

STATIONS.	RAINFALL.				TEMPERATURE IN SCREEN.								Humidity, 9 a.m.	Cloud, 9 a.m. (0-10)	Sunshine.	Sunless Days.
	Total Depth.	GREATEST FALL IN 24 HOURS.		Wet Days.	MEANS.				EXTREMES.							
		Depth.	Date.		Temperat. 9 a.m.	Minima.	Maxima.	Mean.	Minimum.	Maximum.						
	ins.	ins.			deg.	deg.	deg.	deg.	deg.	deg.	%	0-10	hours.			
Abbotskerswell .	5.29	.77	20	17	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Ashburton .	6.01	.80	20	22	51.2	46.8	56.3	51.5	36.1	62.7	88	6.6	...	...	...	
Barnstaple .	3.52	.45	2	19	51.8	47.3	58.7	53.0	28.0	66.0	80	7.2	...	...	...	
Bere Alston .	4.75	.96	20	17	50.8	45.1	57.3	51.2	30.0	64.0	...	...	...	...	...	
Brandis Corner .	4.60	.69	20	17	...	43.0	57.0	50.0	25.0	68.0	...	...	117.1	...	1	
Cowsic Valley .	7.35	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Cullompton .	4.37	.67	27	22	50.6	44.0	58.3	51.2	26.1	67.8	84	8.0	92.6	...	5	
Devil's Tor .	5.90	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Exeter .	3.77	.64	26	19	52.5	46.8	57.6	52.2	31.0	64.5	...	...	...	...	...	
Holne .	6.75	.99	21	18	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Huccaby .	5.53	1.17	20	19	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Ilfracombe .	3.55	.61	25	18	54.6	50.1	58.4	54.2	40.2	65.5	81	7.0	...	...	...	
Kingsbridge .	5.74	.66	27	19	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Lynmouth .	4.58	.97	24	18	...	48.0	55.2	51.6	36.0	64.0	...	...	...	...	...	
Newton Abbot .	4.37	.74	20	18	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Okehampton .	5.10	.81	24	15	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Plymouth Obs. .	3.60	.79	20	20	54.6	47.3	58.4	52.9	32.0	67.0	82	8.1	105.0	...	5	
Plymouth Wtshd. Head Weir .	5.10	.85	20	21	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Siward's Cross .	6.45	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Postbridge .	7.59	1.22	22	29	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Princetown .	8.15	1.20	21	20	46.7	43.0	52.3	47.7	32.5	64.2	91	8.9	...	...	...	
Roborough (S. Devon) .	5.32	.98	20	19	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Rousdon .	3.76	.94	27	20	51.4	45.9	56.6	51.3	33.6	62.7	84	6.9	101.8	...	6	
Sidmouth .	3.64	.88	27	18	52.7	46.5	58.1	52.3	31.0	63.9	81	7.2	105.3	...	3	
Simonsbath .	6.03	1.21	29	19	...	...	...	...	27.0	59.0	...	...	...	...	...	
South Brent .	6.92	1.06	29	19	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Castle Hill School (Southmolton) .	4.42	.56	24	16	48.5	43.9	56.6	50.2	26.1	64.3	85	8.0	...	...	...	
Tavistock .	4.29	.93	20	16	53.1	46.7	52.7	49.7	28.2	67.3	82	6.9	...	...	...	
Teignmouth Obs. .	3.71	.67	21	17	52.3	48.7	58.4	53.5	33.0	63.1	83	7.0	91.9	...	7	
Teignmouth (Benton) .	3.75	.53	26	19	52.0	47.0	57.5	52.2	32.1	64.4	81	7.4	...	...	...	
Torquay Obs. .	4.20	.62	21	17	53.8	49.0	58.6	53.8	36.2	64.4	83	6.5	103.1	...	4	
Torquay Wtshd. Kennick .	4.94	.94	20	22	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Laployd .	5.46	.68	20	22	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Mardon .	5.06	.99	20	21	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Torrington .	4.95	.78	2	18	...	...	...	...	25.0	61.0	...	...	...	...	...	
Totnes (Berry Pomeroy) .	5.32	1.01	21	20	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Totnes .	5.66	.72	20	21	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Woolacombe .	3.20	.49	24	18	54.2	49.5	58.5	54.0	38.8	66.0	80	6.7	130.2	...	2	

NOVEMBER, 1911.

STATIONS.	RAINFALL.				TEMPERATURE IN SCREEN.								Humidity, 9 a.m.	Cloud, 9 a.m. (0-10).	Sunshine.	Sunless Days
	Total Depth.	GREATEST FALL IN 24 HOURS.		Wet Days.	MEANS.				EXTREMES.							
		Depth.	Date.		Temperat. 9 a.m.	Minima.	Maxima.	Mean.	Minimum.	Maximum.						
	ins.	ins.			deg.	deg.	deg.	deg.	deg.	deg.	%	0-10	hours.			
Abbotskerswell .	5.48	.75	16	22	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Ashburton .	7.27	1.31	11	25	44.5	39.1	49.0	44.0	29.3	57.7	86	5.6	...	...	...	
Barnstaple .	5.20	1.03	9	21	42.0	37.1	50.7	43.0	27.0	59.0	83	7.4	...	...	...	
Bere Alston .	5.81	.89	11	22	42.9	37.4	49.5	43.4	24.0	57.0	...	...	...	...	...	
Brandis Corner .	6.90	1.00	9	21	...	36.0	48.0	42.0	21.0	55.0	...	...	77.3	5	...	
Cowsic Valley .	10.40	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Cullompton .	3.91	.60	11	25	42.6	36.4	50.4	43.4	23.1	59.0	85	6.7	63.4	9	...	
Devil's Tor .	6.20	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Exeter .	3.70	.62	11	23	44.3	39.4	49.1	44.2	28.0	56.5	...	...	...	...	...	
Holne .	8.29	1.46	11	22	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Huccaby .	6.86	1.25	11	22	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Ilfracombe .	4.92	.58	8	22	48.5	43.6	51.0	47.3	34.2	57.4	74	7.7	...	...	...	
Kingsbridge .	5.49	1.33	11	23	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Lynmouth .	6.08	.66	4	20	...	37.3	52.1	44.7	21.0	58.0	...	...	...	...	...	
Newton Abbot .	4.42	.85	11	21	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Okehampton .	6.66	.84	7	22	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Plymouth Obs. .	4.76	1.05	11	22	47.1	40.3	51.3	45.8	30.0	58.1	82	8.2	85.0	5	...	
Plymouth Wtshd. .	6.54	.86	15	24	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Head Weir .	7.60	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Siward's Cross. .	12.82	1.35	9	25	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Postbridge .	11.91	1.52	15	22	39.9	35.9	44.9	40.4	25.6	53.8	92	8.2	...	...	...	
Princetown .	6.06	.94	11	23	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Roborough .	3.92	.95	11	21	44.6	39.2	49.1	44.2	26.4	56.2	82	6.0	88.6	8	...	
(S. Devon)	4.00	.85	11	22	45.2	39.8	50.5	45.2	27.2	58.2	85	6.5	91.4	5	...	
Rousdon .	9.42	1.21	9	23	...	...	...	...	25.0	56.0	...	...	...	...	...	
Sidmouth .	8.42	1.72	11	22	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Simonsbath .	5.78	.74	9	23	41.2	36.3	49.0	42.6	21.8	58.1	87	7.0	...	...	...	
South Brent .	5.73	.77	11	24	44.7	37.5	49.3	43.4	24.4	57.4	84	6.7	...	...	...	
Castle Hill School .	4.05	.85	11	20	44.9	40.7	51.6	46.1	30.0	58.6	82	6.9	85.6	6	...	
(Southmolton)	3.88	.80	11	24	45.3	40.0	50.4	45.2	28.2	57.7	79	6.2	...	...	...	
Tavistock .	4.24	.76	11	23	45.8	41.1	51.6	46.4	30.3	58.4	87	6.0	96.9	5	...	
Teignmouth Obs. .	5.67	.83	11	24	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Teignmouth .	6.42	.90	11	24	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
(Benton)	6.20	.96	11	25	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Torquay Obs. .	5.49	.51	7	22	...	...	...	...	20.0	53.0	...	...	...	...	...	
Torquay Wtshd. .	5.50	.88	11	20	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Kennick .	6.01	1.00	11	21	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Laplovd .	4.13	.53	9	23	47.3	42.3	50.4	46.3	32.2	58.2	78	6.5	64.3	6	...	
Mardon .																
Torrington .																
Totnes .																
(Berry Pomeroy)																
Totnes .																
Woolacombe .																

DECEMBER, 1911.

STATIONS.	RAINFALL.				TEMPERATURE IN SCREEN.						Humidity, 9 a.m.	Cloud, 9 a.m. (0-10).	Sunshine.	Sunless Days.	
	Total Depth.	GREATEST FALL IN 24 HOURS.		Wet Days.	MEANS.				EXTREMES.						
		Depth.	Date.		Temperat. 9 a.m.	Minima.	Maxima.	Mean.	Minimum.	Maximum.					
	ins.	ins.			deg.	deg.	deg.	deg.	deg.	deg.	%	0-10	hours.		
Abbotskerswell .	13.87	.94	17	27	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Ashburton .	16.78	1.60	6	27	45.2	41.5	48.8	45.2	34.7	52.1	90	5.7	...	...	...
Barnstaple .	7.38	1.02	8	30	44.4	41.2	51.2	46.2	31.0	55.2	85	7.6	...	...	...
Bere Alston .	11.47	1.40	6	26	45.4	40.6	50.7	45.6	28.0	54.0	...	...	...	...	...
Brandis Corner .	11.61	1.19	6	29	...	41.0	48.0	44.0	28.0	52.0	...	...	58.6	12	...
Cowsic Valley .	18.90	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Cullompton .	9.83	1.07	14	30	43.4	38.9	50.5	44.7	25.7	53.7	90	7.3	49.2	12	...
Devil's Tor .	13.25	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Exeter .	9.98	1.06	20	27	45.8	41.7	49.6	45.6	29.0	54.0	...	...	...	...	...
Holne .	19.55	1.87	6	28	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Huccaby .	17.96	1.51	6	28	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Ilfracombe .	7.93	1.01	8	30	48.4	44.9	51.7	48.3	38.5	56.7	84	7.8	...	...	...
Kingsbridge .	10.74	.80	6	27	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Lynmouth .	10.08	.51	1 ⁹	29	...	44.1	50.1	47.1	37.0	55.0	...	...	...	...	...
Newton Abbot .	10.25	.96	20	26	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Okehampton .	12.43	1.57	6	26	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Plymouth Obs. .	9.78	1.30	6	28	51.3	43.4	51.3	47.4	32.0	54.0	86	8.3	57.0	10	...
Plymouth Wtshd.															
Head Weir .	13.21	1.15	6	30	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Siward's Cross .	18.06	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Postbridge .	20.04	1.79	17	30	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Princetown .	23.94	2.28	6	31	42.0	38.4	46.0	42.2	32.1	49.0	95	9.3	...	...	...
Roborough .															
(S. Devon)	12.01	1.29	6	31	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Rousdon .	7.70	.94	14	26	45.4	41.4	49.1	45.3	32.9	51.8	89	7.0	63.6	13	...
Sidmouth .	8.67	.99	14	28	45.9	42.0	50.7	46.4	30.6	53.6	91	7.6	65.1	11	...
Simonsbath .	14.50	1.27	8	31	...	...	...	...	29.0	50.0	...	...	...	...	...
South Brent .	15.63	1.40	6	28	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Castle Hill School															
(Southmolton)	8.05	.87	8	29	43.2	39.3	49.8	44.5	26.9	55.0	90	9.0	...	...	...
Tavistock .	12.02	1.41	6	29	45.6	47.9	50.3	49.1	28.2	53.9	90	7.8	...	...	...
Teignmouth Obs.	9.68	1.06	6	25	46.4	43.4	51.9	47.6	31.9	55.2	88	7.3	64.3	10	...
Teignmouth .															
(Benton)	8.00	.86	6	28	46.0	41.6	50.9	46.2	33.1	54.9	90	6.9	...	...	...
Torquay Obs. .	10.36	1.35	6	26	46.9	43.4	51.9	47.7	34.4	55.6	89	6.5	89.3	11	...
Torquay Wtshd.															
Kennick .	13.12	1.37	17	28	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Laployd .	16.71	1.74	17	28	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Mardon .	14.43	1.55	6	28	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Torrington .	7.73	.78	$\frac{1}{2}$	28	...	...	...	...	26.0	53.0	...	...	...	...	...
Totnes .															
(Berry Pomeroy)	12.71	1.26	6	25	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Totnes .	12.93	1.24	6	26	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Woolacombe .	6.45	.85	9	30	47.5	44.3	51.0	47.6	36.0	55.0	84	6.6	51.9	11	...

SUMMARY FOR THE YEAR 1911.

STATIONS.	RAINFALL.				TEMPERATURE IN SCREEN.						Humidity, 9 a.m.	Cloud, 9 a.m. (0-10).	Sunshine.	Sunless Days.
	Total Depth.	GREATEST FALL IN 24 HOURS.		Wet Days.	MEANS.				EXTREMES.					
		Depth.	Date.		Temperat. 9 a.m.	Minima.	Maxima.	Mean.	Minimum.	Maximum.				
	ins.	ins.			deg.	deg.	deg.	deg.	deg.	deg.	%	0-10	hours.	
Abbotskerswell	41.77	.94	17/12	167	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Ashburton	51.56	1.60	6/12	182	52.1	45.5	57.5	51.5	25.4	85.0	80	5.1	...	...
Barnstaple	33.42	1.03	29/11	175	51.6	44.2	58.4	51.2	27.0	87.6	77	6.2	...	...
Bere Alston	45.84	2.61	27/5	171	51.6	44.6	58.3	51.5	21.0	90.0	...	...	...	...
Brandis Corner	44.95	1.19	6/12	172	...	40.0	57.0	48.5	17.0	89.0	...	...	1985.5	47
Bowsie Valley	70.95	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Callompton	34.95	1.24	5/8	200	52.0	42.9	59.7	51.3	21.2	90.2	78	6.8	1728.2	65
Devil's Tor	53.75	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Exeter	28.23	1.06	20/12	171	53.0	46.0	58.7	52.3	26.0	86.0	...	...	...	...
Holne	60.94	1.87	6/12	180	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Huccaby	54.19	1.51	6/12	180	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Ilfracombe	33.18	1.01	8/12	174	53.7	48.5	57.6	53.0	30.0	89.0	79	6.5	...	...
Kingsbridge	41.36	1.33	11/11	171	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Lynmouth	42.91	1.34	10/5	182	...	45.1	69.2	52.1	21.0	85.0	...	...	...	...
Newton Abbot	33.04	.96	20/12	154	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Okhampton	45.97	1.57	6/12	162	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Plymouth Obs.	37.33	1.34	29/7	177	54.4	46.5	58.1	52.4	26.0	85.0	80	6.6	1978.0	51
Plymouth Wtshd.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Head Weir	51.38	1.15	6/12	200	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Siward's Cross	63.25	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Postbridge	77.38	2.28	21/9	204	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Princetown	88.16	2.28	6/12	186	47.6	42.5	53.3	47.9	22.1	83.5	85	7.1	...	...
Roborough	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
(S. Devon)	48.52	1.29	6/12	190	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Rousdon	27.17	1.04	12/3	153	51.3	44.6	56.6	50.6	24.3	84.0	79	5.9	1910.5	68
Sidmouth	29.13	.99	14/12	175	52.4	45.2	57.9	51.6	24.1	86.3	79	6.5	1986.2	47
Simonsbath	66.29	1.47	27/2	204	...	...	...	...	20.0	92.0	...	...	...	...
South Brent	61.85	1.72	11/11	182	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Castle Hill School	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
(Southmolton)	38.59	.93	29/6	194	48.6	42.3	57.8	50.1	19.8	89.2	85	6.8	...	...
Tavistock	43.83	1.41	6/12	184	52.0	44.1	57.8	50.9	22.0	88.3	...	...	...	...
Teignmouth Obs.	28.81	1.06	6/12	142	52.2	46.9	58.6	52.7	28.0	82.6	80	5.6	1922.3	52
Teignmouth	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
(Benton)	27.61	.86	23/12	162	52.4	45.4	58.5	51.9	25.8	85.7	76	6.2	...	...
Torquay Obs.	29.57	1.35	6/12	161	49.9	47.0	58.8	52.9	28.4	83.4	78	5.5	2111.9	53
Torquay Wtshd.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Kennick	43.01	1.37	17/12	195	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Laployd	49.14	1.74	17/12	190	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Mardon	45.62	1.55	6/12	187	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Torrington	38.05	1.69	1/8	180	...	...	...	...	17.0	86.0	...	...	...	...
Totnes	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
(Berry Pomeroy)	40.80	1.26	6/12	149	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Totnes	44.50	1.24	6/12	164	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Woolacombe	29.25	.85	9/12	180	53.2	47.5	57.5	52.5	26.0	88.0	78	5.6	1918.4	52

A SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE ORIGIN OF THE ASSOCIATION.

BY REV. W. HARPLEY, M.A., F.C.P.S.

(Read at Exeter, 24th July, 1912.)

ON a bright afternoon towards the end of October, 1861, three gentlemen, Mr. W. Pengelly, Mr. C. Spence Bate, and the writer, each armed with a formidable geological hammer, were to be seen marching from the Hoe at Plymouth along the Millbay Road with the intention of breaking a few stones in the quarry behind St. George's Hall, Stonehouse, which was rapidly being removed and the ground levelled in order to be built upon.

The travellers attracted considerable notice from the passers-by, on account of the loud bursts of laughter that were continually issuing from them; caused by their relating reminiscences of some stories full of wit and humour which had been heard at recent meetings of the British Association.

Just as they arrived at the corner of the road where the head-quarters of the Royal Western Yacht Club then stood, Mr. Pengelly suddenly remarked, "I say, you men, I have been thinking lately that it would be a very good thing if an Association for the County of Devon on the lines of the British Association could be formed." We were startled by the boldness of the idea, but said it should have our warmest support if we found it practicable. Of course, during our labours among the blocks of stone, a good deal of conversation was held as to the advisability and practicability of carrying out Mr. Pengelly's suggestion.

A few days later Mr. Bate called upon me and asked me whether I had given Mr. Pengelly's suggestion any further thought. "Yes," I answered; "very little else has been in mind, and I have come to the conclusion that our friend's idea is quite feasible."

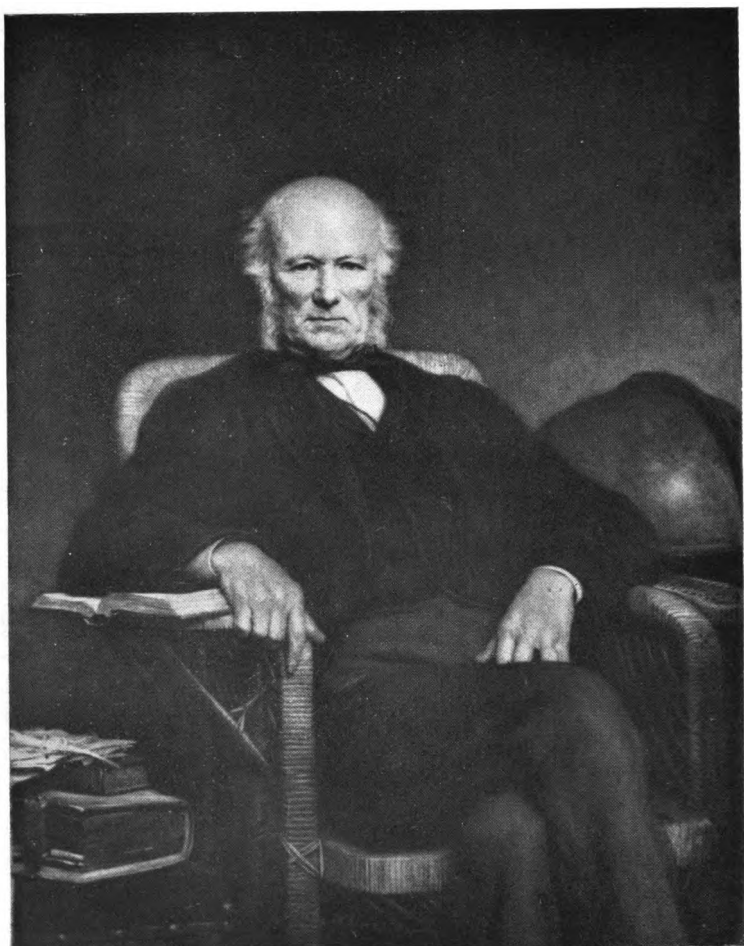
We agreed that we should on every opportunity communicate to our personal friends what was contemplated, and inform Mr. Pengelly what we proposed doing. He fully approved, and said that he would take similar action among his personal friends. This was continued throughout the winter months, and on comparing notes we found that we had enlisted about twenty persons who approved of the scheme and promised to join the Association if formed. We considered that we had fair grounds to convene a meeting and pass a formal resolution that an Association be formed. A meeting was held at the Atheneum, Plymouth, on Tuesday, 22nd April, 1862, at which were present W. F. Moore, Esq., President of the Plymouth Institution, in the chair; also Mr. Pengelly, Torquay, Mr. Vicary, Exeter, Mr. Spence Bate, Rev. W. Harpley, Rev. J. E. Risk, Mr. J. N. Hearder, Mr. Oxland, Mr. A. Balkwill, and Mr. A. Rooker.

Mr. Pengelly, at the call of the President, moved the following resolution: "That an Association be formed called the Devonshire Association for the Advancement of Science, Literature, and Art." This was carried unanimously, and the following was then proposed as a statement of the object of the Association: "To give a stronger impulse and a more systematic direction to scientific inquiry, to promote the intercourse of those who cultivate science, literature, and art in different parts of Devonshire, with one another and with others; and to obtain a more general attention to the objects of science, especially in relation to this County."

It was agreed that the first meeting be held at Exeter, and Mr. Spence Bate and myself were requested to act as secretaries to the Association for the time being. And now began for me a very anxious time. It fell to my lot to find a President. I wrote to several of the leading men in the county and invited them to fill the office, but, alas! without avail. All rather curtly declined; I need not mention their names. I began to despair, but one morning the post brought me a brief but very welcome letter from an unknown correspondent. He must, however, have known my difficulties. He simply wrote, "Try Sir John Bowring." I did so, and was successful. Sir John readily and cordially accepted the office. From that time everything went smoothly. There was no difficulty in getting gentlemen to fill the other offices, and thanks to the good

citizens of Exeter the Association was warmly received and cordially welcomed on 14th August, 1862. Sir J. Bowring gave the Association a favourable start by an admirable address or, to use his own metaphor, "launched the good ship" successfully. She has sailed through tempestuous seas once or twice, but has always weathered the storm. I hope she may sail on through many years successfully, under her skilful pilot now at the helm.

I must apologize for this short account, but I trust it will make it clear how the Association came into existence, and so relieve the anxiety of many members who have often urged me to give the story of the Origin.



A.S. Cope Pinxt.

Waller & Brutall P.S. Sc.

**WILLIAM PENGELLY, F.R.S., F.G.S.,
FATHER OF THE DEVONSHIRE ASSOCIATION.**

To face p. 157.

**WILLIAM PENGELLY, F.R.S., F.G.S.,
FATHER OF THE DEVONSHIRE ASSOCIATION.**

BY MRS. HESTER FORBES JULIAN (*née* PENGELLY).

(Read at Exeter, 24th July, 1912.)

HAVING frequently been asked by members of the Association to contribute a paper on the life and work of my dear father, it seems specially appropriate and suitable to do so in this year, which not only marks the Jubilee of the Devonshire Association, but also the centenary of its founder, William Pengelly, and the celebration of the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the Royal Society, of which he was a distinguished Fellow. It seems also specially appropriate that this meeting should be held in our own Cathedral city, for we all feel that in coming to Exeter we are coming home.

Warmly as we acknowledge, and highly as we appreciate the kindness experienced elsewhere, and the friendly feeling which exists between this Association and the different towns visited in Devonshire, yet it is to Exeter as the birthplace of the Association that the members look back with gratitude. It would therefore have been a matter of much regret to us all if we had not been able on this our fiftieth anniversary to hold our meeting in our mother city, and the capital of the county.

William Pengelly was born at East Looe, in Cornwall, on January 12, 1812, in the same year as many distinguished scientific men, and also as Charles Dickens and Robert Browning. He was self-trained, and owed nothing to fortune; in his early years he knew many hardships, yet his abilities and industry, his open mind and genial nature won him a host of friends and a great scientific reputation. Both his parents were Cornish. His father, Richard Pengelly, was captain of a vessel, whilst his mother was a Prout of the same family as Samuel Prout, the celebrated artist.

✓ She came from Millbrook, in the parish of Maker, Cornwall, the birthplace also of Samuel Prout's father.

When only two or three years old, young Pengelly was sent to the dame's school in his native village, where his progress was so rapid that at the age of five his mother removed him to a school for bigger boys, kept by Mr. Rundle, though the schoolmaster had been at first rather unwilling to take so young a pupil. Here he remained for a few years, quickly rising to the head of the school, but the only advantage his precocity gained him was to be kept hard at work preparing the lessons of the elder boys, in addition to his own, whilst they were at play. At the age of twelve the future geologist left school for ever, and began his seafaring life on the vessel commanded by his father. Like the great American geologist Dana, he gained some of his experiences "before the mast."

It was during his first year at sea, in the autumn of 1824, that he went through a storm of unusual severity, to which he alludes as the "great gale of November, 1824, so fearfully destructive of life and property, especially at Plymouth. At the time of this memorable storm," he continues, "I was a sailor-boy, and we rode out the tempest in one of the branches of Plymouth Harbour. Though the only damage we sustained was the loss of our bowsprit, the fact that it was my first winter at sea, and my first great gale, enabled it to produce an ineffaceable impression on my mind."

Whilst on one of the voyages in his father's ship he first learned that there is something more in rocks and stones than is apparent to the non-observant eye. This was his earliest geological experience, and occurred when their vessel was weather-bound on the Dorsetshire coast, and it is interesting to have the account of it in his words.

"I received," he writes, "my first lesson in geology at Lyme Regis, very soon after I had entered my teens. A labourer, whom I was observing, accidentally broke a large stone of blue lias, and thus disclosed a fine ammonite—the first fossil of any kind that I had ever seen or heard of. In reply to my exclamation, 'What's that?' the workman said with a sneer, 'If you had read the Bible you'd know what 'tis.' 'I have read the Bible. But what has that to do with it?' 'In the Bible we're told there was once a flood that covered all the world. At that time all the rocks were mud, and the different things that were

drowned were buried in it. That there's a snake that was buried that way. There are lots of 'em, and other things besides, in the rocks and stones hereabouts.' 'A snake ! but where's his head ? ' ' You must read the Bible, I tell 'ee, and then you'll find out why it is that some of these snakes in the rocks ain't got no heads. We're told there that the seed of the woman shall bruise the serpent's head. That's how 'tis.' "

In 1826, when he was fourteen years old, my father visited the Scilly Isles, and this expedition was naturally a period of intense enjoyment to him.

It is generally believed that the physiography of a man's birthplace and early home exercises a most powerful influence upon his character and his career. And we cannot doubt that, in the case of William Pengelly, the environment of the boy helped to form the thoughtful, self-reliant man and the geologist.

Having passed all his childhood in the picturesque fishing village of Looe, with the sound of the sea for ever in his ears, it is not surprising that he acquired a passionate attachment to the sea, a feeling which never left him through life, and which was doubtless rendered stronger by hereditary influences, for on his father's side he was descended from a long line of seafaring men of courage and adventure.

Accustomed to a seafaring life until he was sixteen, during four of his most impressionable years William Pengelly's habits and thoughts were influenced as well by its bright, cheerful, and inspiring aspects as by the darkness and dangers of storms, and by the hardships of a sailor's work. With trusty comrades he weathered the tempests, and his natural gaiety, real good-nature and high moral principles enabled him to be cheerful and upright amongst rough but well-intentioned comrades.

During these years at sea he was exposed to many perils. Soon after joining his father's ship he had been rescued from drowning, and together with the rest of the crew suffered shipwreck during a violent gale ; whilst on two subsequent occasions he was again saved from drowning, once after so long an immersion that animation could only be restored with extreme difficulty, and after prolonged exertions on the part of his messmates. The courage and self-reliance gained at sea, from the discipline and hardships endured, doubtless helped to impart that

vigour and energy to his mind and body for which he was subsequently distinguished.

It was his nature to be perfectly honest and straightforward, a hater of oppression or unfairness in any form, and absolutely fearless when convinced in the cause of truth as he saw it. From early manhood his course was marked by consistency of Christian principles, and by unswerving integrity of purpose and action when the path of duty lay clearly before him. Heredity, that biological law by which living beings tend to repeat themselves in their descendants, would probably have kept William Pengelly longer at sea had not this been frustrated by his mother's earnest desire that her sole surviving son should return home. For the death of his younger brother, who had been mortally hurt in some school games, made the mother anxious about her sailor-boy. In deference to this wish, he gave up his seafaring life and went to live with her at Looe, and his filial piety was rewarded by the success of his efforts in his task of self-education.

Then began a noble struggle with poverty and various disadvantages. When it is remembered how little external instruction or intellectual training he had received from others, literally nothing beyond that given at the dame's school and from the village teacher of a remote Cornish fishing-place, it may well appear remarkable that he should have ultimately succeeded in winning for himself a place amongst the scientists of the age, and have gained those coveted honours—the Fellowship of the Royal Society, and the Lyell Medal of the Geological Society. For the next few years my father lived quietly at Looe, and records, in a letter to an intimate friend, the history of his difficulties.

“‘I could a tale unfold’ of struggles, long-continued and severe, during my early pursuit of knowledge. I could speak of the intellectual isolation of my early years when panting after information; no one at hand to direct me in my inquiries, to solve my numerous questions, or to cheer me onward in the path I had resolved to pursue. No bookseller's shop within sixteen miles, and but little money to spend in it if there had been. My only chance of obtaining a book was through an old pedlar who occasionally visited our village, and of whom I bought my first *Euclid*. Well do I remember the

delight with which, on one occasion, I purchased twenty volumes of books at a second-hand bookshop at Devonport—aye, and the pride, too, with which I carried my treasure in a bundle on my shoulder to my village home sixteen miles across the Cornish hills.”

He had now begun to study in earnest, working out his fate indomitably, but as yet without inkling of that science which was to become the passion of his life. His mind ran at this period upon mathematics. Now that he was master of part of his own time, he remedied his deficiencies to a great extent by unremitting exertions. He acquainted himself with many branches of learning sufficiently for ordinary purposes, and in mathematics made remarkable progress. He belonged to that slowly diminishing band of men whose early years were passed out of the sphere of educational influences, such as we understand them, and who by sheer force of character and indomitable courage rose to positions of honour and authority in the scientific world.

Many will, as heretofore, rise from poverty to affluence, from obscurity to fame, but circumstances such as the following are happily growing rare.

“I have at this moment” (he writes many years later in a letter to a favourite pupil) “a very vivid recollection of myself at a late, lonely, and humble supper; the little table at which I wrought theoretical and practical mathematics; the very small pile of books (but oh! how valued, and then how really valuable!), the wretched light, the fireless grate, the damp, cold stone floor, the aching head, the swollen feet, the shivering frame, and that which enabled me to bear the whole, the determination to know something of the beautiful and astonishing Universe. I thank God that I was enabled to persevere, that He has crowned my efforts with success.”

William Pengelly had not only an intense desire for acquiring knowledge for himself, but also a great love of imparting it to others, and it was this which decided him to adopt the vocation of a teacher.

While still a youth he removed to Torquay, where he opened a small day school. It was founded on the Pestalozzian principle, which is that of teaching from objects and by graduation, and was one of the first in which the blackboard and chalk were used in giving instruction. This was in the thirties, and the school rapidly increased

from six scholars to thirty, and eventually to about seventy. The success obtained seems remarkable when it is remembered that he started with no advantages of birth or education, was supported by no influential connections, and had only such friends as his own merits and abilities attracted. Young, inexperienced, and alone, he commenced his life as a schoolmaster and lecturer, rendering high service to his generation, and giving, indirectly, a powerful impetus to the whole system of education and scientific thought in the south-west of England. The beautiful Devonshire watering-place became his permanent home. Here he passed about sixty years of happy and active maturity, for his life was destined to be preserved until he attained upwards of fourscore years. He thus became a naturalized Devonian, and soon grew warmly attached to the county of his adoption ; but still in heart and spirit, in sympathy and social characteristics, he remained a Cornishman. It is said of Macaulay that he loved his country as a Roman the "city of the seven hills," as an Athenian the city of the "violet crown"; and this applies to Cornishmen in regard to their native county. But as William Pengelly's name is always associated with his geological work in the Devonshire caverns, it is as a Devonian that he is generally regarded. One of his earliest friends in Torquay was the late Mr. Edward Vivian, and the similarity of their tastes in literary and scientific matters tended to make the tie between them unusually strong. In 1837 my father was instrumental in re-establishing and organizing the Torquay Mechanics' Institute, for which he laboured with unabated energy for more than twenty years, contributing greatly to its success by the delivery of gratuitously given lectures, and by affording other valuable services. In 1839 he started evening classes for the working men and lads of Torquay, whom he taught gratuitously after his long day's professional toil. He was, from the outset, devoted to schemes of usefulness, ever anxious to encourage a love of learning, and eager to assist in every educational work among the people, and in the general dissemination of scientific knowledge. It was about this time that his marriage to his first wife, Mary Ann Mudge, took place. His wife's health was always delicate, and he suffered great anxiety on this account ; whilst the loss of several of their children in infancy was an added grief to him. Of his three sons,

only the youngest, my stepbrother, Alfred Pengelly, lived to grow up to manhood. Under these severe bereavements, William Pengelly's submission and Christian fortitude were strikingly evident. Personal sorrow was never allowed to limit his efforts to give pleasure and instruction to the many who gathered round him. In his holidays he now visited the great scientific institutions of London, and the time spent at the British Museum, the Royal College of Surgeons, and at the Museum of Economic Geology at Craig's Court was an intense enjoyment to him. He was able also to make long tours in Wales, and through the Northern and Western Highlands of Scotland, and the contemplation of the beauties of nature afforded him unfailing pleasure, a happiness which was greatly increased when shared with others. His love of nature was not only passionate, but it was also thoughtful and imaginative. Shortly after settling at Torquay his attention had been turned to scientific studies. Astronomy greatly interested him, and many of his earlier lectures were on that subject; but the reading of a chapter on Geology, in a work published by the Brothers Chambers, gave him his first insight into the objects of the latter science, and led him to devote attention to the subject. From that moment, in fact, his career was determined, though some time elapsed before he undertook in the caves of Devonshire those investigations on which his fame chiefly rests. The neighbourhood of Torquay has always been an interesting locality to the geologist, and when he began his labours it was not long after the founding of the Devonian System by Sedgwick and Murchison, with the assistance of Lonsdale. And the results of important researches in South Devon had also been published by De la Beche and Godwin-Austen. When William Pengelly's interest had once been excited, he prosecuted his geological studies with vigour and enthusiasm. Whilst on one of his early holiday visits to Scotland he made the acquaintance of the late Professor Jameson, who showed much kindness to the young geologist, and finding it was his intention to visit the Isle of Arran, gave him some important information respecting its geology, and parted from him with these words: "On your return I hope you will call on me again, when the first question I shall ask will probably be, 'Did you write your notes on the spot, or at the inn at the close of the day?' If you reply, 'On the spot,' I shall

be glad to have them, but if not, I am afraid I shall not think them of much value." My father never forgot this hint, and as time went on love of scrupulous accuracy in scientific work, accuracy both of observation and of statement, became a passion with him. To what nicety he carried his own precision of statement may be judged from his paper entitled, "Is it a Fact?" written for the Devonshire Association Meeting in 1872.

From about the year 1840 onward, my father worked assiduously at the rocks and fossils of Cornwall and Devon, in sympathy and correspondence with Hugh Miller, Charles Peach, and many eminent scientists. The geological structure of the county, and the fossil fishes of Polperro and elsewhere, excited his scientific energies, and his researches being trustworthy in their exactitude soon gave him a high standing amongst the intellects of the day. Gifted with a spirit of research and clear reasoning powers, he attained comparatively early in life to considerable eminence as a man of science, and was brought into intimate intercourse with many of his most distinguished contemporaries, including Sir Roderick Murchison, Dr. Bowerbank, and Professor Huxley, Sir Charles Lyell, Sir Richard Owen, Professor Sedgwick, and Professor Milne-Edwards, of Paris. One of William Pengelly's earliest published papers was on the *Ichthyolites of East Cornwall*; his friend Charles Peach had, in 1843, first identified certain remarkable fossil remains as being those of fishes. And my father wrote and worked in support of his friend, in spite of the contradiction of Professor McCoy and other geologists. But after twenty-five years of opposition, he and Peach had the satisfaction of seeing the correctness of their conclusions confirmed by Professor Huxley in 1868.

In 1844, with the assistance of Mr. Vivian, Dr. Battersby, and a few other friends, William Pengelly founded the Torquay Natural History Society, and it was largely due to his untiring efforts and never-abating energy that its success was established. He was unwearied in his work of contributing to its permanent usefulness, by assisting with gratuitously given lectures, papers and gifts of fossils, and for nearly forty years of his busy life he was the hard-working and indefatigable Honorary Secretary of the Institution. From a small gathering, first assembled at 5 Higher Terrace, the Society, under his guiding hand, became a well-known body.

It was mainly through his great exertions and influence that the commodious building in Babbacombe Road was erected, and equipped with a valuable library of standard works in many branches of science, as well as in general literature and philosophy—a library such as can seldom be met with in a town of the size of Torquay. The museum, with its collection of Devonian types, was the outcome of his zeal and interest in all departments of Natural History, and is of unique value and surpassing interest in illustrating the antiquity of man, as evidenced by the geological deposits rescued from Kent's Cavern by his labours, and arranged with loving and disinterested care by his own hands.

Though others were associated with him in founding the Society, which was, and still remains, the intellectual centre of Torquay, yet on his shoulders rested the whole scheme of its inception and completion, and manfully he bore the burden of its management through many long years. The Torquay Natural History Society may be said to have originated through his eager wish to associate with himself those of his neighbours who were interested in the study of the rich local treasures of geological remains which revealed themselves to his searching gaze. How much has since been done, through the agency of this Society, which for so many years enjoyed the founder's care and supervision, need not be mentioned here.

My father's private pupils had become so numerous in 1846 that he finally gave up his school and became a tutor of mathematics and the natural sciences, and this, as far as bread-winning was concerned, was destined to be his work for nearly forty years.

His services in this respect were called for by some very illustrious families, the Russian Imperial family amongst them, and by members of more than one other Royal House. His pupils were indeed representatives of all classes, from Royalty downwards, and many of them afterwards attained distinction and became well known in different spheres of life. The lucidity and power of arousing and retaining attention which he displayed, coupled with the attachment he often inspired in his pupils, made him remarkably successful as a teacher.

One of the earliest of the many testimonials which he received was a valuable microscope, presented by his

pupils as a mark of their regard. He had now a little more time for social engagements and general society, and this was a great pleasure to him, for he was extremely fond of intellectual companionship.

Amongst his friends at this period may be mentioned Sir John and Lady Shelley, at whose house he met many distinguished scientists. Also Sir Culling and Lady Eardley, who were very anxious for him to accompany their son to Palestine; but this attractive invitation he had regretfully to refuse. Other very valued friends were Lord Hatherton and his son-in-law, Viscount Newark, who greatly enjoyed attending the lectures that the young geologist was delivering at Torquay; and the Duchess of Manchester also took much interest in his scientific pursuits, and showed him great kindness and hospitality. Her death, in 1848, was a great loss to him. "She was," he writes to a friend, "an excellent woman, eminent for her piety and good works; it was really a treat to have a chat with her, as I had three times a week during the winters of 1846 and 1847."

With the abandonment of his school, the great chapter of William Pengelly's scientific life may be said to have opened. Henceforth he was less tied to routine work, and was consequently more free to apply himself to geological investigations, and to the advancement of scientific knowledge. It is interesting to find that in 1846 he and his friends, Mr. Vivian and Dr. Battersby, received a small grant from the Torquay Natural History Society to enable them to make some investigations in Kent's Cavern, which had long been known and already partially explored by the Rev. J. MacEnery in 1825, and Mr. R. A. C. Austen, afterwards Godwin-Austen, in 1840. The results of these fresh investigations by William Pengelly and his colleagues were communicated to their own Society, and to the Geological Society of London; and an account of all the earlier work done at the Cavern has been given by my father with his usual patient care in the *Transactions* of the Devonshire Association. Although interesting results were obtained, and it was proved that the flint "implements" and the remains of extinct animals did occur together in the same deposits, public opinion was unprepared to accept some of the most striking conclusions, and it was not until nearly twenty years had passed that, through my father's exertions aided by the

influence of Sir Charles Lyell, a Committee was appointed in 1864 at the Bath meeting of the British Association for the regular and systematic exploration of the Cave.

William Pengelly was now contributing geological papers to different scientific societies, but it was more as a lecturer than as a writer that his activity was manifested. He was indeed a born lecturer. While still a youth he had been a welcome speaker at local institutions, in his native village and at Torquay; and as his reputation grew he frequently lectured at different towns in Devonshire, Cornwall, and elsewhere.

His winter courses on geology and astronomy at Torquay attracted crowded audiences. His speech was fluent, lucid, and incisive, whilst his genial presence and exuberant humour made him a general favourite. He had the magnetic gift of attracting his hearers, and his own scientific enthusiasm always proved contagious. His knowledge was widely sought for and freely imparted to all earnest workers. Few men have served their generation better. As a Natural Science lecturer he placed his ever-growing knowledge unreservedly at the disposal of the many, and was ineffectually remonstrated with when friends urged that he could not afford to be always working without fee. An attentive audience was, he felt, sufficient payment, and always gave him great encouragement. He writes to a friend in December, 1849: "I should like you to be at Exeter when I lecture there; it would do you good to see how cordially they receive me, how attentively they listen, and how heartily they applaud." Soon after we find him writing: "I accidentally met the Earl of Wicklow and Lord Hatherton to-day, who asked me whether I delivered the lectures, on which I am at present engaged, on my own account, or am engaged by the Natural History Society. On being informed that I delivered them gratuitously, they thought me wrong in doing so. Lord Hatherton advised me to pack up and settle in some larger town, where I should doubtless do better than I am doing here as a lecturer, adding, that no man in Torquay is so underpaid as I am, and though it might be all very well to preach down money in the pulpit, it nevertheless is a good thing and a necessary one in this world. I said I quite thought it a valuable thing, that I was very well satisfied with Torquay, that the public had been very liberal to me, and that it became me to be

liberal in return." So highly were his lectures esteemed by his large circle of friends, that in December, 1850, he was presented, at a *conversazione* held in his honour, with a valuable telescope as a mark of their regard; the document accompanying the presentation sets forth their sense of his high scientific attainments, and of the value of the lectures which he had delivered during a long course of years at the rooms of the Torquay Natural History Society and the Mechanics' Institute at Torquay, and at the same time expresses the esteem in which they held him personally. The signatures affixed to the document include those of the Earl of Beverley, Viscount Newark, Lord Hatherton, Lady Sinclair, Sir John Morrenden, Sir Culling E. Eardley, Lady Eardley, Lady Shelley, Dr. Sutherland, Rev. D. Pitcairn, Mr. E. Vivian, Mr. March Phillipps, etc. My father, after warmly thanking his friends for their gift, concluded his speech in the following words: "This telescope is a really magnificent instrument; I prize it highly, it is to me most valuable. But I prize this paper much more, and attach a still higher value to it. It contains the expression of your esteem. Happen what may, I will never part with it, but regard it as a valuable heirloom in my family. The list speaks, too, as with a voice from the tomb. The death of Lord Newark—one of the subscribers—is not without significance. It reminds me that the most prosperous earthly career must terminate, and that there are subjects infinitely more sublime than science, which should pre-eminently occupy the attention of every human being. Once more, allow me to thank you most sincerely for so kindly enabling me to 'consider the heavens.' I hope and believe that the effect will be to impress me more deeply with the greatness of God and His infinite condescension and benevolence in visiting man and being mindful of him."

The spring of 1851 was saddened by the death of Mrs. Pengelly, who had long been an invalid, and after this bereavement he lived very quietly, helping forward the educational institutions of Torquay, attending to his private pupils, and steadily pursuing his course as a geologist.

He had already been elected a Fellow of the Geological Society of London; and in the work both of that and of the Palæontographical Society he took the warmest interest.

His enthusiasm and industry soon brought him the notice, and the familiar friendship, of famous workers in the same field. His letters from them show how opinions were matured on questions of geological difficulty or doubt, whilst his published correspondence with Sir Charles Lyell proved what influence William Pengelly's experience and philosophical acumen had on the establishment and progress of geological science, and that he was an adviser in whom the author of *The Principles of Geology* and the *Antiquity of Man* placed a large and generous confidence. From this time onward his scientific life and studies were intertwined and bound up with the work of this great geologist, his intimate and valued friend and constant correspondent. And though so greatly their junior in years, he was a correspondent and fellow-worker not only with Lyell, but also with Murchison and Sedgwick, those great geologists who did so much in the nineteenth century to revolutionize the ideas of the history of the earth and of man.

It was almost at the same period that he formed two of the other great friendships of his life, with Canon Kingsley and the late Lord Lister, friendships to be severed only by death. Early in the spring of 1854 Charles Kingsley came with his wife to Torquay for the benefit of her health. My father had long admired his noble character and warm-hearted enthusiasm in the cause of popular education, and a strong and lasting friendship soon sprang up between them. They had much in common, not only as enthusiastic students of Nature, but also from the great interest both took in furthering the well-being of the working classes.

My father may be aptly described as a friend of the people and a lover of truth, in the widest sense of the terms. His advice and help were ever at their service; not to flatter them, but to render them true and real assistance, to elevate their condition if he could, to endeavour to raise them to a higher standard and a happier life. In addressing some young men as to self-help on one occasion, he concluded his remarks with these words: "Let them be their own best friends, for he that does not succeed by self-application deserves no success at all."

Joseph Lister, then quite a young man, was often at Torquay at this period with his father, Mr. Jackson Lister. The interest of his scientific researches, and the earnestness of his efforts to relieve human suffering,

greatly endeared him to William Pengelly and created a strong friendship between them, an attachment which grew stronger by recurring intercourse. "I cherish his memory with affectionate admiration," wrote the great surgeon in a letter to me after my father's death.

This was his first connection with the Society of Friends, for the Listers and Mr. Robert Were Fox, of Falmouth, and his daughters, Anna Maria and Caroline Fox, with whom my father now became intimate, and the Burlingham family, all belonged to the Society of Friends, and he soon afterwards made the acquaintance of Mr. and Mrs. Spriggs, to whose youngest daughter Lydia he became attached. Mr. Spriggs was descended, both on his father's side and on that of his mother (who belonged to the Savory family), from Quaker ancestry. One of his mother's favourite nieces was the beautiful Hester Savory, so much admired by Charles Lamb that on her death he composed the following well-known lines :—

"To Hester.

"When maidens such as Hester die,
Their place ye may not well supply,
Though ye among a thousand try,
With vain endeavour."

Mr. and Mrs. Spriggs were both warmly interested in philanthropic and charitable undertakings. They felt that the benefits they received were supplies granted for the good of others, and never to be thoughtlessly expended in self-indulgence. Their assistance was ever at the service of the poor and needy, and such as had no helper. In earlier years they had been brought into friendship and intercourse with the great abolitionist, Thomas Clarkson, and the saintly social reformer, Elizabeth Fry, whose efforts purified the foul prisons not only of England, but of all Europe. William Pengelly's second marriage added greatly to his happiness. In all his undertakings he was now sustained, encouraged, and assisted by the loving and ever-ready help of her whose help is of the highest value to a hard-working, energetic man. Whether in the way of making diagrams and drawings, or copying and translating manuscripts for him (for she was a good linguist and amateur artist), or as hostess to familiar friends and the numerous persons of distinction who visited their house, my mother was ever her husband's stay and support. His work she looked upon as her work, and her

enjoyment also. Although she was many years his junior and, like all her family, a consistent Conservative, whilst he was a Liberal, neither the difference in age nor in political opinion ever occasioned the slightest diminution in the warmth of their attachment. My mother afterwards joined the Church of England, but her family had been members of the Society of Friends for nearly two hundred years, and this circumstance probably gave rise to the statement, which frequently appeared in print, that William Pengelly came of a good old Quaker stock. This is, of course, entirely erroneous, for neither on his father's side, nor on that of his mother (who was a Prout), had he any connection with the Society of Friends. It is a mistake, therefore, to describe him as of Quaker origin or ancestry. In fact, he had little regard for ancestry of any sort. It is generally believed that he belonged to the same family as Sir Thomas Pengelly, a Cornishman, who rose to be Chief Baron of the Exchequer in 1726. In answer to the numerous letters which he received on the subject, he invariably replied, "I don't care to claim any connection with him," and when asked by correspondents if he had visited the parish of Whitchurch, where many of the Pengelly family had resided, he wrote: "It appears to have been a great home of the Pengellys; and the church, I am told, is rich in their monuments, but I have never seen it."

Soon after his second marriage, and mainly through his wife's persuasion and influence, he began, in 1856, to attend the meetings of the British Association, and also to pay more frequent visits to London to be present at the gatherings of the Geological Society. He writes to her describing one of the Geological meetings: "Two papers were read, one by Mr. Moore on the *Rocks of Wigtonshire*, which was discussed by Col. Portlock, Murchison, and Salter; the other was by the famous Babbage on the formation of sedimentary outliers, etc., which called up Portlock, Lyell, Salter, Stephenson the engineer, Prof. Tyndall, Huxley, etc. It was a magnificent meeting, and made me wish for a town residence. I renewed my acquaintance with many old friends."

From the Cheltenham meeting of the British Association, he writes as follows: "Aug. 11th, 1856.—Then came Vivian with Kent's Cavern, and introduced his own views as to the formation of the Cavern, which gave

me an opportunity of replying, and this I did at some length. Robert Chambers took up the theme, so did Professor Rogers of America. Beete Jukes, the Chairman, pronounced in my favour, and Vivian acknowledged very handsomely that he thought me right. There were two other papers and the sitting ended."

"Aug. 12th, 1856.—Five o'clock. My paper has been read (on Beekites). Tennant considered Beekites as one form of silicious concretions, and thought the fossil character of the nucleus purely accidental. I am coming home to-morrow, if all be well. My home is very, very dear to me."

He attended all the meetings of the British Association from 1856 to 1889, with the exception of that held in 1884 in Canada, and began almost immediately to take a prominent part in the proceedings of the Geological Section. He was very soon placed on the General Committee of the Association, and was also for many years on the Council. In 1877 he was President of the Geological Section at the Plymouth Meeting, and he presided at Anthropology at the meeting held at Southport in 1883.

Those who were not quite satisfied with the educational system of the nineteenth century were much interested in a speech, showing considerable insight into the problem, which he delivered at the opening of the Abbey Road Public Schools at Torquay during January, 1857. After a long and able speech by his friend Sir Culling Eardley, the Chairman, William Pengelly, briefly addressed the meeting, and expressed his belief that the present age was not one "of education—it was an age of *instruction*; the difference was momentous. . . . The fact was, that the majority of scholars of the present day were taught to be rather passive recipients of knowledge than active inquirers. What was required was to teach comparatively few things, but to teach them thoroughly. Parents should be less concerned about the rapid passing over of a great number of rules in arithmetic than that what their children learnt should be thoroughly learnt, so that when they left school they should be in a position to acquire knowledge for themselves. It was true that vast improvements were constantly being made in the various departments of science; but he did not think that public enlightenment had kept pace with the progress of science. People were surrounded on all hands by wonders, and what was wanted was to

get them to think. Once successful in that respect, the love of acquiring knowledge naturally followed."

William Pengelly was at this time President of the Torquay Mechanics' Institute, and a testimonial was presented to him, by the members, of a copy of the volumes of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. He had already received several public testimonials, but he was much gratified by the form which this one took.

It is worthy of note that he was one of the first to give cordial support to the early closing movement, which was just then beginning to arouse public attention. In July of this year he delivered an address at Torquay on "Early Closing" in connection with "Mental Improvement," and his able advocacy gave increased impetus to a movement which attracted many sympathetic and thoughtful minds.

The friendship between the Baroness (then Miss) Burdett-Coutts and my parents began soon after their marriage. In the autumn of 1856 my mother writes frequently to her family of the pleasant evenings they spent with Miss Burdett-Coutts at Torquay; they were often also her guests in London. It was at a party given at her town house in Stratton Street, Piccadilly, that my father first met Charles Dickens, with whom he afterwards became well acquainted. He writes home from London, in 1857: ". . . At length the guests began to arrive; first came a clergyman named Stookes, I had met his sisters at Miss Coutts' at Torquay; then Charles Dickens, beard, white waistcoat, fancy shirt and all—he is splendid company certainly, but strikes one as being altogether an actor; then came my friend Captain Gordon, and then Wheatstone; Sorby was to have been there, but did not turn up through some mistake. At dinner we talked of Education, Extension of the Electoral Franchise, etc. Dickens talked with good sense on all topics. Dinner over, puns and riddles flew thick and fast. . . ."

Later in the year my father, accompanied by his wife's brother, attended the British Association at Dublin, visiting Belfast on the way. This was the first of his tours in Ireland, a country which he often revisited. His letters to my mother show how thoroughly he always enjoyed being on the water, and also give some account of the scenery of the Giant's Causeway and of the scientific gathering in Dublin. ". . . We reached Fleetwood a little after time," he writes, "but as the steamer always

waits the arrival of the train, that did not matter. We were taken by the train quite to the steamer's side, and in a very few minutes found ourselves on board. W., and not a few other landsmen, looked gravely at the sky and feared a rough passage, and when they found the boat pitching more freely than they had expected, they believed their fears fully realized; some of the old salts, on the other hand, talked of a 'nice breeze,' of a 'splendid passage,' and in reply to the remark that 'it was rough,' said that 'were it always smooth all the old women in the country would be sailors.' . . . I got up finally at half-past four and went on deck, hoping to catch a glimpse of the Isle of Man, which I had failed to do last night, but I was again disappointed. I found Ireland ahead, and Scotland on the weather-bow, and it seemed to carry me back to my sea-boy life to watch the gradual coming on of day, the steady development of the land we were approaching, the various craft we passed, and the sea-birds that floated and wheeled around and by us. Soon after six we entered Belfast Lough, and one by one the passengers came on deck, all looking more or less seedy. About half-past seven we landed at Belfast, which we found having all the appearance of prosperity, activity, wealth, and taste; it did not come up, or come down, whichever you like, to my idea of an Irish town, and it was not possible to believe it Ireland. . . ."

"Portrush, 20th Aug., 1857.—Yesterday we started pretty early from Bush Mills and walked a second time to the Causeway. Arrived there, we courageously declined the services of the guides who prowl about. We were quite prepared, from reports, etc., to be disappointed, and so indeed we were, but then it was a most agreeable disappointment. To attempt description would be to display my weakness. Whether regarded as a geological phenomenon, as a subject for a picture, or rather a series of pictures, or as a great Cyclopean terminus, the Causeway is a singularly splendid object. Having penetrated as far as possible under the cliff, we retraced our steps, and then I rambled on the margin of the precipice to a much greater distance, and as point after point opened I became sensible that we were leaving much, too much, unexplored, so that we agreed to alter our plans: to remain in the North until Saturday, and to reach Moyallen that evening, to give up Killarney and the West, and consequently to

hope for a second Irish trip. After breakfast we started by boat for Ballycastle, a distance of nearly twenty miles. I was much pleased to find lias with ammonites in contact with trap, by which it is much hardened, yesterday, on the beach here. This is a most charming spot; there is a splendid sea-walk with a glorious open sea, having no land nearer than America. . . ."

"Dublin, 28th Aug.—After breakfast I called on W. and then repaired to the Section rooms, where I met sundry old friends. I took my specimen from Cornwall, which, in spite of McCoy, I have always pronounced to be a portion of a fish, and showed it privately to sundry bigwigs; they all individually, and without knowing the opinion of either of the others, pronounced me right, and without hesitation too. Moreover, they all regarded it as a triumph and a great fact in geology. You will not wonder at my being overjoyed about it. I showed it to Phillips, Bowerbank, Bailey, Jukes, and Lord Enniskillen (to whom R. Were Fox introduced me). Next to Sir P. Egerton, who is not here, Lord Enniskillen is the highest authority we have on fishes. The papers yesterday were not without interest, but were not likely to be popular. . . . In the evening came a soirée in the museum rooms of the Royal Irish Society, and a brilliant scene it was. Science, fashion, beauty, ugliness were met in one room. There I saw Sedgwick and Rogers, who had not appeared before. I met, amongst others, Mr. Pim, his wife (J. J. Lister's daughter), and her brother, my old friend Joseph Lister.¹ They wish me to dine with them to-morrow. It involves a short journey by rail; still, I think I may go. I was promoted at the Association, being placed on the General Committee, and also on that of the Geological Section."

It was in 1858 that my father's detailed researches in the Devonshire Caves may be said to have commenced. In that year the Windmill Hill Cavern was discovered at Brixham. He at once visited the spot to enter into negotiations for its thorough investigation. This was undertaken finally by the Royal and Geological Societies, through a Committee, of which he was a member, and the actual superintendence fell entirely to him. Of the value of his work and of the results gained to Science, I prefer to employ independent testimony. In the report of the exploration we read: "It is to Mr. Pengelly that the

¹ Afterwards Lord Lister.

Committee are indebted for the active and constant superintendence of the work, and for the record of each day's proceedings. [He], in fact, saw personally to the execution of the whole work, noted all the physical features, and arranged and tabulated all the specimens found in the cave, devoting to the investigation an amount of care and time without which it would have been impossible for the London Committee to have obtained the exact record" which was presented and read to the Royal Society. (See *Philosophical Transactions*, clxiii, p. 483.)

Professor Bonney, the distinguished geologist, writes thus of the work at Brixham: "The results proved that in Devonshire a race of men in a low state of civilization had been contemporaneous with a fauna which has now disappeared from Britain, and in some cases is actually extinct."

Professor Boyd Dawkins, the eminent authority on Cave Explorations, writes in *Nature* for April, 1894: "The result of the exploration established beyond all doubt the existence of Palæolithic Man in the Pleistocene Age, and caused the whole of the scientific world to awake to the fact of the vast antiquity of the human race. From this time Pengelly's energies were mainly directed towards cave exploration." In his valuable book on *Cave Hunting*, the Professor also writes: "The discovery in 1858 and the exploration of the now famous cave of Brixham by the Royal and Geological Societies, marked the dawn of a new era in cave-hunting. Under the careful supervision of Mr. Pengelly, flint implements were discovered underneath stalagmite and in association with the remains of the hyæna, woolly rhinoceros and mammoth, in undisturbed red loam under conditions that prove man to have been living in Devonshire at the same time as those animals. This singularly opportune discovery destroyed for ever the doubts that had overhung the question of the antiquity of man, and of his co-existence in Europe in company with the animals whose remains occur both in the caverns and river-deposits."

A paper on the cavern, which William Pengelly communicated to the British Association at Leeds in the autumn of 1858, was received with much interest by his scientific colleagues. He writes to my mother, in September, 1858: "I have read my paper (on Brixham Cavern) to a crowded house—all the great geologists came in ap-

parently. Owen followed in very eulogistic strains, characterizing the exploration of the cavern as the only satisfactory and good attempt of the kind that ever had been made. I was very much complimented at the close by sundry persons. Robert Chambers introduced himself, and proposes having a chat with me on the question. . . .”

Early in the following summer, on May 27th, 1859, my father gave an evening lecture at the Royal Institution of London, on “The Ossiferous Caverns and Fissures of Devonshire,” concluding the discourse with an account of the flint knives of human manufacture and remains of extinct animals found together in the Brixham Cave, and the remarkable evidence these facts afforded of the antiquity of man. This question was warmly debated at the meeting of the British Association at Aberdeen in the autumn of the same year. And here we are carried back to the atmosphere breathed by Lyell, Murchison, Owen, Phillips, Huxley, and Ramsay, and with their help William Pengelly fought for the infant doctrine against all the forces of bigotry and intolerance. It is mainly due to their efforts that more enlightened opinions are now held. It was a steady light, replacing the gloom.

In letters home he describes to my mother some of the heated discussions which took place at Aberdeen.

“Aberdeen, 17th Sept., 1859.—Yesterday was a great day here; I speak as a member of section ‘C’ (Geology); the fourth paper was by Rev. Dr. Anderson (author of a book in my library under the title of *The Course of Creation*), on *Human Remains in Superficial Drift*, in which he attacked all the evidence which has recently been produced of *Man amongst the Mammoths*, and a very great deal which no one ever regarded as bearing on the question. After wading through a great amount of rubbish, he boldly attempted to castigate Lyell for his opening address; next, he ridiculed Horner’s argument of the pottery, etc., in the silt of the Nile. . . . Then he ran off to Germany to cudgel Bunsen; then back again, pitched me into Brixham Cave, and did his best to bury the cave and myself in ridicule, and finally he gave us a yard or two of bad pulpit. There was a considerable amount of orthodoxy in the room, and he got a very undue share of applause. And now *per contra*. Lyell handled him as a gentleman, and a philosopher alone can do it.

Next Phillips, having rubbed his hands in oil, smoothed him down, but in such a way as to scarify him; then Ramsay seized him by the button-hole and informed him of a fact or two connected with caverns, and finally handed him over to me, upon which I seized him by the collar, dragged him into Brixham Cave and showed him its facts and their whereabouts. Then came Symonds (Rev. W. Symonds, Rector of Pendock) and pulpitized him. A few papers followed, and then I read my paper, which was well received. . . . Last night Sir Roderick (Murchison) delivered a lecture on the Geology of the North of Scotland—a very able performance. . . .”

“Aberdeen, September 21st.—. . . At the soirée Anderson and I had a somewhat long and animated discussion on the flint knives. He informs me that Professor Macdonald is to lecture on ‘Man’ to-night (Wednesday), and is intending to ‘pound me to dust.’ . . .”

The year 1859 was memorable for the publication of Darwin's great work on the *Origin of Species*, and was, indeed, a period of surpassing interest to geologists and naturalists, “the morning twilight which heralded the dawn of modern science.”

My father was one of the earliest converts to the theory of creation by evolution, as well as a champion of the doctrine of the antiquity of man, and he laboured as a pioneer of that doctrine through all the burden and heat of the battle.

Prince Albert was President of the Association at Aberdeen, and the gathering was most interesting and was well attended. Writing home, my father says: “The meeting is a very large one; this is doubtless partly owing to the Prince, and truly he does seem to be very amiable and intellectual.” During the progress of the meeting William Pengelly was one of those members honoured by Queen Victoria and the Prince Consort with an invitation to Balmoral.

On September 25th, 1859, Mrs. Pengelly writes to her mother:—

“William returned home last night, tired out with his long journey from Aberdeen, but he seems thoroughly to have enjoyed the British Association papers and discussions. At the reception at Balmoral he was close to the Queen and Prince Albert and the Royal children during all the time of the Highland games, which were got up for

the special entertainment of the savants. Prince Albert was in full Highland costume. William says Balmoral is the most beautiful spot. . . ."

Many years later Mr. Pengelly had the honour of receiving a visit at his residence, Lamorna, Torquay, from the Queen's grandsons, Prince Edward and Prince George (now His Majesty King George V), who greatly enjoyed seeing the geological collections.

On other occasions the Emperor Napoleon III, with the Prince Imperial and the Queen of Holland, visited my father at his Torquay home, and manifested much interest in the fossils and scientific specimens shown to them. Her Imperial Highness the Grand Duchess Marie, sister of Alexander II of Russia, daughter of the Emperor Nicholas and widow of the Duke of Leuchtenberg, was at Torquay with her family in 1859. Her sons studied several branches of science with Mr. Pengelly, and became much attached to him, and invited him to accompany them on their tours in Scotland and elsewhere. This he was unable to do, owing to his numerous engagements, but they joined him on short geological trips. Prince Nicholas, the eldest of the princes, took much interest in geology. He was afterwards appointed by his uncle, the Czar, Inspector of the Mines in his dominions, and said, "the work often made him think of Mr. Pengelly," to whom he sent warm and affectionate messages by the Russian Ambassador, Baron von Brunnow, whom my father frequently met at the house of the Baroness Burdett-Coutts, and he describes in letters to my mother (who was visiting her parents) his first impression of his pupils and of one of their geological expeditions. ". . . I started off in proper time for the *rush* on the Russian princes. I saw them in the Apsley Grounds shooting with Mr. Stuart, the surgeon. The boys soon came to me, and I began with the younger, a nice chatty little fellow, so very chatty indeed that had I felt inclined I might have known how many pairs of stockings he had, or anything else in his power to communicate, but of course I checked his loquacity.

"I only remember that his mother is expected here next month. The eldest boy is equally agreeable, but less chatty. This engagement promises to be very pleasant, they are thoroughly simple. . . ."

"June 22nd, 1859.—I arranged some fossils and reached Apsley House as appointed at three o'clock. On arriving

here I found two carriages, into one of which the Princes, Dr. Tillner (who speaks English and is probably a German), and I got. In the other carriage were Col. Reh binder and Prof. Bauer. We were about an hour in the Brixham Cave and saw it pretty thoroughly, and the whole party were pleased. We then proceeded in the same order to Anstey's Cove. . . . From Anstey's Cove we took different routes ; the Colonel and Professor returning directly home, whilst our carriage drove round to drop me at my own door. . . .”

We get some glimpses of the Russian Imperial family in letters from Mrs. Pengelly to her mother :—

“ Aug. 17th, 1859.—This morning we had a two hours' visit from the Princess Eugénie, the Countess of Tolstoi, and one of the tutors ; we were extremely pleased with them all. The Princess is not pretty, rather small features, a very good forehead, and evidently very intelligent, and extremely interested in what is told her. They looked at the corals and fossils, etc., which they seemed to understand thoroughly ; and asked leave to come again and bring the younger ones, who were much disappointed at not coming with them this morning. . . . I had a good deal of conversation with the Countess Tolstoi ; she told me the eldest Princess was on a visit to the Queen at Osborne, with her mother, the Grand Duchess, and that they were greatly pleased with the Isle of Wight. She said the young princes and princesses were so happy here. I said, ‘ I suppose on account of being so near the sea.’ ‘ Oh ! no,’ she said ; ‘ they have a palace on the seashore, a very magnificent one, but they enjoy being here and living in a plain, simple way.’ The Grand Duchess telegraphed to the Emperor the day after her arrival here, ‘ This is Paradise.’ . . . ”

Mrs. Pengelly to her mother : “ William went yesterday to Newton with the Russian party, to a little picnic in the Bradley Woods valley ; they seemed to enjoy it very much, and the little Princess kept saying, ‘ Oh ! it is so nice ! I am so happy.’ She had a hammer which the tutor had brought for her and which soon broke. ‘ Oh ! ’ she said, ‘ this is too fine, too pretty. I must have a large one like Mr. Pengelly's.’ William says she is a witch, for he never found so many good fossils before. Like so many of his pupils, she enjoys her lessons greatly and is much attached to him. Countess Tolstoi says she keeps running to the window to see if he is coming. One day he had a very

pleasant interview with the Grand Duchess. The Princess Eugénie said the other day after leaving us, 'I would rather have Mr. Pengelly's fossils than all my diamonds.' "

A little later, the Prince of the Netherlands (brother of the King of Holland) with the Princess and their daughter, the Princess Mary, visited Torquay, and wrote asking my father to read geology with the young Princess. He was at that time very closely occupied, for in addition to his other pupils he was giving the Russian princes and their sister, Princess Eugénie, several lessons a week. Princess Mary, however, was so anxious to have his instruction, that she agreed to take her lessons before eight in the morning, and proved a most intelligent and interesting pupil.

Mrs. Pengelly to her mother : " I went on Friday to see the Grand Duchess by invitation, and we were introduced to the Princess Mary, who has now arrived here and is very nice. We paid a most pleasant visit, but, I am sorry to say, the Princess is not at all well ; she is certainly a most interesting girl. . . .

" . . . William has been with the Prince and Princess of the Netherlands and the Russian princes to the Cavern. He is much pleased with the latter, especially Prince Nicholas, the eldest, who is reading Dr. Kane's *Arctic Travels* with him with great interest. They are coming to us one evening to look through the telescope."

Mrs. Pengelly to her mother : " April 13th, 1860.—We had such a nice pleasant visit from the Princess Mary of the Netherlands, who is a pupil of William's now, and a most agreeable one ; she is about eighteen, an extremely simple, open-hearted girl. To-day we have had a visit from Miss Coutts and her party, and William is gone there to dine to-night. The last time we went the Prince and Princess Waldeck were there, and Sir Charles and Lady Lyell, etc. . . . Princess Mary and Mademoiselle von Doorn often walk down to town to meet William, when he is on his way to give lessons there, though it is before eight in the morning. . . . "

How pleasantly the Princess remembered her lessons with my father will be seen from the following letter, which he received from her some time later.

Princess Mary of the Netherlands to Mr. Pengelly : " Huis de Parar, near The Hague, April 1st, 1865.—Princess Mary of the Netherlands thanks Mr. Pengelly for his letter

and for the beautiful volume of Lyell's *Geology*, which she has received through the agency of Mr. Murray. The Princess recalls with much pleasant recollection the delightful months which she spent at Torquay, and the many *geologizing* and *jollygizing* hours for which she was indebted to Mr. Pengelly. Miss von Doorn desires to be kindly remembered to him."

My father's pupils now literally included all ranks, from the prince to the peasant. A little later my mother writes of those whom he taught gratuitously at the night school, after his hard day's work :—

"William is much interested in many of the young men ; they seem so much in earnest, and take such pains to get on. One who only knew his letters when he came three weeks ago, can read words of three syllables now. They come so nicely dressed and so neat, and everything is made comfortable for them."

Mr. Pengelly thus records an incident which amused him : "One youth had apparently such an insuperable amount of difficulty in mastering the mysteries of the alphabet, that it seemed likely he would never be able to learn to read. The boy's father was, however, very anxious for him to be put into the writing-class, and when met with the remark that 'it was useless to teach anyone to write who could not read what he had written,' replied, 'You teach 'un to write, and I'll get somebody to read it safe enough.'"

When on his geological rambles my father frequently had rather curious experiences, some of which I can fortunately give in his own words. One day he had reached a lonely wayside inn, about midday, and inquired from the rather forlorn-looking landlady if she could get him a simple lunch.

"Can't 'ave it, zur," was her reply. "Why not ?" " 'Cause me and my old man'th valled out." "I'm sorry for that, but what has it to do with my having refreshment ?" "I tell 'ee, we've valled out, and he'th carried away the kay ; so you can't 'ave it. You may have some of they there orts—whortleberries—if you like ; but there's nort else." I declined the "orts," and proceeded on my journey, which after a walk of twenty miles brought me to an inn where the host and hostess lived amicably. Finding that a bed was obtainable, I ordered tea with ham and eggs. Slipping off my collecting-basket, but leaving

my hammer in the belt in which it was carried, I took a seat on the kitchen "settle," and thereby joined three men, apparently masons, who had just "left work" and were enjoying a glass and pipe before going home. They all eyed me intently ; but for a time no one spoke. At length one of them took the pipe from his lips and emitted the accumulated smoke in that long, thin thread which seems to betoken a desire to make the most of a good thing. When his lips were at liberty he said : " Ax your pardon, sir, for making so bold ; but what trade be you ? " " I can't say I have a trade." "'Cause of your hammer, sir, I took the liberty." " Oh, my hammer ! I can only say I break stones on the road." The trio exclaimed in a chorus : " We won't believe that." " If you'll open my basket, you'll see the stones I've broken." I had spent the day before in a richly fossiliferous greensand district, and had collected many very fine specimens ; whilst the rocks of the locality in which the inn stood were, so far as was known, utterly destitute of fossils. Taking me at my word, one of the masons opened the basket and took out the first stone that came to hand. It proved to be a piece of greensand, with an unmistakable shell firmly embedded in it, yet standing out in bold relief. Instantly their pipes were snatched from their lips, their mouths fell open, and they all stared at the specimen as if they would at once penetrate the mystery connected with it. Never had I seen looks in which ignorance, wonder, and admiration were so obviously blended and so thoroughly pronounced. At length one of them exclaimed : " Why, how did thekky "—a provincialism for that—" shell get there ? " Obviously fossils, with their wondrous teachings, were new to them. My attempt to reply to their question eventuated in a sort of conversational lecture ; and, so far as my experience goes, no audience was ever more attentive or more interested. The next morning the landlord appeared after breakfast, remarking : " The men was very much pleased with what you told 'em last evening." " I thought they were interested." " Oh, ees—uncommon, I 'sure 'ee. I hope no offence, sir ; but if you'd stop 'ere for a few days, or a week, and talk to the men in the evenings, you shud be welcome to meat, drink, washing, and lodging free gratis. I'm sure lots of men wud come an' hear 'ee, and I should zell an uncommon zight o' beer." " Your offer is extremely handsome, and

most tempting ; and I am much obliged to you for it. But my plan was to reach M—— to-night, and I don't like to make any alteration. Thank you very much ; but I must get on."

William Pengelly had, I think conspicuously, that special mark of a fine nature that no surroundings made the slightest difference to his demeanour. He was equally happy in his expositions when chatting with the rustics, whom he met at country inns on his geological rambles, as when engaged in learned discussions with eminent scientists, or explaining points of interest to Royal personages. All classes, from the highest to the lowest, seemed glad to gather round him and listen to his instructive conversation. And from the early days when as a sailor-boy he was accustomed to read aloud to entertain his shipmates, until the time when, as a scientific lecturer, he had the power of holding the attention of large audiences by his eloquence, his first thought seemed ever to be the pleasure and instruction he was able to afford to others, his last consideration the personal benefit he might derive for himself. Early in the year 1860 my father completed the formation of a fine collection of Devonian fossils, which, under the name of the "Pengelly Collection," was presented to the Oxford University Museum in connection with the Burdett-Coutts Geological Scholarship.

The following resolution was passed in a congregation of the University on February 16th, 1860 :—

"The collection of Devonian fossils presented by A. Burdett-Coutts shall be named 'The Pengelly Collection,' in honour of the gentleman whose scientific knowledge has enabled the foundress to make the collection."

In the summer of 1860, and again in 1861, my father gave geological lectures at the Royal Institution of London, and writes home in May, 1860 : "The subject was too large, yet it seemed to give satisfaction, and I was frequently applauded. The specimens were greatly admired after the lecture. The audience contained a great number of truly great men—Babbage, Faraday, Murchison (in the chair), Tyndall, Grove, Bigsby, Daubeney, Wheatstone, and others. . . ." A few weeks later he attended the British Association at Oxford, and was present at the historic duel between Professor Huxley and Bishop Wilberforce. So many accounts of this controversy have been given already elsewhere that I need only quote a

sentence from one of his letters concerning it, in which Mr. Pengelly says: "Then left section C and went to D (Zoology) to hear a discussion on a paper which has direct reference to Darwinism. The room was densely packed. The Bishop of Oxford, Huxley, Professor Beale, Lubbock, and others spoke on it. The excitement was intense, quite as great as at a political meeting. . . ."

Professor Bonney, in his interesting summary of my father's scientific work, divides it into three groups: one dealing with the investigations of the Bovey Tracey deposits, another with the examinations of caverns, and the third including his miscellaneous geological labours, which were carried on for a long period of years. The work at Bovey was undertaken and concluded early in the sixties, after the exploration of Brixham Cavern was finished, and before the beginning of the extensive operations at Kent's Hole. Miss Burdett-Coutts, with characteristic liberality, assisted the work at Bovey. My father's scientific colleagues considered that his systematic examination of the deposits proved of great interest, and induced him to communicate a paper to the Royal Society on the work. It was entitled, *The Lignites and Clays of Bovey Tracey*, and was supplemented by an account of the Fossil Flora of Bovey Tracey, by Dr. Oswald Heer, of Zurich, the eminent fossil botanist. It will be remembered by geologists that Mr. Starkie Gardner's subsequent studies modified opinions as to some of Professor Heer's conclusions, but Mr. Pengelly's work has always been held to be of great scientific value by experts. In answer to a letter from Mr. Starkie Gardner, in 1879, my father writes: "I am afraid it is not within my province to give an opinion as to the Miocene or Eocene age of the Bovey lignite. The question seems to be one for you and Professor Heer to settle."

Writing to a friend, in 1880, of Mr. Starkie Gardner's opinions, Mr. Pengelly says: "He has already, and more than once, published the opinion that Dr. Heer made sundry errors in the specific identification of the plants, and that he erred also in assigning a Miocene age, instead of an Eocene age, to the Bovey formation. Dr. Heer, I believe, maintains all his positions."

It is very interesting to know that the recent investigations at Bovey by the eminent geologist, Mr. Clement Reid, confirm Dr. Heer's conclusions. I had the privilege of hearing Mr. Clement Reid's remarkable paper on the subject at

the Royal Society in June, 1910. The President, Sir Archibald Geikie (late Director-General of the Geological Surveys of the United Kingdom), spoke most favourably of Heer's work, and paid an eloquent tribute at the same time to my father's work and memory. I wished that he could have lived to know that half a century after he had concluded the Bovey investigations, the conclusions of his valued Swiss friend and colleague would be so favourably reviewed.

Bovey Heathfield is a district of great interest to geologists; it is, in fact, the bed of an ancient lake, which extends for a considerable distance.

Professor Bonney, in describing it, gives this short summary of my father's elaborate and painstaking treatise on the subject:—

“The upper part or ‘head’ in the section of the Bovey Tracey basin differs much in character from the underlying mass, which it covers uncomfortably. At the top usually come a few inches of peat, which is succeeded by a fine white sand, and this by a mass of sand with clay rather irregularly interstratified. At the bottom comes a sandy clay containing rock fragments, which are usually angular and subangular, and are sometimes rather more than a foot in diameter. These evidently have been derived from the neighbouring hills. On the western side of the basin they are mostly granite or fragments of the rock through which it has been extruded. On the eastern side flint and chert from the cretaceous strata, as might be expected, become more common.

“The ‘head’ was generally fossiliferous, but some leaves were found in one of the clays. Among these Professor Heer recognized the willow—perhaps three species, one being *Salix cinerea*, another probably *Salix repens*, and the dwarf birch, *Betula nana*, which still lingers in the Scottish Highlands and is so common in more arctic regions. These plants fully confirm the idea, which had been suggested by the rock-fragments just mentioned, viz. that the ‘head’ had been formed when the climate of Devonshire was much colder than it is at the present day, and ought therefore to be referred to some part of the so-called glacial epoch. This discovery at Bovey Tracey is especially interesting, because trees of that epoch are so rare in the south-west of England.

“The underlying deposit, which, as already stated, is

evidently much the older of the two, yielded a far more ample series of plant-remains which, however, were not to be obtained from all the beds. The mass consisted, for a thickness of about seventy-two feet in descending, of beds of clay, lignite, and sand; the last, though one layer was thicker than any of the deposits, being the least common. The remainder of the mass was formed of clay and lignite only, and the whole was free from stones. Thirty-one beds of lignite were cut through in the principal section, varying in thickness from a few inches to rather more than six feet. Thirteen of these yielded distinguishable plant-remains, and these were also obtained from two of the beds of clay. From the collection which was sent to him, Professor Heer determined fifty species; among them were ferns, conifers, figs, cinnamon trees, an oak, and a laurel, with vines, andromedas, a bilberry, a gardenia, a water-lily, and sundry leguminous plants—the commonest specimens being a fern, *Pecopteris lignitum*, and a conifer, *Sequoia Couttsiæ*. Professor Heer, as the result of his examination, referred the lignitic group of Bovey Tracey to the lower Miocene period.”

My father was a geologist, and, of course, never claimed to be considered also a fossil botanist. That he was a remarkably accurate observer is shown by Sir Charles Lyell writing thus to him in September, 1861: “I was surprised to hear that Professor Heer could be two hours in your collection and find no additional species. It shows how well you chose the set you sent to Zürich, and how good an eye you had acquired for nice botanical distinctions.” Again, a few days later, Sir Charles writes: “It is very remarkable that Professor Heer failed to detect any new species in your collection, which you had certainly mastered the contents of very thoroughly.” Sir Charles communicated my father’s paper on *The Lignites and Clays of Bovey Tracey* to the Royal Society, and writes, “I need not say that I shall be honoured by having to communicate such memoirs.” He also voluntarily undertook all the active work of my father’s candidature, and in 1863 Mr. Pengelly was elected as a Fellow of the Royal Society. Several very distinguished scientists were amongst the fifteen candidates admitted in that year, of whom, I believe, only two now survive, my father’s friends Sir William Crookes and Sir Henry Roscoe.

My father was very busily engaged with pupils and lectures at this time (1863), but managed to visit London. He writes :—

“ I find I must go to town next Thursday, the 18th, to be presented (admitted is the right word) to the President of the Royal Society. My intention is to go up on Thursday and back on Friday. Miss Coutts, finding that I must be in town, asked me to go there, and be present at her ball on the 11th, to-night. I should have liked it, and have no doubt it will be a brilliant affair. The Princess Mary and the Duchess of Cambridge are to be there ; brave moral courage ! Remember these facts. State in my epitaph that I was proof against the discussion on the Abbeville jaw, and Miss Coutts’ ball, yet, that I could have enjoyed both.”

Not the least of Mr. Pengelly’s services to his adopted county was the foundation of the Devonshire Association for the Advancement of Science, Literature, and Art, an enterprise which some of those to whom he at first proposed it, and who afterwards became his colleagues, pronounced to be hopeless. He, however, was determined to persevere, and received great assistance from his valued friends Sir John Bowring, Mr. J. Brooking Rowe, and the Rev. W. Harpley. Mr. Spence Bate, though willing to support the undertaking, took a gloomy view of the prospect of a successful gathering, as will be seen by the following letter :—

“ C. Spence Bate to W. Pengelly.

“ 8 Mulgrave Place, Plymouth.

“ Tuesday, April 15th, 1862.—My dear Pengelly.—The scheme had better vegetate a little longer. I see nothing but failure shining brightly. You can call the meeting, if you like, for Plymouth at two or three o’clock, but I fear the Devonshire Association will be made up of Plymouth members, and what a farce it would be to have our first meeting in Exeter and no Exeter men there. It is your baby, and my advice is that you nurse it still a little. But whenever it is ready to be weaned, I shall be happy to assist you in getting it to run.

“ Yours faithfully,

“ C. SPENCE BATE.”

The first meeting, held at Exeter in 1862, proved, however, remarkably successful, under the able presidency of

Sir John Bowring. My father contributed a paper on *The Lignites and Clays of Bovey Tracey*, and one on *The Age of the Dartmoor Granites*.

The second gathering was held at Plymouth, and the third, in 1864, at Torquay ; whilst a year or two later my father was President at the meeting held at Barnstaple in 1867, of which we read in the Report of the Council that "it was the most successful hitherto held."

One of his oldest friends and colleagues who attended writes thus of his presidency : "In the year 1867 Mr. Pengelly, who had recently been elected a Fellow of the Royal Society, filled the office with considerable *éclat* ; his inaugural address, being mainly a brilliant and lucid review of the then existing knowledge of the Geology of Devonshire, was listened to as the demonstration of a master with unmistakable interest." At the close of his address he referred to some of the unsolved geological problems within the county, and concluded with these words : "The solution of at least many of these questions must be reserved for another generation of inquirers, and to the young men of the present day I earnestly commend them."

One of his successors in the "chair," in 1871, was his intimate friend Canon Kingsley, whose acceptance of the office was conveyed in the following characteristic letter to my father :—

" . . . Many thanks. I accept joyfully the honour which is offered me, and the date thereof. I only feel a dread at so great a pleasure, so far off, and at what may happen meanwhile. For 'life is uncertain,' say fools. 'Life is certain,' say I. Because God is educating us thereby. But this process of education is so far above our sight that it looks often uncertain, and utterly lawless. Wherefore fools (with M. Comte) conceive that there is no living God, because they cannot condense His formulas into their small smelling-bottles. I am just sending off my eldest son, who has learnt his trade well at Cirencester and in the River Plate, to try his own manhood in Colorado, U.S. You will understand, therefore, that it is somewhat important to me just now whether the world be ruled by a just and wise God or by O. . . . P.S.—It is also an important question to me with regard to my own boy's future, whether what is said to have happened to-morrow

(Good Friday) be true or false. But I am old-fashioned and superstitious, and unworthy of the year 1870."

The Association took firm root, and has now continued flourishing for half a century. In 1872, another of my father's friends, Archbishop Temple, then Bishop of Exeter, presided at the second meeting held in his own Cathedral city. In 1886 the gathering met at St. Mary Church, the important parish adjoining Torquay. Mr. Pengelly, who had long been the Honorary acting Treasurer, and who had been in many other ways closely associated with the work of the Society for nearly a quarter of a century, now felt that the time had come when age and increasing infirmities forced him to take a less active share in connection with it. The success and prosperity of the Association bore witness to the wisdom of his financial management, for both in public and private affairs he made it a rule never to allow expenditure to exceed income.

Up to the last my father continued to take the warmest interest in the Association which he had founded, and for which he had worked so long and so unremittingly.

In July, 1893, the meeting was again held at Torquay, and although Mr. Pengelly was at this time a confirmed invalid (and died in the following spring of 1894), it afforded him great pleasure to receive visits from the leading members, including his old friends Dr. Brushfield (the President), Lady Bowring, Monsignor Brownlow (afterwards Roman Catholic Bishop of Bristol), the Rev. W. Harpley, Mr. Brooking Rowe, Colonel Amery, and others.

In a letter to my mother, Lady Bowring, the widow of the first President of the Devonshire Association, expressed the great pleasure this visit gave her.

Monsignor Brownlow often visited my father at Torquay during his illness, and endeavoured to cheer him by chatting on those antiquarian subjects to which he had devoted so much attention, and on which, at Mr. Pengelly's request, he lectured at the Torquay Museum. His volume on *Slavery and Serfdom in Europe*, published in 1892, is an important contribution to the subject, and is dedicated to my father.

During the fifty years of its existence the Association has met continuously in Devonshire, with the exception of the one meeting held, in 1909, at Launceston, in Cornwall, the native county of the Founder, William Pengelly, who

was a link uniting Devonshire and Cornwall. But as I believe the Rev. W. Harpley is preparing a paper for the Jubilee Meeting dealing with the past history of the Association, I gladly leave the subject in his able hands.

NOTE.

These rough notes for a biographical sketch of my father were written just before Easter, when my dear husband, Henry Forbes Julian, started on the ill-fated *Titanic*. I had intended revising them, and concluding the paper with a description of Mr. Pengelly's most important work, the exploration of Kent's Cavern. But since the great change which has altered all my life, and my recent illness, I must leave the notes as they are, and beg the indulgence of the members.

My husband took much interest in the approaching Jubilee Meeting, and hoped to return from America in time to attend it at Exeter, and to receive and entertain all the members of the Devonshire Association and of the Torquay Natural History Society (the two Societies founded by my father) at the Pengelly Memorial Hall in the Torquay Museum, to enable the members and our other friends to inspect the fossils there, to meet together and visit Kent's Cavern and celebrate my father's centenary. Alas ! that such a wish must remain for ever an unfulfilled desire. Touching tributes to my husband's heroism in sacrificing his life to secure the safety of the women and children have reached me from Their Majesties the King and Queen, from Queen Alexandra, and from many hundreds of people, including the poor as well as the rich.

His self-sacrificing death was a noble culmination to a strenuous and upright life. Of the loss to metallurgical science it is not for his wife to speak. Of the loss to herself she cannot speak.

RECORDS OF ST. NICHOLAS' PRIORY, EXETER.

BY MISS KATE M. CLARKE.

(Read at Exeter, 24th July, 1912.)

THIS was one of the three religious houses founded by William Rufus. The others were the Priory of Armethayte, in Cumberland, and St. Leonard's Hospital, York.

St. Nicholas' Priory was a cell of Battle Abbey (De Bello), which had been founded by William the Conqueror on the ground of the Battle of Hastings; the high altar was raised on the exact spot where Harold's standard had been planted and thrown down, and beneath which he died, fighting to the last.¹

In the British Museum is a beautiful manuscript history of Battle Abbey (Cotton; *Dom.* A II). The account is headed by an illuminated miniature of William I, holding the sceptre with the dove. In this manuscript it is stated that King William had granted to the monks of Battle the church of St. Olaf, in Exeter, with some land adjoining.² Printed in Dugdale's *Monasticon*, Vol. III, p. 243.

On this land the church and monastery of St. Nicholas were built, probably at the entire expense of the convent of Battle. Tanner gives the date as 1089. William Rufus did not care much for religious communities, and his patronage does not appear to have been of much financial value; but he granted the new convent a charter, transferring to them the land which had belonged to St. Olave's, and confirming them in the same privileges which his father had granted to the church of St. Martin of Battle, "where he conquered the enemy." This deed is printed in Dugdale's *Monasticon*.

¹ At the end of an old book of ecclesiastical constitutions in the Bodleian Library (Junian 121) it is said that Pope Gregory VI put William of Normandy upon conquering England, and under pretence of penance caused him to give much land to abbeys.

² "The Abbot of Battle has in Exeter one church of St. Olaf, and seven houses which rendered custom, that is to say, four shillings and eightpence yearly, and one house which did not render (custom)" (*Exon. Domesday* Reprint (196), 178).

The Priory, which was of the Benedictine Order, was made a cell of Battle Abbey, and to it were transferred the monks who had previously been attached to the church of Cullompton, which also the Conqueror had given to Battle Abbey. Dr. Tanner (*Notitia Monastica*) says they were but six in number at the foundation ; probably the number was increased later.

In *Monasticon Diocesis Exoniensis* Dr. Oliver states that Gunterus, a monk of Battle, was sent to make arrangements, but that Cono, another monk, was the first Prior. The manuscript account of Battle Abbey, mentioned above, is Oliver's authority for this statement, but does not seem quite to establish it. The possession of St. Olave's Church is mentioned, followed by the statement that the brethren had built another church in honour of St. Nicholas, which was to be subject to the church of Battle, and pay a yearly tribute of sixty shillings. This sum was regularly paid for about one hundred and fifty years.

Henry I granted to the church of St. Nicholas and the monks of the same, for the peace of his soul, and those of his father and mother, his brothers and ancestors, the manor of Relisdon (Rowlestone Barton), which had been held under the crown at a rent of twenty-five shillings a year by Harald of Exeter, and was known as "Harald's fee."

In Oliver's *Monasticon* is printed a letter (ex *Alfordi Annales Eccl. Anglicanæ*, tom. IV, p. 168) of the year 1103 from Archbishop Anselm to Osbern, Bishop of Exeter, asking him to extend more consideration to the monks of St. Nicholas, and try to work with them in a brotherly way, as all were labouring to the same end. Not unnaturally, there was perhaps a feeling among the clergy of the Mother Church that the new-comers must be kept in their place ; at all events, the Bishop forbade them to ring their bells—in the Benedictine Order there was a great deal of bell-ringing—and also denied them the right of burial in their monastery. However, the Archbishop's letter had due effect, and the Bishop wrote a letter giving the monks leave to ring their bells whenever they liked, night or day, except on Christmas Eve, Easter Eve, and St. Peter's and St. Paul's Mass Day ; while on Palm Sunday and Ascension Day the monks were to join the Cathedral canons in procession. This letter, which is in Anglo-Saxon, is written on one of the fly-leaves of the Exeter Book, the gift to the Cathedral of Leofric, first

Bishop of Exeter, and he and his successor, Bishop Osbern, wrote on the blank pages various events of interest and importance. Oliver prints the letter in a footnote in the *Monasticon*.

It may be not amiss to mention that a bishop always was entitled to exercise authority over the monasteries within his diocese. Probably the right of burial claimed by the Prior was never granted, but when it was required a licence had to be obtained from the Bishop or the other Cathedral authorities. In the Cathedral Archives is a notification of licence from the Dean and Chapter to the Prior and Convent of St. Nicholas, of date January 19th, 1476, to bury the body of John Hamlyn in their monastery (No. 2371, Cathedral Archives).

In the Archives of the City of Exeter are seventy-four records relating to St. Nicholas' Priory, and several more in miscellaneous rolls and collections. In the Cathedral Archives are twenty-seven. Nearly all refer to property held by the Priory, and land granted by pious donors. The earliest, which is in the City Archives, is a deed of Bishop Osbern, the same bishop who had forbidden the bell-ringing (1073-1104). This deed is a confirmation of the grant in frank-almoign which Railandus Ladubed made to the church of St. Nicholas, Exeter, on the day he became a monk in the same church, viz. the land of Pochelle (Poughill, as now spelt), and the church of the same vill, which was in his fee.¹ The Bishop says that those who shall maintain this gift shall have his blessing, and whoever shall try to take away from it, or in any wise to impede it, as far as may be permitted to his frailty, shall be excommunicated from the company of saints. The deed has the seal of Bishop Osbern (No. 149, City Archives).

A deed of about 1154-8 contains the earliest mention of the Guildhall in the Municipal Records. It appears that Godefried de Mandeville, Chaplain, and Reginildis his

¹ I am not certain as to the identity of Poughill. In *Domesday* are two entries. In the first the name appears as Pocheella; the manor belonged to the Earl of Moreton, and Alured the cup-bearer held it of him (*Domesday* (215), 195; Reprint, p. 308). This must have been Poughill, near Crediton, as the entry comes between Stockleigh and Colebrook. The second entry states that Pochehilla is a manor of Rualdus Adobad (414 b), 386; Reprint, p. 994). This was Poughill, in Cornwall; it is included in the Devonshire lands of Rualdus, with much more in the same district, including Brige (Brige Ruald, Bridgerule), Tuckabere, and other places whose names remain. The name of the grantor as written in the deed of Bishop Osbern is plainly Ladubed; the initial of the Christian name is R, though Oliver gives it as Bailandus, and the Calendar also; an amazing mistake.

fellow (*consocialis*), gave some land next the church of St. John to the church of St. Nicholas, and that Bernardus and Paganus, with their wives and sons, made a claim to this land, which, however, by this deed, they relinquished, "and put their claim upon the altar of St. Nicholas in the presence of many persons, and having quit-claimed the said land to St. Nicholas, were made Brethren and Sisters, and participators in all the benefits of the said church. They swore also on the text of the Holy Evangelists and the relics of the Saints never to claim the said land, and to defend the Hospital against the claims of any other person." In return the Prior and monks gave them thirty shillings, and to two of the sons threepence each, and to the others twopence each. To William Hoel, reeve or provost (*præpositus*) of Exeter, his right (*jus summum*), to wit, thirty pence, and to the four Catchpoles one penny each, before the citizens in the Gildhalle. There are many signatures of people of importance (City Archives, 150).

A little later (c. 1200) there is another reference to the Guildhall in a deed wherein Reimund de Aqua grants a house and land to the Priory, though he and his heirs are to hold it of the monks at an annual payment of half a mark for all service. "This gift I have made in the Gildhalle of Exeter between the four benches (inter quatuor banchos) before the citizens of the city" (No. 163, City Archives).

Another deed of about the same date shows the grant of Adam de Marisco of all his land in Cumba (Combe St. Nicholas); he made the gift, by placing a sod of the land on the altar of the church, on condition that he, his brothers, and the souls of his father and mother should be partakers in all benefits of the said church for ever. The seal bears the device of a centaur, not a knight on horseback, as given in the Calendar (No. 162, City Archives).

There are several gifts of property in Ireland, mainly in the kingdom of Cork, of which the donors were successful invaders. Most of these are in the names of Milo de Cogan and Robert Fitz-Stephen,¹ both of whom were leaders of mark in Strongbow's first expedition. One of their gifts to St. Nicholas' Priory was the church of St. Sepulchre, outside the town of Cork, for the safety of the souls of King Henry and his son John, who was Lieutenant of Ireland, and of

¹ Robert Fitz-Stephen was the son of Stephen de Marisco, or Maurice, constable of Cardigan Castle. Adam de Marisco, who granted Combe, may have been a relation.

their own souls. This grant was witnessed by Grégory, Bishop of Cork, who put the monks of St. Nicholas in the aforesaid church of St. Sepulchre because it was deserted (*vastata*) (No. 157, City Archives).

The names of other donors of lands in Ireland and elsewhere appear in a mutilated roll (No. 53). The handwriting is of the time of Edward I.

There is no mention in any of these deeds of Richard I. No doubt one reason for this was that he was seldom in England; but, in fact, he disliked the Benedictine Order extremely, while his brother John seems to have favoured them. John was in Exeter four times between 1201 and 1207, and he gave to St. Nicholas' Priory the manor of Bradeham or Brodeham, between Littleham and Budleigh, which was of the yearly value of fifty shillings. The convent had previously held it of the King, but had paid that amount of rent for it. He also gave to the convent the moiety of the tolls of Croiditch Fair—an annual market which had been established long before the Conquest, afterwards called Lammas Fair; and instituted a new fair on St. Nicholas' Day, all the profits of which were to go to the convent. The other half of the tolls of Croiditch Fair the King kept for himself. The city authorities, having previously taken the entire profits, were naturally aggrieved at losing them, and tried to get the privilege restored, but did not succeed until after the Dissolution, when Henry VIII, having appropriated the fees to his own use, transferred them to the city.

King John is shown in a beneficent aspect in a brief he sent to the Sheriff of Devon in 1205, when there was a famine: "that by the oversight of the Priour of St. Nicholas and four liegemen of the same town, three hundred poore people be fed from the 11th of Maie till the daie of the Assumption of our Ladie, (Aug. 15th,) so that everie one of them have dailie one lofe (foure loaves shall be worth a penny) and so much pottage made of the meale and herbes, while herbes may be founde; and when they cannot be gotten of beanes or of peason, wherebie they may be susteined that they perish not. And it shall be allowed you at our Exchequer." (Taken from Oliver's *Historic. Collec.*, p. 2.)

Surely one of our historians should undertake the task of clearing the character of King John!

In 1247 Gottfried, prefect elect of the city of Bethlehem,

promises forty days' indulgence to all persons who for cause of prayer or pilgrimage shall come to the convent of St. Nicholas of Exeter, or shall give of their goods towards the fabric or reparation of the same, provided they are confessed and contrite. The seal represents the Nativity (No. 176, City Archives).

The Prior at this time was named Alanus. In 1249 he obtained a reduction of the sum annually paid to Battle Abbey from sixty shillings to twentyshillings. Nevertheless, at the time of the Dissolution the tribute had risen to the sum of seven pounds; how this came about does not appear.

The various royal charters made the Priory practically independent of the city, and a good deal of friction arose. In 1260 a composition was arranged. The Mayor and citizens on one side, and the Prior and convent on the other, agreed, under a penalty of £50, to abide by the decision of twelve jurors who met in the great Church of Exeter on St. Katherine's Day (No. 194, City Archives).

It is manifest that St. Nicholas' Priory was steadily growing in importance, but it was always dependent on Battle Abbey. In 1282 the Prior was summoned to answer (*quo warranto clamant habere visum franci plegii et emendes assisæ panis et cervisiæ fractæ in Brodeham*) by what warrant he claimed to hold the view of frank pledge and have the fines for the breaking of the assize of bread and ale in Brodeham, without the licence and will of the King or his predecessors the kings of England.

The plea of the Prior was, firstly, that his predecessors had always had the liberty, but that as he, the Prior, was liable to be removed by the Abbot of Battle, he could not answer the charge, but he, the Abbot, ought to be called on to reply. That the Priory of St. Nicholas had received charters from William I, Henry I, and Henry II, the last confirming to the monks all the customs which William I and Henry I had granted by charters to the Abbey of Battle, and which stated that the church of St. Nicholas, Exeter, belonged to the Abbey of Battle (*Rot. de quo Warranto*, p. 164. Printed in Dugdale's *Monasticon*).

In the reign of Henry V this business of bread and ale appears again (Roll 53, Part I), in a dispute between the city authorities and the Prior as to the right of regulating the sale of these important commodities. There seems to have been some hard swearing; the point was whether the City bailiff or the Prior's bailiff was entitled to weigh bread

in the district of St. Nicholas' Fee, and take the profit of fines. The Prior seems to have lost his case. The prelude, or possibly the sequel, appears in another deed: "The whiche holy agreeth that what Baker or Brewer beyng a citezen of this cite after a reasonable warnyng, if any of them grynde any corne or malte to the pryour of Seynt Nicholas milles they shall forfete to the Cite for every Sacke ther gronde vi^s. viii^d." (Act Book, No. 1, f. 48, dated 29th November, in the 8th year of Henry V (1420). City Records.)

In the City Archives is a paper book of ten pages dated June 2nd, 1442, entitled "The Charter of the Priorie of Saynte Nicholas in Exeter," and is from King Henry VI to the Priory. It consists of an "inspeximus" of earlier charters and privileges, all of which are confirmed. In the margins are notes in English in the handwriting of Hoker, the Chamberlain and historian of Exeter. These give a brief abstract of each charter referred to, though all appear to be much to the same purpose. The gist, as gathered in Hoker's notes, is that St. Olave's and St. Nicholas' were to be free from all earthly service; that St. Nicholas' was as free as the Abbey of Battle, and that the Abbey goods, and by inference the Priory goods also, were to have all liberty without denial of the King or any other person. This seems to mean that they were free from taxation or toll.

It is satisfactory to learn from various sources that good Archbishop Anselm's letter had borne fruit, and that the Seculars and Regulars were on perfectly good terms, and anxious to help each other. In 1310 the Prior of St. Nicholas by a deed grants participation in all masses and divine celebrations in the monastery to all persons aiding in the fabric of the Church of Exeter (the Cathedral), which the Bishop and Chapter are unable to complete without aid.¹ This deed is in the Cathedral Archives (No. 2150).

The convent had friends, too, in another diocese. In the Register of John Drokensford, Bishop of Bath and Wells, the following entry appears, addressed to the Bishop's officials, archdeacons, etc.: "The Tower of St. Nicholas' Monastery, Exeter, having fallen, and also endangered the Church, allow the collectors to plead case for contribution

¹ There are similar grants from other monasteries, namely, Buckland, Buckfastleigh, Torre, Newenham, Tywardreth, Totnes, Modbury, and Bodmin.

in churches after the Gospel on Holy Days, and promising twenty days' indulgence to any person contributing." Wyveliscombe, 4 Nov., Feb., 1322-3 (?). Shortly after is a mem.: "Renewed for one year the begging letter in favour of St. Nicholas, Exeter, 9 Kal. April 1324-5" (Regis. Drokenford epis. Bath and Wells, fol. 182*b*, also MS. Harl., 6974, p. 74).

The disaster to the tower had occurred in 1321.

In the Register of Brantingham, Bishop of Exeter, A.D. 1371, occurs a Commission to the Prior of St. Nicholas' Priory, Exeter: "To collect the Subsidy granted to the King by the two Convocations (£50,000) within the Archdeaconries of Exeter, Barnstaple, and Totnes; the moneys received to be paid in regular instalments to Master John Wyliet, Chancellor of the Cathedral, and Master Waulter Baunton, Canon; payment to be enforced when necessary." Dated at Chudleigh, 20th July, 1371. On November 26th in the same year a second Commission to the same effect was issued.

On November 8th, 1400, William Mershe, the Prior, who had been appointed only a few months, left the convent seal in a box on the Chapter House table, and it was stolen. Bishop Stafford issued a description of the seal (Register, Vol. I, fol. 51), and threatened excommunication unless it was restored within fifteen days; all leases and deeds sealed with it after November 8th to be null and void. The Bishop also directed that if the seal were regained it was to be broken up and another made.

There are many entries of obits; for instance:

"On June 24th, 1295, Richard de Newton citizen of Exeter made a grant to Roger the Prior¹ and the convent of St. Nicholas of a tenement on St. David's Mount in the fee of St. Nicholas . . . on condition that they yearly celebrated the anniversary of his father, Richard, on the morrow of the Exaltation (Sep^r. 13th) with solemn full peal of bells (cum classico solempni); that all the monks be present in person if it might conveniently so be, at the office of Dirige (dirge), and every monk should have that day a pottel of wine, value three halfpence, for his labour, and 12d. in money" (No. 197, City Archives).

The supply of water was naturally very important, and there are many deeds referring to the subject. About 1260 the Prior and Convent of St. Nicholas gave leave to

¹ This Roger was elected Abbot of Battle in 1318.

Martin Durl yng, his heirs and assigns, to draw water in the cemetery of the said Prior, through his gardens, lying on the west of the way leading from the High Street to the Friars Minors, as far as his house (No. 192, City Archives).

Oliver mentions a deed of May 3rd, 1346, from which it appears that the Dean and Chapter conveyed the water from St. Sidwell's to an enclosed building in St. Peter's Yard; thence it branched into three channels, one for the church, one for the city, and the other for St. Nicholas' Priory, the city and Priory each agreeing to pay eight shillings yearly to the Chapter for this accommodation (*Monas. Dioc. Exon.*, p. 115, note).

This large allowance of water is an indication of the important position held by the Priory.

In 1387 an Indenture was made between the Mayor and citizens of Exeter and the Prior and Convent of St. Nicholas, whereby the convent had leave to dig the ground and lay pipes for conducting the water from a tenement which they held in Paul Street (which lately belonged to Peter de Fonte) to the Priory. This deed binds the Prior to relay and repair the pavement whenever it may be opened to repair the said pipes, and guarantee against any damage arising therefrom (City Archives, 205. Printed in full in *Monas. Dioc. Exon.*, p. 123).

This water system must have been effective, for it was still in use two hundred years later. The last Prior, William Cullompton, leased two stables with adjoining gardens in Paul Street to Martin Paffin and his wife for a term of fifty-eight years, but reserved the right to free ingress and egress to examine and repair the pipes by which water from St. Paul's Well was conveyed to the Priory.

The convent, partly by gift, partly by purchase, gradually became owners of a good deal of property in the city of Exeter. A list, made in 1416, of the rental of the Priory of St. Nicholas shows that the convent held :

Seventy-nine houses, tenements, shops, curtileges, etc.

Outside East Gate	Three
Inside East Gate, in the northern part of	
High Street	Fourteen
In the Southern part of High Street	Nine
Outside the West Gate	Three
In Smythen Street (<i>vico fabrorum</i>)	Two
In Prestre (Preston Street)	Seven

In South Street	Five
In Combe Street	Three
Outside the South Gate (one subdivided)	Five
In Curre Street (Gandy Street)	Two
In St. Paul Street	Thirteen
In North Street	Two
Behind and outside the well	Two
In front of the Holy Church of the Bow ¹	Two
Between the Friars Minor and the wall, called Brytan (Friernhay)	Seven
Outside the North Gate	...

Here the list ends, unfinished.

The Priory also possessed manors and farms in the country, which no doubt yielded a good profit. From a statement of accounts for the year 1476 the monks appear to have done a good trade in peas and straw. In the Christmas term of three months they sold six bushels and two pecks of peas; the price was 10d. and 11d. a bushel. Of the eighteen entries eleven are of peas. There are four entries of the sale of straw, to the amount of four shillings and a penny, but the quantity of straw is not mentioned. Two of the items are of 1s. 4d. and 2s. paid by the Rector of St. Olave's for board (*tabula*), and the remaining one is a payment of 3s. 4d. from John Meryfield for the tomb of Johanna, his wife. The rental is printed in Oliver's *Monasticon*.

The Priory held the presentation to the following livings: Poughill, Brampford Speke, Cullompton, Cadbury, Alphington, Pinhoe, Tawton Episcopi, Netherexe, and Rackenford, besides St. Olave's, in Exeter. This list, given by Oliver in *Historical Collections*, is gathered by him from different sources.

Charity in its widest sense was an obligation in the Benedictine Order, and the monks of St. Nicholas did not shirk it. The following is from the Chamber Act Book, year 1561.

“ST. NYCHOLAS ALMES.

“The order for the Relevynge of the poore people yn the monasterie of St. Nicholas: Late dissolved.

“There was nth in the saide monasterie a certeyn house called the poore manne's parloure: To the which place

¹ Probably St. John's Church (see No. 150, page 195).

there repaired dayly vij poore before dynner tyme, and to everie of them was delyvered on the fleshe daye a ij^d loffe, a parell (pottle ?) of ale and a pece of fleshe. And if it happened that any one of the saide vij dyd not or coulde not come then his parte and portion sholde be sent hence unto him. And on the frydaies lykewise at afternone as soon as dinner was done the all such poor as were tenantry every of them sholde have also a ij^d loffe, a parell of ale, a pece of fyshe and a j^d in money. And this almes was called by the names of vij psalmes. And if it happened that any of the saide poore dyd not or coulde not come to the saide parloure at the tyme prefixed, that is to say before dynner, then his parte and portion shoulde be sent hence unto him.

" And likewise at the afterdynner there came to the saide parloure all other poore folke which were either tenantry to the saide monasterie or dwelling within there for called St. Nycholas free and they sholde have meate and dryncke sufficient.

" Also upon every day called St. Nycholas Day there was provision made of breade, and then there was delyvered to every poore bodye one loffe. And likewise upon every (Shro ? Tuesdaye)¹ there was used a generall almes, which was 1^d in money to every poore bodye comynge " (Hoker, City Records, 806).

The last Prior was William of Cullompton, appointed 1523. He was suffragan to Bishop Veysey, with the title Bishop of Hippo, and between the years 1533 and 1535 he held several ordinations in the Priory church.

Almost to the end disputes continued between the city and the Priory as to the privileges claimed by the Prior. An agreement of 1526 sets forth that the Prior and his successors are to have a view of frankpledge, otherwise called a lete, of all persons within the walls of the monastery, and of the principal tenants, but in certain houses each party is to have power to regulate behaviour and punish misdemeanants. The Mayor is not to arrest the Prior, nor any of the monks, nor any servant of the monastery, but is to have certain jurisdiction over the tenants of the Priory, and he is to be allowed to take any one flying from custody to the monastery. The Prior

¹ Good Friday scratched out and (shro, *shrove* Tuesdaye) substituted. But Oliver says general alms were given on Good Friday (*Mon. Dioc. Ex.*, p. 116).

is to have no stocks nor pound in St. David's, except on his own ground (No. 220).

The last recorded deed seems to show that before the end a good understanding had been obtained. It is from the Prior and Convent to Henry Hamlyn, Mayor of Exeter, the Bailiffs by name, and the Commonalty, and is a release of all manner actions, suits, complaints, debts, and demands arising before the 10th of August, 19 Hen. VIII. The seal of the Priory is attached; the design differs from the earlier one, so it may be concluded it was made to replace the seal which was stolen, and which Bishop Stafford ordered to be broken up (221).

The seal is printed in Oliver's *Monasticon*.

The Priory was suppressed in 1536; the Prior surrendered the house to the King's commissioners and received a pension of £20. The revenue of the convent at the suppression is given as £154 12s., of which £7 was due to the Abbey of Battle.

Bearing in mind the extensive charity distributed by the Convent, it is not surprising that there was great dismay at the news of its dissolution. There is a graphic account in Hoker's history of the desperate but futile efforts of a band of women, who without question were prototypes of the militant suffragettes of to-day, to prevent the suppression. The whole story is repeated by Oliver in the *Monasticon*.

In the Chamber Act Book of 1539 is an entry that William Burgeyn was to ride to London on the business of a charter; "also that he be a suter to my Lord Privy Seal and to the counsell ffor the purchase of all the lands and tenements consernynge the priory of Seynt Nycolas beyng as well withyn the citie as the parishe of Seyt David without Northgaytt of the Citie of Exeter."

According to Oliver and other historians, the Corporation in this year, 1539, bought the stones of the Priory church, which had been pulled down, and used them to repair the city walls and Exe Bridge; but as to the rest of the property the embassy of William Burgeyn was not successful; for in 1545 the King, in consideration of the sum of £899 and 23 pence, made a grant to John Haydon, gentleman, of Ottery St. Mary, and Thomas Gibbes, gentleman, of the lands and tenements formerly possessed by various religious houses of Devon and Cornwall, including those of St. Nicholas' Priory: they and their heirs

to hold the property by fealty only and not *in capite*. The grant also included the profits of Lammas Fair, "and all the stallage, picage, toll, and custom of the said Fair, and the Court of pie-powder of the said Fair, and all rights, jurisdiction and profits of the same; the amendment and correction of weights and measures, assize and assay of bread, wine, ale, and other victuals, fines, forfeitures, etc., belonging to the said Fair in so ample manner as the late last Prior of St. Nicholas, Exeter, or any of his predecessors held."

I have quoted the foregoing passage in full, as it shows that the Prior really was entitled to the privileges of which the City authorities had sought to deprive him.

The initial "H" of the royal grant is ornamental, worked by brush in very black ink, enriched by pen drawing, and encloses a portrait of Henry VIII, washed in ink and worked up by the pen. The King is throned and crowned, holding the sceptre and orb; his titles are written in corresponding style across the top, with the addition of various royal and Tudor badges. (1) The Garter, with motto, encircling shield charged with the cross of St. George; (2) a lion with a mitre on its head, holding a banner with the fleur-de-lis; (3) a Tudor rose surmounted by a crown; (4) the Welsh dragon, holding a banner with the Tudor rose; (5) the three feathers of the Prince of Wales, surrounded by a circle of rays; (6) the portcullis with two chains.

The seal is in a bag, and feels as if it were broken. It is attached by a thick cord of white and green, the Tudor livery colours (No. 1449, City Archives).

The following year, 1545-6, the property was sold by the grantees to Sir John Willyams, Knight, Treasurer of the Augmentations, and Henry Noryce, Esq., for the same sum as had been paid to the King, namely, £899 1s. 11d. The seals of the vendors, bearing their initials, are attached (No. 1452, City Archives).

In the third year of Edward VI (1549) the property passed into the hands of Exeter citizens. Sir John Willyams and Henry Norice sold it for £1477 2s. 3d.—a very respectable profit—to John Blackaller, John Midwynter, William Hurst, William Bukenam, Thomas Prestwood, and John Peryam, their heirs and assigns for ever; also the profits of Lammas Fair; but the vendors retained one tenement, one orchard, one dove-

house, and certain lands in St. David's without the Northgate, of the yearly rent of 17s. 4d. (No. 1464, City Archives).

Although the wording of the deed implies that the sale was made to the five citizens as private persons, it seems that they were acting on behalf of the city, for in Hoker's Commonplace Book for 1549 appears the following entry: "The mannor of St. Nycholas was purchased this yere."

At the time the sale was made Thomas Prestwood was Mayor, and William Hurst Receiver. In the Receiver's accounts for the same year (1549) are entries of rents from tenements formerly in the possession of St. Nicholas' Priory. The property mentioned in the Receiver's roll is described as the Manor of St. David's Down, and of the land rents of certain houses formerly the property of different religious establishments. The entry is repeated in every roll up to the reign of Charles I, and probably later, though from lack of time a thorough search has not been made, but it does not appear in the latest rolls of 8 and 9 George I.

Among the tenements enumerated are none that can be identified as the Priory house itself. This had probably been the subject of a separate grant, and in 1635 the Corporation were trying to buy it, as the following entries show:—

"This day Mr. Sanders is desired to ride over the next weeke to speake with Sir John Pole about the purchase of St. Nicholas in the name of the Chamber, and to retorne his answer" (11 Charles I, May 13th, 1635, Act Book, No. 8, fol. 20a).

On July 13th of the same year: "Mr. Hakewill, Mr. Walker, Mr. Mallack, and Mr. Saunders and every of them are desired to confer with Barronett Pole and Sergeant Mallett about the purchase of St. Nicholas, and to certifie the house of their proceedings therein soe soon as conveniently they may."

There is no record of the result of the conference.

Now, after the lapse of centuries, the city possesses the precious remnants which happily have been allowed to stand, and though their lost importance can never be restored, they will at least be relieved from the ignominy to which they have been subjected for so long.

The writer offers most sincere thanks to Mr. W. A. Gay for his valuable assistance in finding and transcribing many of the records referred to above.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF MUNICIPAL HISTORY FROM
THE ACT BOOK OF THE CHAMBER OF THE
CITY OF EXETER, 1559-1588.

BY PROFESSOR WALTER J. HARTE, M.A.

(Read at Exeter, 24th July, 1912.)

IN compiling this paper I have endeavoured to let the extracts that I have chosen speak for themselves without more editorial comments than are actually necessary, and by keeping to this policy I hope to prevent the work of the twentieth century from disfiguring the masonry of the sixteenth.

In the sixteenth century the City was governed by a mayor, four bailiffs, and a council of twenty-four. The method of choosing the mayor for the year was as follows ; the council selected two candidates, and then the freemen of the city had the modest privilege of deciding which of these two nominees they would prefer. But it is evident that this method did not command universal approbation :—

“ Henry Ellycott dyd saye & declare that about twelffe-monethe past one will^m pynnefolde of the Citie of Exon goldesmithe being in talke wth him Dyd thinke himselfe much agreed wth the corporacion & saide that the masters will rule & chose a maior at there pleasure but saiethe he in oxforde one a tyme the masters wolde chose ij men to be maiors after the custome of the Citie. And when the tyme of the election came when the Citizens sholde have chosen one of the too persons so named they named not one of theme but named a third man being a poore man & none of the comon council, who when he refused to take thoffice they wolde not in any wyse he shold refuse it for why saiethe they y^o shall not lacke we will beare yo^r chardges emonge vs. And then saide the same will^m pynnefolde the same man contynewed in spyte of them

all in thoffice for that yere. And even so I am afraied when the masters¹ come to the election of a new maior they wilbe so served."

The office of a mayor was an onerous one, and in 1586 :—

"It is ordered that from hence forth none shalbe chosen to be mayer of the Citie of Excester wthin ix yeres after the day that he was before chosen and elected to be mayer of this Citie, that is to saye that he shalbe free for eight yeres."

Moreover many expenses were involved, so—

"where the burden of the office of the mairalty ys very greate and dothe dayly encrease more & more wthin this Cittie that fromehensfourthe to the better incoragemente & helpe of suche persons as shall hereafter be chosen to the office of the maieraltie of the said Citty every person who shalbe chosen to the said office and sworne in the same shalbe allowed towards ther Charge & dyet for the yere the full some of one Hundred Poundes for his pencon."

When the Mayor was obliged to be absent from the City a deputy, called lieutenant, was appointed. In October, 1587, the Council chose

"m^r Thomas brereton to be lyvetenant yn the place & lewe of m^r John peryam elected ontyll he come to take his othe and that towards his chardges he shall have weekly xl^s whereof xxx^s to be defaltd and deducted out of the pencion of m^r peryam mayer elected and x^s to be payed by m^r Yarde recever his first chardge to begynne upon the next monedy foloweng."

As now, the Mayor wore a scarlet gown, but the present-day Alderman is no longer so gloriously apparelled :—

"hensforthe every the mayere for the tyme beinge and every Alderman beinge a Justyce of peax shall were vpon every festyvall day hereafter named his scarlett gowne & Robe that is to saye vpon Christes daye Easter day wytsoneday Ascension day the Coronaton day beng the xvijth of november and Thers Day beinge the vijth of August."

Let us now turn our attention to the Aldermen. There were eight of them, and they were chosen by the Chamber for life. When a vacancy occurred the Council co-opted a new member. In September, 1582, the Council "elected in the Lewe & steede of mr John Peter late one

¹ i.e. at Exeter.

of thaldermen of the Cittie of Exon decessed & late one of the number of the xxiiij of the Cittie aforesaid Thomas Spicer a free man of the same Cittie to be of the same number."

The duties of the Aldermen were varied and peculiar :—

"Articles to be enquired of by every alderman of this
Citie yn his worke & Circuite.

"1. Imprimis whether there be any inhabytant wthin his warde who lyveth suspiciouslye. 2. Item whether there be any skolding brawling women or dronkerd in his warde. 3. Item whether there be any stranger or suspecte person wthin his warde and to know how long he hath ben there, from whense he came & whether he will : 4. Item whether there be any vagabondes, upright men¹ qwyer byrdes mightye beggers bawdes whores or any myslyving people. 5. Item how many journey men everye artyficer kepeth and whether he or they be in convenaynt wth there master for one whole quarter in one whole yere accordenge to the statutes or ells do worke by taske or tale work. 6. Item how many apprentysse every artyficer hath and whether they be bounde for vij yere accordenge to the Custome. 7. Item whether every Journeman & apprentyse do lye every night in his masters house. 8. Item whether they do refrayne from vnlawfull games and do vse shotinge at tymes fytt & convenyent. 9. Item whether they be seemly apparelled according to there estates wthout sylke greate hoses or ruffled shortes : and whether do one the holy dayes go to there churches. 10. Item whether suche as be hoxsters be of good name & fame or do kepe any bawdrey or evell rule or do vse night watchenges or vnlawfull games yn there houses. 11. Item whether they do sell be lawfull measures marked & sealed. 12. Item whether they have ale or beere of sundry prices as one for a j^d the quarte & a nother for a obel the quarte : or do sell contrary to thorder of the Justyces. 13. Item whether they do vse any typling, comon eatyng & drynckinge or lodging wthin there houses. 14. Item whether they shote & make fast there dores at x of the clocke at night yn the somer & at ix in the wynter. 15. Item whether any huxter be not admytted by the Justices & bounde by recognysances. 16. Item whether any do regrate forstall or engrosse any victualles as namely any

¹ Upright men. Chiefs of bodies of beggars (Halliwell-Phillipps).

poultrye or whyte meates as butter eggs chesse or other lyke and by what meanes the prices are enhaunsed. 17. Item whether any buyer or seller do vse any false weightes or measures. 18. Item whether the streetes & lanes be clensted and voyded of ordure donge roble or any other fylthe w^{ch} is or may be ennoyance to the comon welthe of this Citie. 19. Item whether there be any ruynose or decayed houses w^{ch} stande dangerose for them that shall passe that way: or whether they require to be pulled downe. 20. Item whether the streetes be well pavied or not. 21. Item whether they kepe any Jakes house of offyce or dungehill swyn fylthe or any like thinge to the annoyance of there neighbors or any other. 22. Item whether any man may have any chestes boordes or tres-selles standinge before bolkes¹ or stalls otherwyse then is to be permytted. 23. Item whether every inhabytant have in redynes a batt clubbe or like wepon to kepe the Quenes peaxe &c."

It will scarcely be a matter of surprise that some found these duties greater than they could bear; and amongst the twenty-four, who were appointed for life, we find men shirking their duties and giving the authorities a considerable amount of trouble too. Thus three meetings of the Council were held to consider the case of Mr. Raymond.

"Also whereas Thomas Reymond one of the number of the xxiiij or common counsell of this Cittie hath absented him selff from out of this Citie and hathe not resorted nor served yn the place as one of the xxiiij as to him apper-teyned. It was ordred by an acte made by the mayer & common counsell the iiij of July the xxiiij yere of the Quenes Ma^{ty} Reigne that sommons shold be sent & given vnto the saide Thomas Reymond that he shold make his repayre vnto this Citie and make his apparunce before the forsayd mayer and xxiiij at and vpon the xvith of July then next folowenge. And ef the sayde Thomas Reymond dyd or sholde vpon thes sommons refuse to make his apparans and to come at the Daye apoynted That then it was ordered that he shalbe agayn somoned to appeare before the sayde mayer & xxiiij at and yn the council chamber vpon the xxiiijth of July next folowing vpon payne of x^{li}. Also furthermore where as the sayde Thomas Reymond dyd contemptuously refuse to make his repayre

¹ Bulks, stalls of a shop (Halliwell-Phillipps).

& apparunce at the foresayde Dayes according to the sommons aforesayde It was also further ordred by the saide mayer & xxiiij vpon the xvth of September the xxiiij yere of the Queenes Ma^{ty}s Reigne that a third sommons shalbe made and geven for his commyng & apparaunce at or before the common Council of this Citie vpon the xxiiijth of September next at viij of the clock of the forenone of the same day vpon payne of c^{li}. And for as muche as the saide Thomas Reymonde accordinge to the foresayde severall actes was somoned to make his apparance before this mayer & xxiiij and yet most contemptuously hathe refused to make his apparunce and to do what to him apperteyneth as one of the common counsell or xxiiij but hathe contemned to yeld him selff obedient to make his repayre accordinge to the saide orders : whereby the place of this house hathe beene and yet is destytuted of a meete & a sufficient man to supplye yn the sayd rome. And hathe, and contynually dothe absent him selff and dwelleth out of the same Citie whereby he cannot nor may be choysen to the office of the mayroltie nor to any other service yn the behalff of her Ma^{ty}e or otherwise wthin the saide Citie. It is ordred that for his forsayde contemptes over and bysides one cx^{li} before assessed by the foresaide acte of the xvth of Septembere he the sayde Thomas Reymond shall paye for his fyne one other hundreth pounds. And also be dysmyssed of the nombere of the xxiiij."

Other members found themselves unable to perform their duties, but as they treated the Council with respect they managed to escape more easily.

(On) "The xxvijth of September 1584 forasmuche as hew wylsdonne one of the comon counsell of this Citie cannot for sundry causes make his dutefull repayre to this house when he hath beene called therevnto And he respectynge the good successe thereof the good increase whereof he most hartely wisheth hathe most humblye made his request to this house aswell by messages as by his letters that he may be dysmyssed out of this company and that some one other meete and dyscrete man may be chosen & elected to supply yn his rome & place : wherefor it his request being accepted It is wholly agreed and condyscended that the saide hew wylsedonne shalbe acquitted & dyschardged out of this companye and yn his place they have elected & chosen John howell the yongere to be one of the nombere of the xxiiij. And nevertheless it is agreed

that the foresayde hew wylssedonne shall duringe his abyding & dwellinge yn this Citie shall have his canell¹ breade or iiij loves as yn tymes past."

One of the four Bailiffs, who held office for a year, acted as the Receiver, and he figures largely in the proceedings of the Council, as he had the custody of the City funds. Mr. Ellacott finds that he is unable to perform the duties of Receiver :—

"Whereas henry Ellacotte by vertue of one Acte made in this house in the xxij of September A^o Eliz xxi^o was discharged of thoffice of the Receuershipp and of the mairaltie in consideracon of the some of lx^{li} in money by him paid & also one hogshed of wyne to be by him yerely paid to the maior for the tyme During the lyffe of the said Henry Ellacott. The said Acte is now confirmed."

As the City was constituted a County in 1537, it had its own Sheriff. This office involved the holder in considerable expense.

"Also it is agreed that everie sheriff of this Citie & Countie now chosen or hereafter to be choysen shalbe charged at his owne chardges to kepe the Justyces dyet of this Citie from hensforthe at three sessions for everie year; namely yn the Christmas Session yn the Easter Sessions and yn the sessions after mydsomer the whole three dynners to be kept vpon the monedys."

The expenses are still retained by the holder of the office, but we have changed the colour of his gown.

"Also it is ordered that every sheriff of this Citie & Countie now choysen or hereafter to be choysen w^{ch} hathe borne the office of a Receiver shall have a skarlett gowne before the feast of all sayntes next after the tyme & daye of his election upon payne of tenne pounds: and to weare the same yn the lyke order as mr mayer & the Justices."

Now let us look at a few extracts relating to some of the minor officials. The sergeants had to find sureties before they were admitted into office.

"One the xxvijth of September was the day of the election of the new maior at w^{ch} tyme the sergeantes were chosen & dyd the moneday folowinge put yn suertyes for the trew usinge & behavyng of them selves in there offyces as foloweth :—

¹ This is called by Hooker canon bread. They received it at Christmas and at Easter They were also entitled to eightpence for wine.

Nicholas Harrys { Martyn barbanson
John Webbe

“Rychard farewell { Wm. Hurst
Jo. Toker cordyner

Jo. Davy { Ryc Taylor brewer
George Crewes

“Edward Cooke { martyn barbanson
Ryc. mawnswell

Each of the gates had its porter. In 1582 the Council :—
“have elected and Chosen to be a Porter of the Southegate of the Cittie of Exon in the steede of Roger Courtes Porter of the same gate late decessed Wilton Halcott if he so longe do vse him selfe well & do put in sufficient surties for vsinge his office well & doo thoffice in his owne person so longe as he shalbe abell.”

The City also had a keeper for its warlike stores.

In 1582—“it is agreed that will^m knolls sergeante shall have the kepeinge & custodie of all the Cities ordynances armures powder and artyllerys & shall take & yeld the same by an Inventory indented whereof the one parte to remayne yn thes chamber. And he shall kepe & clense the same from tyme to tyme. And shall have for his paynes the yearly fee of xxvj^s viij^d so longe as the house shall lyke of it.”

In 1587 it was proposed to appoint a public preacher, but the proposal hung fire.

“At the foresaid daie A Mocyon was made in the house for the establisheinge of a preacher for the cathechisinge & in suche order as m^r Bright did use the same in the citie vpon the w^{ch} yt was thought fytt to have such A preacher to be procured to have the contynuanee yf the same conveniently may be done & so Referred to A farther consideracon.”

Although the government of the City was in the hands of a close oligarchy, the members elected to represent the City in Parliament were chosen by the whole body of freemen. The following extract shows that they were expected to look after the interests of the City as well as the good of the whole country.

“A remembrance of certeyn articles for Mr. Thomas Williams & Mr Geffray Tothill burgesses for the Citie at the parlyment in January 1562.

" 1. first that the charter for the godly order of orphans graunted by the Quenes Ma^{tie} to this her Citie w^{ch} for wante of prescription hathe not his force and is lyke by the dethe of the Quene to have his ende that therefore the same may be confyrmed & ratyfied by acte of parlament.

" 2. Item forasmuche as the custome of the Citie w^{ch} makethe everye childe lyke heire to the parent is most noyfull to this comon welthe and by the same meanes greate ruynes growethe bothe to this Citie & all other good Cities & townes havinge the lyke custome as when xx or xxx or xl persones shalbe ioyned heires to a very smale pece of lande that therefore the same custome may be repelled and the successyon to be hadd as by the order of the comon Lawe accordinge to the lyke grante made for Kent by a statute A^o 3 henr. 8 cap 3.

" 3. Item that the statute of apprentyses w^{ch} permyttethe onely the inhabytants of London & norwiche to have apprentices oneles the parentes of everye suche childe may dyspende yerely xx^s of freeholde that the same statute may be enlarged for this Citie & others.¹

" 4. Item that the knoledginge of the statute merchant & of the staple may be renewed in this Citie as yn tymes past.

" 5. Item that the statute for amendinge of highe wayes may have his contynuanee wth a proviso that every man accordinge to his lyvelehode yn everie parishe may be a contrybutor to the same and that the poore be not as heretofore charged as farre forthe as the ryche.

" 6. Item that the statute for the releffe may be amended and a iurysdiction to be geven to all Justices maires & other hedd officers of the temporaltie to vse coercon agayn suche as shall obstynatly refuse to be contrybutories to the same forasmuche as the lawes ecclesiasticall ar not sufficient for the same."

The authorities were prompt to enter a protest when their rights and privileges were invaded :—

"One saturdaye beinge the xxijth of februarie 1560 will^m 2 by the permission of God bisshop of Exon did send for John hill servant to mr Hewes pollarde of the Countie of Devon Esquier & the saide John being before him at the palace

¹ The 7 Henry IV, c. 17, forbade men in towns taking the sons of rural labourers as apprentices—to prevent a rural exodus. This statute was set aside as far as London and Norwich were concerned by 8 Henry VI, c. 11, and 11 Henry VII, c. 11. This Act was amended in 5 Eliz., c. 4.

² William Allyn.

house wthin the Citie of Exon dyd forth^{wth} commende & sente him by a speciall warrant to the kinges Goale of the Castle of Exon contrarie to the liberties of the Citie And further the saide bisshop beinge the daie folowenge warned and advertised by michaell germyn of the Citie of Exon that he coulde not lawfullie send any out of his palace to the Kinges Castle of Devon for y^t his house was wthin the Countie of the Citie of Exon where as he was no Justice he made awnswere that he was a Justice & wolde stande to that he had done."

One of the privileges of a freeman of Exeter was that he should be sued only in his own Courts. In 1560,

"Thoms ffursdon victualer of this Citie of Exon was accused that contrarie to his othe of a freeman & lybertyes of this Citie did sew one Thomas griffethe of the same Citie a freman at Ockhemton out of the Jurisdiction of this Citie w^{ch} the said Thomas denied not. Wherefore it was agreed that the saide Thomas sholde be disfranchased as also receive further punishment for periurie.

"w^{ch} Thomas was by the Justices sett at the fyne of xx^s & restored to his freedome agayne the ix of September, 1560."

Only freemen were permitted to carry on a trade in the City.

"Order was taken the xvth of may 1562 wth Thomas Strybbing that whereas he dwellethe wthin the Churchyarde & there kepethe a taylors shop that therefor he shall come to the courte to be kept on moneday next after Trynytie soneday next comynge to be made free of the Citie. w^{ch} if he refuse to do then there be a fyne sett upon his hedde."

Naturally enough, the masters of the Guilds must be freemen :—

"Mem. that the vjth of october 1561 the companye of the bakers presented Marke baggwell to be master of there company being no ffreeman of the Citie wherefore the[y] must be amerced."

The City walls must have been a notable feature in olden time, and care was taken to keep them in repair so that the inhabitants should be reasonably secure from assaults from without.

"... it is ordred that the Cities walls wthout southgate now fallen downe and yn decaye shalbe newly repayred & amended at the chardges of the Citie."

The security of the citizens at night was provided for as follows :—

“ Order taken the iij^d of December 1561 by m^r William hurst maior & the Justyces that every Inneholder Taverner & keeper of a victualinge house shall in every darke night yn the wynter have a candle light & lantern hanginge out at the foredore of his house w^{ch} shall so contynew there from the begynnynge of the night vntyll ix of the clocke And lykewise every other inhabytant or Citizen shall do the like everye thirde night as it shall in order come to his course & stemme¹ upon payne that who so makethe defaulte to lay for every defaulte iiij^d And for the dew observyng of this order it is ordered that the keeper of the bull ringe shall in the evenyng of every darke night go throughe out the Citie and crye a candlelight & lanterne And if he fynde any to be faultye to present there or his name at the Mone-day next folowenge at the Courte in the guyldhall.”

Then we have regulations for keeping the Midsummer watch, with the order in which the companies were to march.

“ The watche shalbe kepte in a decente & iust order & forasmuche as there be too new companies increased it is thus ordered that the companies shall followe in order as folowethe that is to say the fyrst in order shalbe the boochers the ij of the smithes & cutlers the iij of glovers & skynners the iiij of the company of bakers the v of the shomakers the vi of the tookers & wevers the vij the Taylors the viij the merchantes & the last the company sent to mr maior of the Citizens being of no companies.”

Here we will insert a proclamation for the preservation of monuments :—

“ The xxvth daie of september [1560] beinge thursedaye a proclamacion was made the comons beinge called together by the bell man agayn the defacinge of tholde auncient monumentes in churches of the nobilitie as also agayn the pullenge downe & sellinge of bells or any ledde of any church.”

In June, 1583, the town well and the conduit required attention.

“ The Towne well now in Decay shalbe repaired at the Charges of the Cittie & the Receiver to be allowed thereof And likewise the Conditt at the Northgate of the Cittie shalbe likewise repered And the receiver shalbe allowed of the Charges vpon his Accounte. Nevertheles that suche

¹ Stemme, a period of time (Halliwell-Phillipps).

Collecion as any will of there will contribute towards the same shalbe received."

Recent events will enable us to imagine the feelings of some of the citizens on hearing of the following decision of the Chamber in 1582 :—

"It is agreed that there shalbe a generall survey made of all the Cities landes lordshipps and manors and fishinges a perfecte boke thereof to be made w^{ch} the sayde Comys-soners shall advertise vnto this house as also shall yn the tyme of theyre service be allowed for theire reasonable servyces . . . w^{ch} forsayde comyssoners or three of them together wth the Chamberlayn & Towneclerke shall pro-ceede to folowe the foresayde survey wth all diligence And that one sergeant shalbe attendant & at commandment vnto thym."

Moreover, the same year, the Chamber ordered an inspection of the City.

"Also it is ordred that there shalbe a retorne made of xxiiij persons beinge free citizens & of good credyte : vz of every quarter vj persones w^{ch} wth the advyses of good & experte men shall take the viewe throughe out the Citie of all manner of howses and buyldinges and the falls of waters cariedges of waters bearenge of lights stayres bookes¹ and of suche othre inconcennynces for a reformation to be made by the order of this house and w^{ch} Jury so returned shall w^{thin} foure wekes after that they ar sworne shall geve theire verdictes yn the open courte of guyldhal at the courte there to be kept."

The City owned a considerable amount of property, and much of the time of the Chamber was taken up in transactions connected with it. I have omitted all reference in this paper to the Haven or Canal as it has been dealt with in Oliver's *History*, but there are many extracts with regard to fishing, mills and racks.

"The xijth of december 1559 the cople of the wrytynges betwene mr maior & bayliffes & henry harrys for the token mylles new buylded wth out the westgate of the Citie at the crekepyttmylles & it was agreed that there sholde be certeynge grownde lymeted & apoynted for certeing Rakes."²

The Customs were a profitable source of revenue to the

¹ Bulk, stall of a shop (Halliwell-Phillipps).

² Frames for drying cloth.

City, and the goods of merchants who tried to elude payment were liable to forfeiture.

"The xij of October 1582, where as certeyn m^echantes of Roane¹ named John de bockeweeye & Peter Trebye have brought certeyn wares and merchansyses yn a shep of dertemoth onto the Key of Topesham and dyd not make any entry for the same wth the Recever for the towne custome and for the not doinge thereof all the saide goodes amountyng to the valewe & some of about xvj¹¹ It is ordred that the saide merchantes shall paye for the redemption of the saide forfeytur the some of xl^s bysides the custome.

"The iij of november 1561 whereas Laurans booreman of Tawnton made entry of certeyn frutes (?) & denyed to awnswere to towne custome for the same because he claymed the freedome of Tawne deane² order was taken thet John hoker shall arrest the marchendyse of the saide booreman for the answerenge of the saide custome as also for all suche as is byhynde."

Having mentioned some sources of income, I will next show some of the ways in which the money was spent, and the first extract which I have chosen here is one of the few echoes we get in this book of the doings of the great world without the City.

On the 10th June, 1588, the Council

"agree thet m^r maior and the Three deputie Lieutenanntes of this Countie and Citie or any three of them whereof m^r maior to be one shall make and sett downe a Rate upon all and everie thinhabitants of the same Countie and Citie what some and somes of money everie of them shalbe charged wth & paye towards the setting fourth of the Two shippes and pynname to the seas for her Ma^{tie} Service.³ And that they shall do the same wth such spedd conveniently as they may and take likewise for the collectyng and payment thereof."

On the 17th June, 1588,

"it is agreed that there shalbe paid to John Dier towards the payment of the Waiges of the men of the Bartholomewe xxij¹¹ Also to Mr Nicholas Spycer and William Brayley for the waiges of the men in the Rose xvij¹¹ x^s and to

¹ Rouen.

² [Sic] For Taunton Deane, the vale of Taunton.

³ These served under Lord Howard in the Armada fight Pinnaces were fast, handy sailing vessels.

Mr Thomas Spycer for the waiges of the men in the pynnes vij¹¹ And further it is ordered that Mr Thomas Spycer and Mr Swete shall have the Care and Charge to provide for the new victualinge of the Two shippes and pynnes and with them they have appointed Richard Dorchester to ioine."

On 27th September, 1585, the Council
 "agree where her Ma^{tes} pleasure ys that Don Antonio¹ a Portugall & sometyme proclaimed kinge thereof shalbe received & conveied honorably there to that Courte that the said Don Antonio takinge this Citie in his waye shalbe lodged at M^r Maiers house w^t his two sonnes & the duke w^{ch} doth accompanie the said Don Antonio And they to have there Dyett there And the said M^r maier to be allowed for his reasonable Charges therein by the Receiver now beinge w^{ch} wth m^r mayers assent was agreed to be iij¹."

The great coal strike last March caused many people to think that perhaps the provision of supplies of fuel should be one of the duties of every municipality. Here we see what in Tudor times was considered to be the duty of a town with regard to its corn supply. In December, 1588, the Chamber

"agree that there shalbe bestowed for the Comon Store of this Citie what occasion soever maie be one hundred poundes in whete & Rye viz fowrscor poundes in Rye and Twentie poundes in wheate. And it is agreed that every of the xxiiij shall disburse there moneis towardes the said hundred poundes every one of them a reasonable some. And they shalbe repaide of the sume & have reasonable Assurans therefore Provided they shall not buye the saide Wheyte for above the some of ij^s vj^d the Busshell & the said Rye for above the some of ij^s the Busshell."

More in keeping with modern ideas are the following grants. The first is to one of the sons of the Chamberlain, John Hooker.

In 1557 "the Council do agree that peter hoker the son of Mr John hoker shall have a yerely exhibition of iij¹¹ duringe his being a student yn oxford from yere to yere Vntill the same shalbe revoked."

The next is a grant to the "Judicious Hooker," in 1582.

"Also it is agreed that Richard hoker the sonne of Roger hoker decessed and now a student yn Corporis christi

¹ Pretender to the Crown of Portugal.

College yn oxford shall have a yerely pencion or annuytie of foure poundes to be payed quarterlye xx^s and the sayd payment to contynewe as longe as it shall pleyse this house."

At the beginning of the reign the Government was faced with the difficulties connected with a debased coinage, and it made great efforts to put the currency in a satisfactory state, by calling in the base money, and writing down the value of the coins in circulation. The following extract gives us a good idea of the complications which the citizens had to face :—

"Mem that the xxviiij of september 1560 an open proclamacyon made at the Guyldhall as concerning the decreenge of the base & current moneye that is to saye the i^d to be current for iiij q^{trs} the ij^d for j^dob & the testoon for iiij^dob excepte all counterfeyte & false testoons w^{ch} are knowen by haveyng graven in bothe sydes at the hedd in the supercription one of these iiij signes a lyon a flowre delye a harpe or a rose for all suche testoons are current but at ij^d q^{tr} at w^{ch} proclamacon were present Therle of beddforde then present who perswaded the people to a quietnes."

The writer goes on to say that before the proclamation was issued a certain Henry Mawnder brought into the Council Chamber a sum of money for the use of the poor. It was made up of £6 in twopenny pieces, £3 4s. 6d. in testoons, 12s. 4d. in gold and silver (probable Spanish money) and 3d. in halfpence, making in all £9 17s. 1d. But the proclamation altered the value of the sum, for the £6 in twopenny pieces was worth only £4 10s. The foreign money in gold and silver was still valued at 12s. 4d., but the testoons which made up the £3 4s. 6d. were of two kinds. Twenty shillings' worth of them were of the "counterfeit & false kind," and therefore were only worth 9s. ; the rest, £2 0s. 6d., were worth £1 10s. 4½d., so, leaving the 3d. in halfpence out of account, the poor lost £21 4s. 1½d. as the result of the transaction.

A good deal of inconvenience naturally followed, and on

"the iiij day of october 1560 Therle of Beddforde beinge accompanied wth the worshippfull & the Justicys of Devon dyd send for m^r blackall maior & his bretheren and there order was taken for as muche as vppon the Decreasinge of the money a greate dearthe of victualls & other thinges

did encrease that fyrst the Citizens of this Citie sholde not in any wyse enhaunce the prices of there weres but to sell the same as reasonably as they did before the fall. And lykewyse that they nor any of them sholde refuse to receive of the countrye any kinde of testones or other moneye wthout refusall. And last of all because the people of the countrie standinge in doubte of the testons dyd bothe wth drawe them selves from the markettes some from bringinge victualls to the markett & some for then-haunsinge of the prices that therefore in consideracion hereof the masters & citizens sholde provide to pay for all thinges they buy in the Countrie either golde sylver or peces of ijd vpon the conclusion whereof it was agreed that m^r maior the morow folowenge being frydaye he shold at thende of the proclamacion by him made publyshe this order and the saide Erle also wth the residew of the gentlemen promyse that the country sholde not enhaunce there weres."

We will now take what I may call "Police Court News." A large share of the book is filled with the memoranda of cases which came before the Mayor and Aldermen sitting as Justices of Peace for the City. We must remember that the State looked after the religion, morals and manners of its members in a paternal manner which would not be appreciated now.

"The xij of october 1563 At which day all the wardens of every parishe wthin the Citie & lybertyes of the same were somoned to appear as foloweth and were geven yn chardge [then follow the wardens' names]—All w^{ch} wardens had geven to them yn chardge that they & every of theyme shole weklye be at the courte of the Queens Guyldhall & there present the names of suche persons as w^{thout} reasonable cause shalbe absent from the parishe Daies¹ vpon sonedaies & other daies vsed for holy daies. And if any person be so absent & so presented to pay for every defaulte xij^d And every warden so refusinge to do to paye xl^s according to the statute provided yn this behalffe."

The City was well rid of the following bad character :—
"That the vjth of september 1560 one Avys Clerke dwellinge vpon strippcotehill beinge convinced & trewly proved to be a receiver of certeyn yonge men beinge apprentyces as namelye of one bernard Troyte apprentese to one Richard halsewood of Exon merchante who after that he

¹ A mistake for Church.

consumed his masters goodes in the saide house ryotouslye dyd rynne awaye was put in to the pillorie & there con-
tynewed duringe the markett tyme and the day folowin
beinge the vijth of september a daye and tyme was geven &
lymeted to her to departe & avoyde the towne that is to
saye athisside the eve of S Matthew next cominge that is
the xxth of the present moneth."

The punishment of scolds probably gave much satis-
faction to their neighbours.

"The iiijth of october 1561 Johan Twychen the daughter
of hew Twichen of Exon was carried to the Cuckying stoole
& there washed for a scolde for that she called her father
theffe & her mother whore, and for the w^{ch} was banyshed
never to dwell more wthin the Countie of the Citie of Exon
vpon payne to be whipped at the Cartes tayle & to be
further punyshed by the descrecion of the Justices.

"The viijth of october 1561 Agnes the wyffe of John
Jones beinge accused by the verdycte of xvij men at the
last generall sessyons for her skoldynge was vpon her
submyssyon released of the punyshment of the cookyng
stoole vpon this condicion that efer she at any tyme here-
after be fownde faultye in the foresaide cryme or to be
any tyme vnquiet emonge her neighbours or other honest
persones that then she to be sent to the cooking stoole
wth out redempcion & to be further punyshed as her deser-
vyng shall requyre without redempcion.

"At which tyme also Rychard Lymbeere barber & his
wiffe & william hunt & his wyffe & Agnes Trelew who the
foresaid Agnes Jones hathe wth her wordes miche anoyed
& offended were called before the foresaide m^r maior &
the Justyces and by order taken the saide Agnes asked
forgiveness & desyred there good will as also the saide
parties asked her good will."

In October, 1561, the Justices had to deal with one
suspected of witchcraft, and it looks as if they were afraid
of her :—

"Also the same day ffranceys dyrim who for her vnquiet
lyfe emonge her neighbours & for her suspected wytche-
craft heretofore vsed hathe ben eftsones rebuked &
punyshed as also exyled out of the Citie & yet hathe
returned & dothe remayn wthin this Citie lyvinge yn her
former vnquyet lyffe it is agreed by the Justices that she
the foresaide ffranceys shall from hensforthe departe out

of this Citie & Countye of the same and that from thenceforth she not returne any more to dwell or to remayne within this Citie or Countie of the same vpon payn to be emprysoned & otherwise punyshed as by the descrecion of the Justices shall be thought good."

Thefts were common in those days, and the culprits were treated in a summary manner.

"This day was a boy called henry snowe whipped in the guyldhall for stealing a pece of kersey out of the racks in frerenhay." Next we have on "the xxijth of october 1561 Alexander Tomlyne sometyne servant to m^r florde of Ilsyngton who was brought & imprisoned yn the Guyldhall for pyking of the monthe¹ of sylver off[f] a stone who was whipped throughe the markett at a horse tayle."

Here we have an old offender :—

"Also the same tyme order was taken wth mathew bayliffe that forasmuche as he hathe heretofore ben ones whyped for his evell behavio^r and yet nevertheles hathe eversythens vsed him selfe as a loyterer & vagabonde as also a comon dronckerd and in his whole lyffe a man of inordynett lyffe intreatynge revylinge sklanderinge to some of the Justices of this Citie that therefore he shalbe agayn whyped yn open markett at the carte tayle and so wekly to receve the lyke punyshment vntyll he depart the Citie & County of the same or ells put his body to worke accordynge."

We wonder what the citizens thought of this :—

"The viijth of January 1561 hawarde ijnd sone to the lorde Thomas hayworde & husbände to mary barnerdes Duffy(ld's) daughter was taken in a pryvey watche the thursedaye at night beinge the vijth of these presentes And named himselfe John Dygbye And being examyned before m^r maior & the Justices dyd answere by that name but afterwarde vpon further communication dyd declare his proper name and the causes why he kepte the same secret and therevpon dysmysed."

The next culprits did not get off so lightly :—

"JohnStucky cordeweyner was taken the xvijth of m^rche for plaieng at the ix holes & other vnlawfull games & vpon consyderacons his paynes & punishment was released vpon condicion he sholde put himselfe to serve a master And on the xxth of m^rche the saide John in presence of M^r Robert

¹ A monteth was a kind of vessel in which wine-glasses were cooled (Halliwell-Phillipps).

Mydwynter maior, John buller John blackaller walter Staplehill & John peter Justices he made couvenant to serve wth John blackefforde of the parishe of S. sydwells cordewayner from the feast of the anninciation of our ladie next comyng for one whole yere & to receve for his yeres wages the some of xxvj^s viij^d in money bysydes his gentlenes & meate & drinke."

"The same daie barnabas Reve was for the lyke offense in warde and dyd there couvenente to serve wth John James cordewayner for one whole yere that is to saie from the feast of penthecost next comynge vntyll the same feast next foloenge w^{ch} shalbe in the yere 1561 & the saide John James to paye him for that yeres service the some of xxvj^s viij^d for his wages over & bysydes meat & drynke & showes as he shall have neede to weare during his service."

The free speech of John Northbrook must have been a surprise to the said Justices, but we are left to conjecture what was the fit punishment.

"At the seesyons kepte at the Guyldhall of the Citie of Exon the ijth of October 1561 before m^r will^m hurst maior m^r John Carelles recorder m^r John blackall m^r John mydwynter m^r livermore m^r peter m^r steplehill & m^r Robert mydwynter aldermen of the Citie of Excester & Justyces of the Quenes maties peax wthin the Countie of the Citie of Excester one John northbroke of the Citie of Exon was by the saide Justices for his evell lyffe & naughtie conversacion bownde to his good behavvor after w^{ch} recognysance taken walter staplehall one of the Justycesses & aldermen aforesaide saide to the foresaide northbroke that he hedd dyverse thinges to chardge him wthall: where vnto the saide John northbrok havynge nether respecte of the place or tyme wth tawntyng & reprochefull wordes answered the foresaide walter staplehill then syttinge at the bench yn the Quenes highnes service sayenge Open your boxe & do what you can when you lyst wth other wordes very unseemly irreverently & tawntenglye spoken in open courte."

The authorities would not allow the citizens to keep pigs in the City: so

"The ij^d of September 1560 Thomas byrde of the Citie of Exon Tayler beinge accused & called before m^r Robert mydwynter maior m^r staplehill & others for kepinge of certeyn pigges wthin this Citie contrarie to the auncient

custome & good order of the same dyd take a daye to rydde his pygges w^{ch} were too in nomber athisside the xth of october next cominge vpon payne to forfeitt for everie pigg so kept vj^s viij^d. And further the saide Thomas shall not from thensforthe kepe any pigges at all w^{thin} this Citie vpon payne to forfeyte for everie pigge so kept vj^s viij^d."

Sometimes the sergeants made mistakes in carrying out their duties.

"The ij^d of November 1564 order is taken that whearas Edward Cooke sergeant at the mace dyd vnlawfullye arrest one Robert Ellys w^{thin} the house of one betson w^{thout} the Eastgate & there brak open the dores & brought awaye the saide partie vnto the warde that yn consideracion the saide arrest was vnlawfull therefore the saide sergeant shall carrye backe agayne the saide Ellys so arrested to the place & howse from whence he hadd him and so to leave hym at his lybertye."

But the officers of the City must be protected : so

"One Walter Tapleighe late of brystow cutler was for strykinge of Thomas babcome a constable & for sundrie others his misDemeaners bownde to the good abearinge vntyll the next generall sessions to be holden w^{thin} the Quenes Guyldhall of the Citie of Exon the saide walter making his aparaunce there in open sessions kept the xith of Januarie 1559 was there dyschardged & by thorder of the Quenes Justices there was enioyned & chardged the morow folowenge beinge the xijth of Januarie to departe clene out of the Citie of Exon & lyberties of the same & ffrom thensforthe never to returne more thether but as a stranger vpon payne to be taken as a vagrante person and to be further punished as by the maior for the tyme beinge & other of the Quenes Justyces of the peax of the same Citie & Countie shall be thought expedient."

Possibly the most important question which Elizabeth's Government had to solve was the problem of unemployment. Her predecessors, especially her father, had caused very severe laws to be passed against vagrancy, but it was left for Elizabeth's ministers to deal with the grave dangers which were caused by unemployment.

An Act of 1530 empowered Justices to deal with the vagrants in a very drastic manner.

"The xiiij of december 1559 this daie George Croberd &

Richard griffithe w^{ch} were whypped the friday last the viijth of this monethe for their runnagate & vagrant lyffe were also whypped this present daie & had their letters for the same geven to them & so dismissed & so banished out of this Citie."

"The xiiijth of december, this day John Smale of the parishe of S Trinite beinge taken for a floysterer¹ & vagrant person was imprisoned for ix daies & then had a daye to rydd his house & to departe out from the Countye athisside shrostyde next comynge or elles if he be then fownde w^{thin} the Countie & lybertyes of this Citie that then to be taken whypped & punyshed as a vagrant according to the statutes in this behalffe. memorandum, that he shall also take his wyffe and children wth him."

In the next passage we have an interesting account of a vagabond's wanderings, taken on 5th February, 1561:—

"The saide Ambrose examyned saithe that he came from walkington the soneday beinge the xvij of January last past and on the iiijth of these presentes he came to this citie. The cause of his comynge hether from thensefourther is that one Thomas Ellys of walkington aforesaide taylor who had on the iiijth of January last beinge soneday broken his wyffes necke & cast her into a poole or pond: when he[s] wyfe was founde came to this examynant the day or morowe vpon twlfte day & the viij of January last as the examynent was at the ploughe yn the feeldes and there the same Thomas requested him to give him some counsaile what he might do to send for the Coroner & where he dwelled & how he might do to geyte money to pay for the crownynge of her . . . when this examynant declared bothe to the place where the Coroner dwelled & that his name was Thomas perocke and also that he must pay xiijs iiij^d for the crowninge And therewth the saide Thomas departed. After this when it was knowen that the foresaide Thomas had kylled his wyffe and that bothe he & his boy were indycted by the coroners quest & put in pryson in the Castle of York this examynant suspecting & mystrustinge he shold be yn trouble because the foresaid Thomas had ben wth hem & asked his consaile come awaye and went from thense to London and there asked consaile of his frendes what he might do: who consayled him to return hence gayne And so forth he returned: but when

¹ A worthless fellow.

he come to a place called barton vpon Humber w^{ch} is about viij myles from his house his host arose & wolde not serve him to go hynce¹ wherefore he returned backe agayn & went from thense to Northampton & then to oxforde & so to this Citie and here mynded to seeke shipping in to flunders."

At a later date the Clerk inserted the following :—

"This foresaide Ambrose Kyrton was dyschardged the xvth of may 1563 vpon the sight of m^r Tothilles Letters dated the vth of may wherein it dyd appere the saide Ambrose was gylteles of the murder whereof he was staied & suspected to be done in Yorkshire."

Next, we have a dangerous-looking character dealt with :—

✓ "The viijth of December 1561 Thomas smythe borne at Vxbridge being yn the warde deteyned for a vagabonde and runnagate : and not able to give any accompte of his yvel lyffe but so was openly convinced by m^r walter denys that he mett him betweene olde braynsford & london wth a long staffe of vij foote & a pronge of Iron yn the same vpon his sholder & from thense he came to this towne & vsed to stayle houndes & spaynelles & to sell the same he was at the instans of the foresaide m^r Denys released bothe of the imprysonment & whyppinge from this present tyme And further order taken that if the same Thomas be agayn taken wthin this countie or Citie of Exon floysterige or wanderinge wthout master [he] shalbe taken & apprehended & be put in the stockes and there to remayn vntyll he be whipped at the cartes tayle according to the laws of the realme."

But whilst the able-bodied were treated with severity, the infirm and aged were looked after with some care by the City Fathers.

"The order for the poore. ffirste there shalbe chosen vj persones who shall weeklie vpon everie moneday be wthin the guyldhall Chapel or too of theme & there receve from & of the Collectors of everie parishe all such severall somes of money as shalbe dew of theme as of all others somes of monye geven to thuse of the poore.

"The saide syxe menne shall delyver the saide some of monye to suche dystributores of everie quarter as shalbe apoynted of everie quarter to destribut the same accord-

¹ Some words appear to be missing—possibly "and bade him."

yngre to the booke of destribution the names of everie of w^{ch} here folowethe."

(Then follow the names of the six receivers, and eighteen distributors.)

The "somes of money to be distributed" were as follows:—

"To the east quarter vijs

"To the west quarter vijs jd

"To the southe quarter x^s vjd

"To the northe quarter xxix^s vjd

"delyvered to m^r Jo. peter liiij^s iiijd whereof xxiiijs x^d was of forfeited monye in the guyldhall."

In January, 1587, the Council

"wholly agree where the poore of this Cittie increase very muche bothe by reason of sickness & scarsitie of greine & vitails that the weekly Contribution & other Collecions made for them Canne not suffice ther necessitie Therefore yt ys orderd That yf m^r maiere doo for the releese of the same poore disburse any some or somes of monies ouer and aboue the foresaid Contributions and Collections although the same doo amonte vnto the some of Twentie poundes that the same somes of money so disbursed by the said maier for the saide poore shalbe repaid vnto him by the Receiver of the Cittie and he be allowed thereof vpon his accompte And that the said maier & Receiver shall make fynes of the Citties Landes suche as moste conveniently may be made as well towards the repayment of the somes as of other payments by the saide Receiver made for the Citties affaires provided that the said estates & fynes to be made by the Assente & agremente of this house after proclamation made thereof in the Courte there severall dayes at the leaste."

The same year the Council

"agree where there arre two Almeshouses voide in the houses founded by Mr Hurste for men & there wifes That John Gove and Roger Shilston & ther wiefes shall enioye the said seuerll Almes Houses now voide during ther lyves yf they so longe shall vse themselfes well."

The City officials controlled the industrial and commercial life of the inhabitants.

In July, 1582, "yt ys agreed That where yt ys apointed That Valentine Toker shall have the Custodye of the Clothe Hall and to beginne there about xiiij dayes after

this daye And yt ys requisite That orders and Rules shall be sett downe w^{ch} the saide Valentyne shall observe Therefore yt ys ordered That m^r knightte m^r N. martyn m^r pyman m^r Davy m^r webbe m^r Ellacott & John Sampford or iiij of them wth m^r Hooker & m^r Receiver & the Town Clerke shall sett downe penne & devize suche orders & Rules as they shall thinke most fitteste for the Comon welthe of the Cittie And to brenge the same to the house by them to be concidered of & Confirmed at ther discrecon And the same orders to be devized w^{thin} xvj dayes next.

"This order was vpon the xth of november 1582 referred to m^r prouze m^r Elycott m^r Davy & the chamberlyn.

On the 15th of December, 1559,

"order was taken wth ¹ Ryve of Chudleighe tanner servant to m^r Thomas Southcote for that a Dyker² of lether of his was forfeited & proved by the othe of vj expert men to be naughte that the same lether beinge so forfeited & the iiij parte thereof Delyvered to the fyrst seasures the rest sholde be solde to some sadler & that three partes of the same money sholde be gyven to him the saide Ryve & the iiij parte to the poore."

"The xxiiijth of september 1560 John Toker & nicholas marrocke cordewayners dyd bringe before m^r Robert mydwynter maior m^r Jo. peter Ryc. prestwode & John vlcott iiij paier of new showes whereof the overlether was made of the skynne of a calve starved beinge bothe evell tanned & evell coried the same beinge so evell as the same was lyned wth thinne skynnes & so badde as the lyke hathe not ben seene before wherefor the saide Ryc Turner was bounde in xxs that he sholde not from hensforthe make any showes at all contrarie to thorder of the statute provided yn this behalffe."

In May, 1563, about forty-three tailors and hosiers come to an agreement as to the making of hose ; here it is :—

"The Condicion of this Recognysunce is this that if thabove bownden John Webbe taylor do accordinge to the queenes ma^{ties} proclamation w^{thout} fraude or guyle that is to weete do not put any more clothe in any one payre of hosen for the outsyde then one yarde & halfe or one yarde & iiij quarters of kersey at the furthest or any other clothe lether or any kynde of stufte above the quantytie and

¹ A space for the Christian name not filled up.

² A dicker was ten hides.

lykewyse shall not put in the same hose any lynunge more than one lynyng bysedes lynnyn clothe next to the legge & the sayd lynyng not to ly loose or bolstred but to lye nist to legge &c as is conteyned in the proclamacion."

(Here follow the names of forty-three tailors and hosiers.)

"Memorandum. That every of the parties above named have severally acknoled them selves to be bounde in maner & forme aforesaide the day & yere above wryten."

Here we have a pewterer at fault :—

"The xxi of September 1562, Gregorie Jane pewterer sercher appoynted for the serche of the trew makinge of pewter vessel wthin this Citie of Exon dyd bringe yn & make seasure of certeyn tynney pewter pottes that is to say iiij quarte pottes & v lytle coops w^{ch} pottes beinge vewed as well by the saide Gregorie John Stephens & ¹ were founde defectyve & not made or wrought accordinge to the statutes vpon w^{ch} verdicte it was proved the pottes to be forfeited and therefor thone halfe to remayn to the vse of the Citie & thother to the vse of the same seasures."

Especially strange to our modern ideas was the attempt to prevent a man from taking what was thought to be a mean advantage of his neighbours. Let me here call to mind that a regrator was one who bought and sold again at a higher price without having made any addition to the value of the goods, a forestaller was one who purchased before the goods came into the open market, and an engrosser bought up the whole supply in the market, in fact, "cornered the market."

"Axewednesday ffeare

"the xxiiijth of ffebruary (1574)

"By m^r Receiver were seized xxxj ffyshes beinge lynge & millwall² of the goods of Walter Voysey for that the said Walter as a Reqrator did buy the same this present to sell in the saide ffeare & the said Walter confessed to the same.

"Item likewise was Sealed the said daye & yere xlv ffyshes Lynge & milwill of the Goodes of Thomas Moore of Newton Bushell for that they were bought as above. And the said Moore confessed the same.

"Item likewise were Sealed xxxij ffyshes Lynge & milwill

¹ Space left for other names.

² Millwill, probably for milwell or mulwel, a haddock.

of the goodes of John hayman beinge sold by his man Leonarde Sox for that they were boughte as above. And the said Leonard confesses to the same."

In October, 1561,

"Order taken by the Justices that the mayer & stewardes ffor the tyme beyng shall overlooke the corne markett wekeley And suffer no fforryner baker to come ynto the corne markett untill the last bell be Runge And then to buye ther corne by the assent of the officers and notte to yngrosse into ther handes more corne then shalbe necessarie."¹

The brewers had to be kept in order constantly.

"The xxvjth daye of August (1561) Mr John Blackall Mayo^r Mr William Hurst Mr John Mydwynter & m^r Moryse Levermore & John Peter called before them all the Brewers wthⁱⁿ the Countye of the City whos name ensuythe

Nicholas Reve Richard Wylles Nicholas Rowe John Bourne William Rycraft Hughe Chardon Richard ffrye Richard huchyns Simon Caves wyffe hughe Davys wife wydowe.

"Wth whome order ys taken for as muche as malte ys fallen and nevertheles the Cyty vnfurnyshed of good holsome suffycient Drynke met to furnyshe & serue the Cytyzens & other strangers That therefore they shall from hensforthe make butt only ij kyndes of ale and that they then sell the barrell of ale at iij^s vj^d & not above And lykewyse they shall kepe the lyke order in making of beare that ys to [say] of ij kyndes of beare good beare & smale beare And for euery offence to the contrary to pay for euery barrell sold to the contrary vj^s viij^d as ys by the statutes of this Realme provyded in this behalfe And they have daye for to begynne vntyll this daye senyght."

But apparently the order was not obeyed, and we will finish our extracts with the threat of the Council on 1st February, 1563.

"And moreover it is agreed that m^r maior shall take order wth the brewers when & how many of them shall brew & at tymes & dayes wekely and they to brew hensforthe more holsome Drynke or els order to be taken for the settinge vp of a comon brewhouse."

¹ This was to prevent dealers buying up the corn before the ordinary wants of the citizens had been satisfied.

THE FOURTEENTH-CENTURY STAINED GLASS OF EXETER CATHEDRAL.

BY F. MORRIS DRAKE.

(Read at Exeter, 24th July, 1912.)

THE first impression produced by an examination of the stained glass in our Cathedral is almost inevitably one of disappointment, for whilst few buildings can show more signs of having been at one time rich in stained and painted windows, the great majority of English cathedrals possess far more examples surviving to the present day.

For three and a half centuries the destruction of the old glass of Exeter Cathedral has gone on almost without intermission. First came the iconoclasts of the Reformation ; after them the soldiers of the Commonwealth ; and later still, in the middle of the eighteenth century, Peckitt, that much-maligned glass painter who painted the west window and restored the east. Worse than malignants or iconoclasts, worse by far than Peckitt, the ignorant glaziers of the last two centuries have almost completed the entire destruction of the specially fine glass which in the year 1400 must have filled not only every window in the Cathedral itself, but some of those in the Chapter-house as well. We seem to have been specially ill-served by our glaziers here at Exeter. When, in other cathedrals, a window became broken it was either clumsily patched up as it stood, or removed and stored in some dark corner whilst its place was filled by common glazing. But with us some genius towards the close of the seventeenth century devised a means of utilizing the scraps of ancient glass that fell into his hands. Instead of resting content with mending or storing the old glass, he designed a pattern of elongated quatrefoils in common white sheet-glass, cutting up the ancient stained glass to provide spots and lines of colour.

Glazier after glazier followed on the same lines, so well

pleased with their geometrical glazing that, not content to wait until shattered windows came into their hands, they even cut up perfectly sound fourteenth-century glass to serve their needs. This was actually done so late as 1875, when a complete four-light window, originally from the clearstory near the Bishop's throne, was discovered stored in the minstrels' gallery and cut to pieces by the Chapter glazier of the period to lead up into his modern rubbish.

We have an interesting gauge by which to measure in some degree the ravages of the last two and a half centuries. Exactly two hundred and sixty-eight years ago, in July of 1644, one Richard Symonds, an officer of horse in the Royalist forces and a devoted antiquary, was billeted in Exeter and visited the Cathedral. Whilst there he jotted down in his diary the blazonings of six or seven coats of arms then in the windows on the north side, and on his way back from the successful campaign in Cornwall visited the Cathedral again, this time listing no less than one hundred and forty stained-glass coats of arms in the windows. It must be remembered that the destruction of the old glass had commenced a century before Symonds' time, and moreover his list was not complete. There are shields of earlier date now in the windows which possibly escaped his notice, but of the hundred and forty he did list, less than twenty now remain. The destruction may have been resumed immediately after Symonds' departure, when the Parliamentary forces entered the city, but I venture to think the damage they did has been overestimated. Here and there shields of Royalist families may have been smashed, or an offending subject had a few stones thrown through it, but it must be borne in mind that stained glass, besides being an adornment, is an intrinsic part of the building. It performs the useful function of keeping out the weather, and it seems hardly likely that the sectarians who divided the Cathedral between them should have destroyed any large quantities of painted glass at the cost of laying open their place of worship to storms of wind or rain.

Even though we had no Fairfax here, as at York, to protect the glass, we have, on the other hand, no record of any such malignant rascal as Richard Bulmer, of Canterbury, who boasted of standing with his "half pike on the towne ladder of sixty steps, rattling down proud Becket's glassie bones where none other would dare so high."

What damage was done at Exeter during the Commonwealth was probably due rather to neglect than malice, and it would have been well for us at the present day if the windows had suffered from nothing worse than similar neglect in the two and a half centuries which have since elapsed.

But despite Reformers, and Malignants, and incompetent glaziers, we have some glass remaining, and that of uncommon beauty and interest. These remains comprise four windows, complete, or nearly complete—the east window, a window in the north clearstory opposite the Bishop's throne, and the north and south windows of St. Mary Magdalen's and St. Gabriel's chapels respectively, the first-named of which at present occupies the east instead of the north wall of St. Mary Magdalen's Chapel.

Besides these four windows there are a large number of coats of arms and other fragments scattered throughout the choir aisles or collected in the east window of the Chapter-house, and the great quantity of scraps of glass chopped up to form the wretched glazier's quatrefoils throughout the building provides some evidences of the character of the stained glass that originally filled the other windows. The actual quantity is not large as compared with that possessed by many other English cathedrals, but much of it is of exceptional merit, and dating as it does from the beginning and end of the fourteenth century—the period in which English glass, in design and technique, underwent more rapid and complete changes than at any other time whatever—it provides examples of the evolution of glass design which possess for artist and antiquary alike some quite uncommon points of interest. Our oldest window is distinctly the earliest glass the county can show in anything approaching a complete condition. The grisaille panels with figures of William and Matilda de Ferrers, now in the east window of Bere Ferrers Church, archaic though they appear, are probably thirty years later than the oldest window in the Cathedral, which occupies an opening in the north choir clearstory opposite the Bishop's throne.

This north clearstory window is probably of French material, and very possibly of French workmanship also.

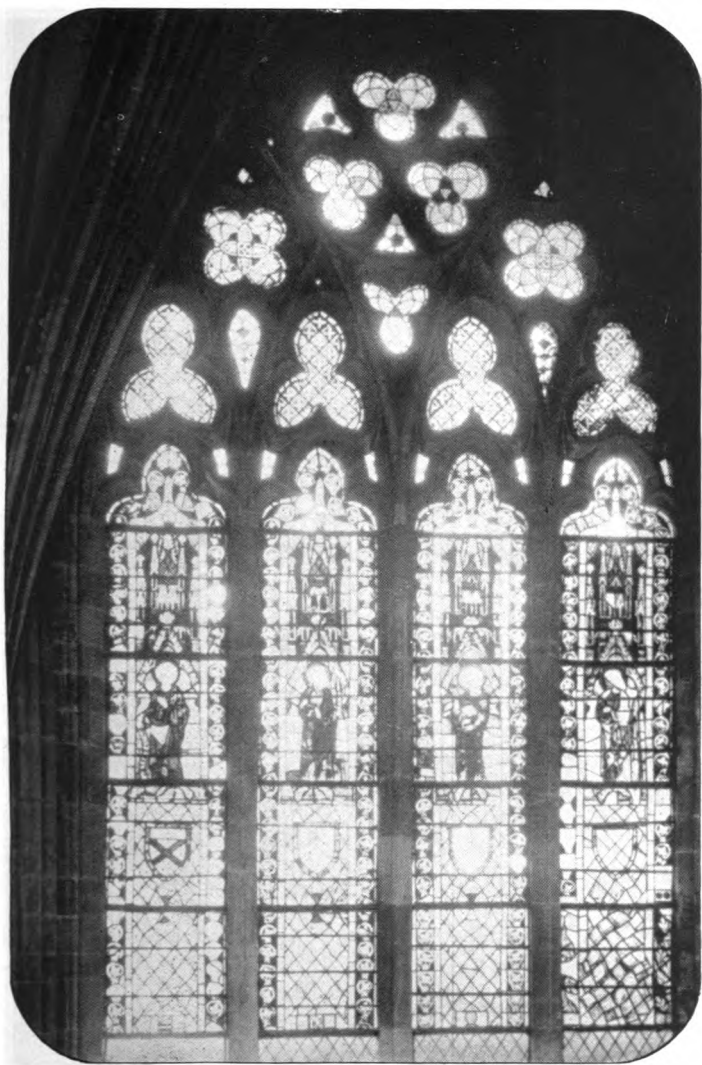
The Fabric Rolls for 1301 refer to a purchase of 1271 feet of glass, and in 1303 one "Master Walter," glazier to the Dean and Chapter, received £4 10s. for fitting the glass

to the gable end and "*octo summarum fenestrarum et sex fenestrarum in utraque parte.*" So far the rolls would seem to deal only with unpainted glass, but in this same year occurs an entry respecting 140 feet of "*vitri depicti*"—apparently the first definite mention they make of stained glass, and it may well be that this window, or another of the series to which it once belonged, contained the very glass to which reference is made.

There is a tradition that "Master Walter" himself was a Rouen man, and there is nothing improbable in the idea. In France stained glass fell, in the fourteenth century, on very troubled days. A century earlier it had been one of the most prosperous handicrafts, but what with war within and without their borders, what with the disasters of Crécy and Poitiers, what with the Jacquerie and the plague, the nobles of France in the fourteenth century had more urgent business on hand than the ordering of stained glass, and the French glass painters, their occupation almost gone, were in dire straits. Many of them fled to England, and it may well be that "Master Walter" was amongst the number. In any case, there is nothing improbable in his having been a Frenchman. There was a constant come and go of skilled handicraftsmen between France and our shores even as late as the end of the fifteenth century. For instance, some of the Perpendicular glass at Ashton, six miles from Exeter, was almost certainly painted by a Frenchman resident in this neighbourhood.

Besides, Rouen was a great glass mart, and, to return for a moment to the Fabric Rolls, we find that in 1317 large purchases of glass for the Cathedral were actually made there. Six hundred and twenty-nine pieces of white and 1203 pieces of coloured glass are listed—the coloured glass, curiously enough, being much cheaper than the white. The "pieces" would probably be the usual circular sheets, known now as "Crown" glass, with a bull's eye in the centre of each sheet. They varied in size, but at this period probably averaged about 3 feet in diameter. Allowing each piece to contain seven superficial feet of glass, we find that the Dean and Chapter bought nearly thirteen thousand feet of glass at one time, an enormous purchase for those days.

It is very probable that this window is the work of "Master Walter." If this be the case, the glass presents other internal evidences bearing out the tradition that



NORTH CHOIR CLEARSTOREY, EXETER.
WINDOW FACING BISHOP'S THRONE.

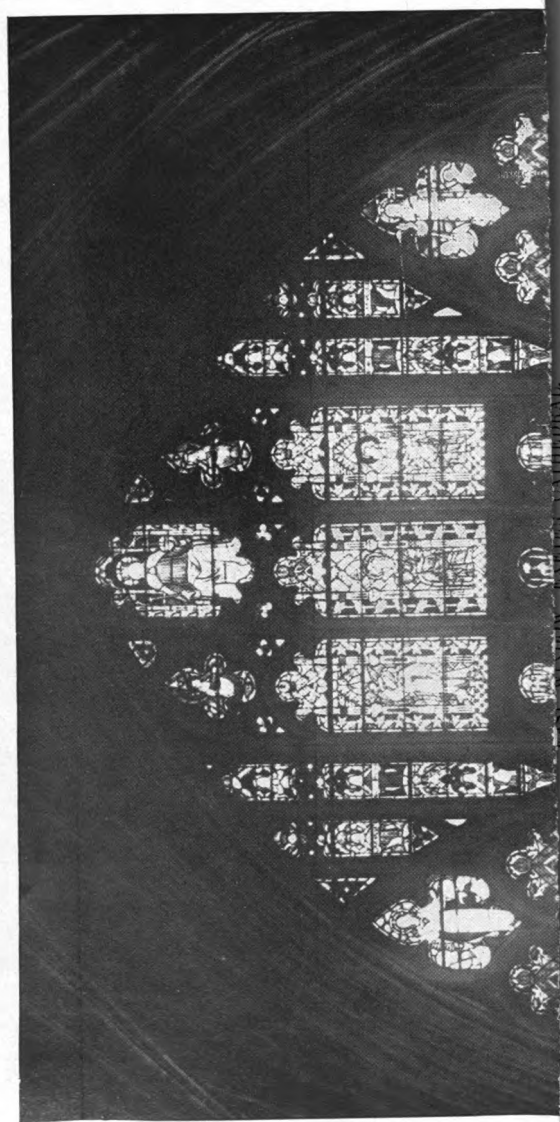
STAINED GLASS OF EXETER CATHEDRAL.—*To face p. 234.*

he was a Rouen man, for the design of the grisaille background is strikingly similar to that of a window sketched by my father in Rouen Cathedral, and the general composition—single figures of saints under Decorated canopies, the whole laid upon backgrounds of geometrical grisaille—is nothing if not North French in its conception. A complete series can be seen at St. Ouen, at Rouen, in later glass, it is true, but showing the identical arrangement of a single tier of figures under canopies all round the clear-story of the building. Commencing at the north-west window with Adam, Old Testament personages fill the nave windows in the north side, and figures from the New Testament the same side of the choir. The east window contains scenes from the life of Our Lord, and along the south side is a series of patriarchs, bishops, and other saints of the Christian Church. Inasmuch as the window discovered in the minstrels' gallery at the time of the restoration of the Cathedral was identical with this in treatment, we cannot doubt that some such arrangement at one time filled our own clearstory windows, at least so far as the choir is concerned. This window is typical of good Decorated design. The backgrounds, of geometrical glazing, painted with delicate foliage in outline only, are of the grey-green that stood for white at the beginning of the fourteenth century—the tint of which earned for all such geometrical windows the name of *grisaille* or greyish. The name, imported like the glass from France, has since lost its original meaning with us, so that it comes to be applied to all geometrical glass, whether greyish in tone or not. As a matter of fact, most of the Exeter grisaille—including the windows in St. Mary Magdalen's and St. Gabriel's chapels—is of a nearly pure white, and is so clear, so hard, and so durable that I have never seen its equal. The excellent quality of this glass, peculiar to Exeter, may account for the high price of the white glass bought in the enormous purchase of 1317, and this being so we have yet another evidence indicating that the north clearstory window is "Master Walter's" work and anterior to this date, for the grisaille backgrounds are of a full greenish tint, nowhere approaching the purity and whiteness of the later material.

Laid upon them are four figures with, above, five Decorated canopies, and below, four coats of arms. The ancient bearings of the shields have vanished, the saltires

and chevrons now displayed upon them being poor modern glazing. The backgrounds to the figures have also disappeared and have been replaced by common sheet-glass daubed over with oil-paint, which has peeled off, leaving them crudely white, and finally the heads of the figures have been destroyed and replaced with plain panes of sheet-glass. This last can only have been the work of Tudor iconoclasts; all the other damage, including the hopelessly muddled state of the grisaille in the lower portion of the right-hand light, has been wrought by generations of Chapter glaziers. The design, arrangement, and proportions of the figures and canopies in this window are strictly and typically Decorated, and though the grisaille backgrounds are a heritage from the preceding century, they too, with their naturalistic foliage and absence of cross-hatched backgrounds, are treated in as purely Decorated a manner as could be desired, but the borders, round-leaved trefoils each within a circular twist of climbing stem, are strongly reminiscent of earlier work. These rounded curves, so common as to be almost characteristic of the earlier grisailles, at Salisbury and elsewhere, are the direct descendant of the rotund acanthoid foliage bequeathed to the earliest glass painters by their Byzantine forbears. The earliest English examples in glass are at Canterbury, and here at Exeter they make their last appearance. It so happens that these and other fragments still remaining in the Cathedral admirably illustrate how from such sweeping rounded curves the angularity of the true Gothic was evolved—and the borders to this window show the last expression of the foliated curves which underlie all Early English ornament.

But whilst the borders recall an earlier style of design, the tracery openings are prophetic of a style to come. The smaller quatrefoils and trefoils contain mere rosette centres, such as we might reasonably expect to find associated with grisaille, but the four largest openings, immediately over the main lights, instead of containing more of the geometrical grisaille which fills every other part of the window, apart from the figures and canopies, are divided by straight lead-lines into rectilinear, lozenge-shaped panes, each of which is painted with a separate quatrefoil. Each quatrefoil is entirely separated from its neighbours, instead of being joined to them as the leaves of the grisaille patterns are joined by interlacing stems and strapwork. The



STAINED GLASS OF EXETER CATHEDRAL.—To face p. 237.

difference seems trifling, but in reality it is a very important step in design, for the main difference between the grisailles of the thirteenth century and the quarry window of the fifteenth is just that one small matter. The grisailles are painted with a running design; the quarry window is made up of a repeat of separate patterns; and these tracery openings, painted nearly fifty years before the quarry window was born, are the earliest prediction that I know of the coming change of style.

Before leaving this window I will ask you to note carefully the form, proportions, and details of the Decorated canopies. More particularly note the steep crocketed gable immediately over the figures, and the turret-like mass above it topped by another smaller gable and flanked by two pinnacles, with two other lower and separate pinnacles at their sides, and then turning to the east window observe how the canopies over the six outer figures—three on either side—show precisely the same arrangement. Not only is the general design almost exactly duplicated, but the workmanship to its smallest details closely resembles that of the window you have just seen. If "Master Walter" painted the north clearstory window, as I believe he did, then Master Walter, or a pupil of his, had a hand in the first east window as well.

This first east window, of six, not of nine, lights was painted in Bishop Stapledon's time, before the year 1326, but the white glass it contains is the characteristic Exeter white to which I have already referred as being probably the expensive material bought at Rouen in 1317. If this is correct—and the quality and quantity of this glass in the Cathedral leave little room for doubt on this point—then the first east window was painted during the nine years that elapsed between the Rouen purchase and Bishop Stapledon's assassination in Cheapside. The three outer side lights on either side of the window, and the upper tier of three large tracery openings, contain the glass originally in this six-light window.

This first window stood untouched for nearly seventy years, but towards the end of the century the Cathedral authorities appear to have become dissatisfied with it. Perhaps they compared it to its disadvantage with Bishop Grandisson's fine new west window, and came to the conclusion that a mere six-light window was inadequate for its more honourable position. So when, in 1389, Canon

Henry de Blakeborn—formerly a Prebendary of Lincoln—made an offer of one hundred marks towards a new window, the Dean and Chapter at once closed with the offer. A week later—on April 28th—they swore in Robert Lyen, of Exeter, as their glazier, at the yearly salary of £1 6s. 8d., and on May 7th, meeting in St. Andrew's Chapel, set their hands to an agreement with the said Robert Lyen to glaze "the great window newly made at the head of the Church behind the High Altar." The Fabric Rolls detail every step taken from the very commencement—the buying of the sheet of parchment on which the new window was to be designed—"pro I pelle pergameni emptā ad pingendum magnam fenestram 2d."

For each foot of new glass Lyen was to receive twenty pence, and for fitting the old work his pay was to be three shillings and fourpence per week, with an extra two shillings for his man. He was to find tools and all glazing necessities himself, but the glass, new or old, was to be provided by the Dean and Chapter. Not for nothing had they been buying glass these past few years.

In addition to supplying three new lights and a quantity of tracery, Lyen had to make some necessary alterations to the six old lights. They were too short for the new openings, so he fixed dwarf bases to them, containing coats of arms. Their Decorated heads, with a single cusp on either side, would not fit the double-cusped Perpendicular openings, and how he dealt with them I will try to show you presently. The bases, as one might expect, he painted in the Perpendicular style to which he was accustomed, but the most remarkable feature of his work appears in the three centre lights. These figures are frankly Perpendicular; their heads, in white instead of flesh-coloured glass, are glazed in one piece with the white halos behind them, not leaded separately, as were the heads of the older period. Yellow stain occurs in draperies, hair, ornaments; no one could mistake the figures as belonging to any other period than the junction of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

But the canopies over these figures, also his work, might be anything rather than Perpendicular. In their rigid design, in their clumsy outlines, above all in their heavy colouring, they bear every appearance of the style prevailing sixty years before the date at which they were painted.

I need not point out how very extraordinary this is.

To find a Gothic craftsman deliberately putting back the clock in order to match the work of his predecessors is most extraordinary. In the rapid growth of the Gothic age the tendency to reach out after the newest forms of expression is in itself the very root and cause of the ever-changing styles. Yet here, in this purely Perpendicular window, instead of utilizing such an opportunity of showing—what I am sure he sincerely believed in—the superior beauty of his Perpendicular work as compared with the heavier, more archaic glass surrounding it, Robert Lyen subdued his inclinations and did his best to make the window an harmonious whole by copying the style of Master Walter's work, executed—and, did art claim nationality, executed by an alien—years before he was born.

Save for the windows at Strasburg Cathedral, damaged by their hasty removal when fire destroyed that building, and later reinserted under somewhat similar circumstances to those we notice now, I believe this treading of a Gothic glass painter in the footsteps of his predecessors to be absolutely without parallel.

The coats of arms upon the bases are worthy of note. Beneath the first, or left-hand, figure of St. Margaret, trampling down her dragon, are the arms of Bishop Edmund de Stafford (1395–1419): Or, a chevron gules within a bordure azure entoyer of bishop's mitres of the field—and Bishop Blondy (1245–57): Lozengy or and sable. Next, under St. Catherine with her torture-wheel, are first, Chequy or and gules, a chief vair, for Bishop Robert Chichester (1138–55), and Gules, a bend argent debruised of a fess or, for Bishop Osbern (1072–1103). Then comes St. Mary Magdalen, with her alabaster box of perfumed ointment. Beneath her are the arms of Edward the Confessor, founder of the See, and a larger shield, formerly in the tracery, which now replaces an old shield of the diocese. It gives the arms of Archbishop William Courtenay (1381–96), the archiepiscopal pall impaling the well-known torteaux and label.

Then we come to Lyen's work. First, St. Barbara, with a palm branch in her right hand, and a tower in her left, she being the patron saint of architects. Note this figure particularly. The small size of the illustration gives only a faint idea of the richness of the draperies. The under-robe particularly, with its rich appliqué of elaborate

fleurs-de-lis, is very fine. It would seem that Lyen, stiffening his clever fingers to copy the earlier canopies above, could not here resist the temptation to show for once what he could do if he liked. Look at the coarsely striped robes of the two adjoining figures—St. Mary Magdalen and St. Catherine—and compare them with this intricate brocade.

The heads of the three central figures are painted on one piece with the nimbus behind, yellow-stained hair or mitre detaching each face from its background of white glass. Yellow stain had been discovered since Master Walter's time. If you notice, all Master Walter's faces are surrounded by lead-lines: hair, face, drapery, and halo, all leaded up in separate pieces of glass. Note the increased use of white glass in the draperies of the newer figures—a characteristic of the period. Glass painters had discovered in those intervening sixty years that the value of colour was enhanced fourfold when contrasted with white. Had Lyen not held his hand in copying the canopies, they would have been nearly all white, most delicately outlined, with rare touches of golden stain. So much you can make out from the tabernacle work above the shields in his dwarf bases.

His copying of borders is no less worthy of note. Nothing could have irked him more than to be compelled to make narrower lights which in his opinion must have already seemed disproportionately high. All the feeling of his age was turning against such long lights: architects were beginning to cut them in two by transoms; glass painters had begun to arrange their subjects in tiers, each tier extending right across the window; yet here Lyen, contrary to all his inclinations, had to match wide borders which narrowed and lengthened the appearance of the lights considerably.

But he approached his work in no grudging spirit. In the border to the older lights each leaf is painted on one piece of glass, with one, or at most two, patches of coloured background showing beside it. No repeat of Lyen's borders contains less than four pieces of glass—many of them have six—and I can tell you from experience that every added pane meant added time, and trouble too. No praise is too high for the manner in which he did his work. Where the window demanded restraint he held his hand—and what that meant to a craftsman in those

quick-living days of Gothic sincerity perhaps none of us now can duly appreciate. And where he saw opportunity of doing the very best that was in him, opportunity of working for the honour and credit of the style he knew and loved, no trouble was too great. Those that came after should see that he and his fellows were no copyists, though they should see, too, if they had a mind, that he knew and could practise self-restraint when it should further the cause of the work he had at heart.

Beneath St. Barbara is one shield only, that of Bishop Berkeley (1326-7): Gules, a chevron between ten crosses pattee, six and four, argent. It is curious that this coat should be assigned such an important size and position. Bishop Berkeley, so far as I know, had nothing to do with the original window, and his very short episcopate was closed sixty-two years before Henry de Blakeborn made his gift towards its reconstruction, when this new light was painted.

The centre light contains a figure of the Blessed Virgin with the Holy Child in her arms. The robes of this figure are also richly diapered, but being in colour alone—and not white and colour—the fact is not so readily appreciated. You can, however, perceive how cunningly white edges are leaded on to the coloured robes to provide the desired contrast—another marked advance beyond the primitive striping of the earlier draperies. The arms below are the royal arms of the period: France and England quarterly.

Next comes St. Martin of Tours, with, beneath him, the arms of the Courtenay family, ascribed by Dr. Oliver to Bishop Peter Courtenay. If he is right in this, the shield must have been inserted in the window many years after Lyen's time, for his consecration did not take place until 1478 (he was translated to Winchester in 1487), sixty or seventy years after the window was completed.

In spite of there being no direct evidence to connect the shield with the archiepiscopate, I incline to think it might have been placed there in compliment, not to Peter, but to William Courtenay, Archbishop of Canterbury from 1381 to 1396—during the reconstruction of the window, in fact. But this is a matter within the province of the scholar rather than that of the craftsman. All that I can say is that nothing in the appearance of the shield indicates it as of later date than the surrounding work, though the same remark applies to Bishop George Nevill's coat

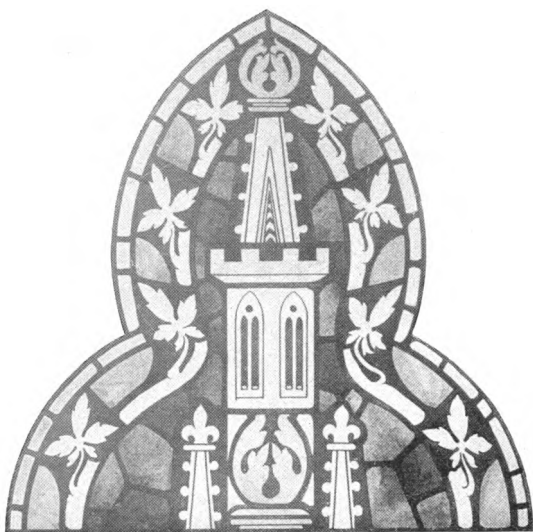
(1456-8) in the base of the southernmost light. Both the shields are simply glazed, and bear no evidence of date. It cannot, however, be doubted that the Nevill arms were a later addition to the window. He was consecrated in 1456, and, unlike the case of the Courtenay arms, no other of his name offers a possible excuse for earlier insertion.

With the seventh figure we leave Lyen's work and return to the glass of the original window. St. Peter, mitred and dressed in the pallium, holds the church aloft in his right hand, and in his left the keys. Two rather curious points came to light when my father examined this figure prior to restoration. He discovered that the head-dress, originally a mitre and still looking very much like one, was in fact no mitre at all, but a piece of canopy work filched from another window. Peckitt, the Yorkshireman, during his restoration of the window in 1765, probably needed a mitre to replace the old broken one, and the piece of canopy being at hand and looking something like a mitre, he saved himself the trouble of painting a new one by popping it in the vacant place. The keys, too, seem held rather awkwardly when seen close at hand, the saint's thumb being stuck straight out between them. Very careful examination is needed before one discovers that they once were part of an ancient coat of arms of the diocese, and that the stiff thumb was originally part of the familiar sword-blade. The arms beneath this figure are those traditionally ascribed to King Athelstan: Party per saltire gules and azure, on a mount a cross patonce crowned or (heraldry as bad as it is unauthentic), and to Bishop Leofric (1050-72): Or, a cross flory sable, in the fess point a mitre of the field.

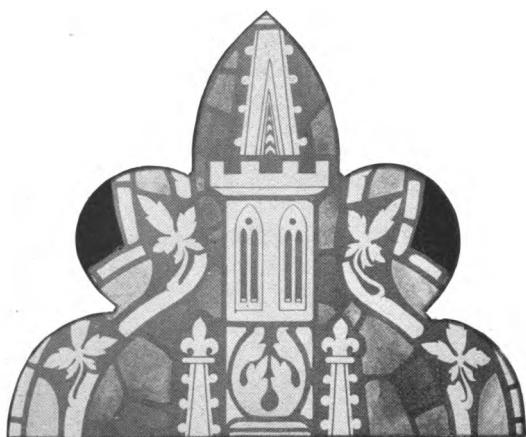
Next to St. Peter is St. Paul, with sword and book. The arms, Azure, a saltire argent, are those of the Warelwasts, William (1107-36) and Robert (1155-60), Bishops of Exeter and nephews of the Conqueror. The first-named was the builder of the Cathedral towers. The other arms are Bishop Brewer's (1224-44): Gules, two bends wavy or.

Last of these lower lights we have St. Andrew with his cross saltire-wise. The arms below are those of Bishop Stapledon (1308-26), in whose episcopate the first six-light window was painted: Argent, two bends wavy within a bordure sable, and Bishop Nevill's (1456-8), to which I have already alluded.

All the bases of the six side-lights are of similar character. I have mentioned that they were added to the original



EAST WINDOW, EXETER CATHEDRAL. HEADS OF
LIGHTS ANTE 1389.



EAST WINDOW, EXETER CATHEDRAL. HEADS OF
SIDE LIGHTS AFTER ENLARGEMENT OF WINDOW.

lights by Robert Lyen in 1389 to make them fill out the longer openings of the new window. Very little of Lyen's work remained after Peckitt's 1765 restoration, and only two or three fragments of the original bases were left in each light. All the rest had gone, and had been replaced by patchwork—common sheet glass, green and ruby and white, with a few old borders from other windows—all leaded together by Peckitt in 1765.

But what little did remain of the delicately outlined canopies over the shields was very fine. Adroitly painted on beautiful silvery glass, with here and there a touch of golden yellow stain, these fragments showed Lyen's Perpendicular work at its best. He had no intention of being judged by his coarse canopy work over the three central figures.

But though Robert Lyen added to the bases of the lights, the new shape of the stonework made it necessary for him to cut down the heads, and very puzzling heads they were when he left them.

See how clumsily the borders finish. They suggest patchwork at once, in spite of their being evidently part and parcel of the original window. They puzzled Mr. Lewis Day, expert though he was. In his book *Windows*, speaking of the constant if gradual tendency towards narrower borders, he draws special attention to them as showing how the wide borders of the Decorated Period could not accommodate themselves to the smaller window openings and more elaborate stonework of the period succeeding it. "Look how the borders fit, or rather do not fit, in this head," he says.

He overproved his case. Perhaps he was misled by the inner edge of the border, which, as you see, accidentally meets the upper cusps so exactly as to look as though the meeting were intentional. He may have thought this the case—imagined the queer design a misplaced attempt at originality, on the part of a painter struggling to get his wide border round the cusps. If it had only occurred to him that he was looking at an anachronism—glass older than the stonework around it, a palpable absurdity—he might have seen what was the matter, as you readily may for yourselves.

This was the shape of the heads of the old window. Robert Lyen simply cut them down to the shape shown by the first illustration. They were never designed to fit a

Perpendicular head at all. The dents in the outline caused by the points of the old single cusps he filled with other scraps taken from the mutilated borders. It is to be regretted that this interesting feature was not retained. In my father's report on the window before the restoration he says : "So anxious am I to preserve the ancient features of the window that I would not attempt to correct the curtailment of border and canopy in the heads of lights, effected by Lyen in glazing the Perpendicular stonework."

Other counsels, however, prevailed, and the borders were made to fit the present stonework. I grant the present arrangement may be considered less unsightly, but, to me at least, it is infinitely less interesting.

Over the three centre lights you will notice six tracery openings somewhat similar in size and shape. The lower three are contemporary with Lyen's work in the long lights beneath. They were fixed by him in their present position, and may perhaps be his own work throughout. But even if they are, I fancy one of them at least occupied some other place before it was promoted to the east window. It is worthy of remark that one, on the right hand, contains a second figure of St. Catherine, and we have already seen that she occupies the second light from the north side of the window—a light of earlier date.

I cannot imagine that Lyen would duplicate a figure intentionally. Possibly this was part of the glass provided by the Dean and Chapter to which allusion is made in the Fabric Roll. The other two figures are of the archangels, St. Michael and St. Gabriel. The duplicate St. Catherine assorts so ill with her two companions that I venture to think she was only inserted as a matter of convenience—for the sake of economy, perhaps. But intruder though she be, she is a very handsome one, crowned and magnificently robed. Her outer mantle, embroidered with golden lions, bears comparison with that inner one of St. Barbara's, of which I have already spoken.

The three figures above belong to the older period—that of the six lower side-lights. They bear very little evidence of their identity, and consequently have been at times the subjects of some controversy. It seems probable that, reading from left to right, they represent : Firstly, either Abraham or Joachim. A figure regarding an angel overhead. Dr. Oliver says there was an inscription from

Genesis xvii. 19, in this light : "*Sara uxor tua pariet tibi filium : vocabisque nomen ejus Isaac*," but, if so, it had disappeared before the restoration of the glass. Secondly, Moses, with the text from Deuteronomy xviii. 15 : "*De gente tua prophetam vobis suscitabit Deus*"; and thirdly, Isaiah, with his great prophecy (chap. xi., v. 1) : "*Egredietur virga de radice Jesse*."

The tenor of the inscriptions, no less than the character of the work, would seem to indicate that these three figures—unlike those below them—have always been associated. Whether they were first painted for this window or some other, they evidently still occupy their original relative positions.

The adjoining large openings, two on either side, have a peculiar interest. Pursuing the arrangement of the main lights below, they have the female saints on the north, and the male saints on the south side of the window—an arrangement from which the second and intruding St. Catherine alone has had the bad manners to depart. First comes a local saint, St. Sidwella, with her well and scythe—to my thinking the most strongly graceful figure in the window. Her close habit is unusual, and contrasts strongly with the manifold draperies of her sister saints around her. Next her is the empress St. Helena, crowned, in one hand the cross with its "INRI," in the other a book.

Opposite is St. Edward, King and Confessor, on his right hand the pilgrim's ring of the legend. And last comes St. Edmund, King and Martyr, holding the arrows emblematic of his martyrdom in 870. Fine figures, all four, boldly drawn and coloured, as they should be to tell at that height; but the curious thing about them is that they are by an unknown hand. Most certainly they are not Master Walter's work—they are too late for that—and they are not Robert Lyen's either; there is an almost brutal strength and power in their drawing, notably in the figure of St. Sidwell, that Lyen's work, rich and masterly as it was, never attained. The puzzle is whose work they can be. The Fabric Rolls tell us nothing, and the only indications given by the glass itself suggest that it is earlier in date than Lyen's work, beside it. The canopies, as strongly drawn and roughly painted as the figures themselves, were removed at the time of the restoration. I think this was an error—fortunately not an irreparable

one, for they have been carefully preserved, together with their bases.

Close examination—not, of course, to be dreaded when the glass was fixed—shows the work to be very rough indeed, and, curiously enough, able and skilled as it is, in one respect it flatly denies an important canon of our craft. The shadows have been fired and fixed as they were first smeared on. The paint has never been stippled, and this stippling was, and is now, an important matter. Light—some light—should be let through every part of a window, no matter how deep shadows may seem demanded by the design, even if it is only admitted by tiny scattered pinholes in the paint. The translucency of the material is denied else, and these canopies flatly do deny it. Had they been fixed close to the eye they would have appeared clumsier in execution—though in reality they are not—than the old Decorated canopies below them.

For all their coarse execution, these four panels are good—strong in design and rich in colour. Moreover, they were painted for the positions they now occupy. They fit their openings, and except for Lyen's three centre-lights, that is more than can be said for any other glass in the window. The quatrefoils above them were unquestionably by the same hand. They held coats of arms—on the left Archbishop Courtenay's (now under the figure of St. Mary Magdalen), and on the right Courtenay impaling Bohun. They were surrounded by conventional ornament, which, to tell the truth, bowed little to any convention. They were executed in the coarsest manner—outlines nearly half an inch thick, light passages boldly smeared out of solid paint with finger and thumb; but it must always be remembered that they were designed for a position forty feet high.

Their date is still problematical. It is certain that the new stonework was in place before Robert Lyen began his work, but whether these six openings—the quatrefoils and saints below them—were filled by some travelling glass painter before him, or whether Lyen's man, mentioned in the Fabric Rolls, was allotted this portion of the work, who can say?

But they could not have been painted earlier than 1381, because of Archbishop Courtenay's arms—he was consecrated in that year. The Courtenay-Bohun marriage

commemorated by that other shield took place in 1325, and the Countess Margaret died in 1391, fifteen years after her husband. If she caused it to be inserted—and, strictly speaking, her descendants had no heraldic authority for using the impaled coat after her death—that dates that glass within ten years—between 1381 and 1391.

Be the date what it may, I feel confident it is earlier than Lyen's work, and comparison of these canopies with the transition canopies at New College, Oxford, indicates that it is extremely likely that they are approximately of the same date.

The only other windows remaining in anything approaching a complete condition are the two grisailles in St. Gabriel's and St. Mary Magdalen's chapels. They originally filled the six-light openings on the north and south sides of these side chapels, but both have been at one time cut down and jammed into the five-light windows in the east wall of each chapel. That in St. Gabriel's Chapel was restored by my father and replaced in its original position. The glass employed in their manufacture is the hard, pure, white glass to which I have already referred more than once. Their design is purely geometrical—in the narrower lights a succession of quatrefoils, and in the wider quatrefoils combined with diamond-shaped interlacing strap-work. In the centre of each of the tier of panels immediately under the spring-bar is a coat of arms, and in the centre of the next panel below is a pair of keys, emblems of our patron, St. Peter. The coats of arms remaining in the north chapel, that of St. Mary Magdalen, are those of Bishop Grandisson, Fitzalan quartering De Warrenne, Bishop Stafford, and Courtenay impaling Bohun. In St. Gabriel's Chapel are the arms of Northwode, Northwode impaling Grandisson, Montacute, Montacute impaling Grandisson, Courtenay, and Courtenay impaling de Bryan. These shields were amongst the first listed by Richard Symonds in 1644, and it is remarkable that in face of the destruction elsewhere, this series remains almost intact.

Heraldic and other additions to a grisaille window may always be regarded as evidences of a late period—late, that is, for grisaille work. These windows are in all probability earlier than 1330, but the insertion of the coats of arms and keys shows that the glass painter was already wearying of the meaningless repetitions of purely

ornamental patterns. But they show no other trace of weariness or decadence. They are beautifully and delicately executed—almost too delicately, perhaps—but there is no flabbiness or lack of strength in the slender curves of their conventional design. The lead-lines follow the radiating stems most cunningly, the stems themselves finishing with a tiny trefoil at each joint. The quatrefoils also fill the shape allotted to them most harmoniously, and there is a firmness about these windows despite their delicacy that puts them, to my mind, in a class apart.

The Five Sisters at York are good, but there is too much of them. Their patterns are richer and more intricate than ours at Exeter, but they lack harmonious spacing and are overcrowded, and though the design varies in each light, they none the less tend to become monotonous. The work at Salisbury and Amesbury is powerful and skilled, yet it too holds more than a suggestion of monotony, and a certain heaviness as well.

If the York and Salisbury grisailles, instead of being painted on exquisite, faulty, varied greys and pale greens, had been traced upon the Exeter white they had never enjoyed the esteem they are now held in—but these Exeter windows hold their own, are harmonious and interesting as well as light and beautiful, even though painted on a glass which at times is positively harsh, and almost glaring, by reason of its excessive purity.

The borders of their lights contain leaves of conventional foliage issuing from climbing twisted stems. One, like the borders of the north clearstory window, is schemed on curved lines, in this case varied by the alternation of large ovals and small circles, so as to form a species of guilloche. The glass painter was still harking back to curves, so far as his stems were concerned, but he seems to have felt the need of something to counteract their softness and confer rigidity upon the design, so he painted ivy leaves, as spiky and acutely pointed as he could, in the middle of each oval space. In the adjoining light his curves give way to angular repeats, each schemed to fill an elongated hexagon. From that more angular form it is but a short step to a rigidly straight stem with leaves issuant from it at regular intervals, such as frame the six older lights of the east window. Later the climbing floral border became wearisome to the painter, and in the Perpendicular Period, after some awkward attempts to conform to new ideals of design,

it vanished altogether. But here, at Exeter, we can trace every step by which it evolved from twisted curves into an angular repeated series of leaves with no trace whatever of curves about them.

As for the remaining windows, so much of them has vanished that we can say no more with certainty than that the choir aisles were once glazed with grisailles of somewhat similar character to these two windows remaining in the side chapels of the Lady Chapel. The outlined floral portions of their design were more naturalistic and less delicate than in these two windows, and the natural forms can in many cases be identified. Thus, in the third pair of windows to the eastward of the transept the flowing ornament shows countless repeats of oak leaves, and in the next pair eastward the design was based upon the ivy. In the next is the ash, and in the last pair the hawthorn. Another pair of windows contains a smooth-leaved cinquefoil, and another a simple trefoil.

The tracery glass of some of these windows remains in place. It displays the same kind of foliage as the lights below, treated in a much heavier manner, as befitted work so much farther from the eye, and smeared shading colour is used as a background throughout. I have already referred to this coarse shading as being used in the east window, but it serves to draw attention to one other point regarding the Exeter glass, a point alluded to at the outset of this paper. Few as our remains are, they provide illustrations of work from the beginning and end of the most rapid period of change in technique the art has ever undergone. In 1320 outlines were heavy and black, shadows were careless smears. Yellow stain, so frequent in our modern windows, was unknown, and for all his effects the glass painter was forced to rely upon a treatment of black outlines and smeared shadow upon pot-metals—self-coloured glasses—coarsely and strongly schemed, as well for his figure-work as for such merely ornamental accessories as canopies or borders. To this period—the beginning of the fourteenth century—belong the original six lights of the east window, the window in the north clearstory and the pair of windows in the side chapels to the Lady Chapel.

But before the end of the century the glass painter's art had changed in almost every detail. To appreciate this contrast to the full, the two figures of St. Catherine in the

east window should be compared side by side. Even had they been executed hundreds of miles apart it would seem surprising that they could date from the same century, so totally different are they in every detail. But when it is borne in mind that they were painted in the same town, within seventy years of each other, and not only fixed in the same building, but actually in the same window, then it will be seen that the changes they illustrate are nothing short of marvellous. The earlier figure is bold, the drawing archaic, the execution coarse. The saint's pose is cramped and high-shouldered, so as completely to fill the space beneath the canopy. What little background appears beside her is crude blue, unrelieved by any attempt at ornament. White glass occurs in the canopy shaftings on either side, but even here it is broken by yellow and green string-courses and corbels, and save for the panes of glass comprising the wheel, which is scratched out in silhouette from a heavy coat of black outline colour, the figure itself contains no white glass at all. Even the face and hand are of a pinkish brown, and the former is leaded up separately from the head-dress and halo. Yellow stain, of course, is absent altogether; the few shadows the drapery shows are coarse smears of brown enamel, helped out by heavy outlines; and the only attempt at anything like ornament or variation of colour occurs in the close under-robe, which is glazed up in wide horizontal stripes of green and ruby. The later figure—that placed in the tracery by Lyen about 1390—could not differ from her more if the one had been executed in encaustic tiles and the other in hand embroidery. To begin with, Lyen's figure does not attempt to fill her niche, her graceful figure being so much smaller as to reveal a large space of background, now not only painted with a diaper of circular rosettes, but varied in colour by perpendicular stripes of blue and ruby. White glass is used in profusion: for the face and halo, the canopy-work, the wheel and sword, the jewelled fastenings and belt of the blue inner robe, and the ermine alb that shows at her feet, and wherever it occurs it is beautifully varied by touches of golden yellow stain.

In place of the coarsely striped under-garment worn by the earlier figure this one wears a magnificent ruby mantle brocaded with golden lions. The wheel, instead of being a mere silhouette, is drawn in perspective, and between its spokes are visible more of the rosettes composing the back-



THE TWO SAINT CATHERINES OF THE EAST WINDOW, EXETER CATHEDRAL
FROM A WATER-COLOUR DRAWING BY WILFRED DRAKE.

ground diaper. Finally, even the small portion that can be seen of the blue under-robe is diapered with a floral pattern traced with the point of a fine brush. Comparing these figures point by point, one begins to understand the importance of the changes that took place in art and art handicrafts in England during that most vividly alive and moving period, the middle years of the fourteenth century.

Over and beyond the remains we have now examined, there is an interesting jumble of old glass in the east window of the Chapter-house. Of different dates, varying from the fourteenth to the late eighteenth century, it comprises salvage from the wreckage of the last two or three centuries. Some coats of arms are of special interest, amongst them being several royal shields of England variously differenced by bordures or labels. There is also a quartered coat of Bohemia executed by the mysterious hand that worked upon the east window, and a couple of little kneeling votive figures, which at one time occupied spaces below figures of saints, possibly in the north windows of the Chapter-house. One of them in all probability belonged to the Perpendicular figure of St. Catherine we have just examined. Another of these figures has been inserted in the centre of the grisaille window in St. Mary Magdalen's Chapel, and these three little figures with Lyen's six figures in the east window comprise all the remains of Perpendicular glass throughout the building.

THE FIGHT AT CLYST IN 1455.

BY MRS. G. H. RADFORD.

(Read at Exeter, 24th July, 1912.)

THE War of the Roses, in spite of its romantic name, is one of the darkest periods of our history. England bitterly experienced the truth of the wise man's saying, "Unhappy is the kingdom whose ruler is a child," long after Henry VI should have attained years of discretion. His incapacity would probably have secured his deposition at the hands of a nobility whose turbulent activities had been diverted to wars in France by Henry V, only to make them more efficient for wars at home, even had his title to the Crown been indisputable, but as it was based on his grandfather's usurpation, it is perhaps surprising that he reigned unchallenged for thirty-three years. When the war came it would seem to have been rather a simultaneous outbreak of petty local and tribal enmities than a widespread movement for better government, as may be found by computing the number of persons sufficiently actuated by loyalty or a sense of justice to remain on one side throughout the struggle.

Devonshire, from its position, was the scene of no battles between the armies of the rival Roses, but suffered severely none the less from private feuds. In fact, the state of Devon (and Exeter more especially), though ignored or misrepresented by most historians, was at the time productive of widespread attention and consternation.

It is with something of a shock, even at this distance of time, that we read that for nearly a year the Justices dared not hold the General Sessions in Exeter, while for months the city was invested by an armed force of the Earl of Devon's, which took possession of the keys of the city gates, scrutinizing all comers-out and goers-in, broke into the Cathedral, brutally murdered the Recorder, and com-

mitted robberies and outrages without number ; while the Earl himself, with another force, besieged his cousin Sir Philip Courtenay at Powderham, or skirmished with Sir William Bonville, of Chuton, with whom at last (when the city, oppressed though it was, flatly declined to be held as a fort in a private war) he fought a pitched battle upon Clyst Heath.

It is an unpublished page from the history of this troublous time, taken from the rich stores of the Exeter Corporation, that I propose to bring before you. The troubles in Devon arose chiefly from the dissensions of the two great lords, Thomas Courtenay, 5th Earl of Devon (b. 1414), and William Bonville, afterwards Lord Bonville of Chuton (b. 1393). Each had vast landed possessions in the west, and each had special claims, Bonville for long and honourable service in the French wars, under two kings, and Courtenay by his near kinship by marriage to Henry VI. The stewardship of the Duchy of Cornwall, with its rich revenues, was specially desired by both, and enjoyed by both in turn. In 1437 the office was given for life to Sir William Bonville, having been surrendered by John Courtenay (younger brother of the Earl). In May, 1441, it was given to the Earl of Devon, "to hold as long as the Duchy is in the King's hands," though it does not appear to have been surrendered by Bonville.

In November of the same year, arbitrators were appointed to end all the differences betwixt the Earl of Devon and Sir William Bonville, the two lords to enter into a bond of 2000li each (about £20,000 now) to stand to the award.¹

Three years later (1444), the Earl and his heirs had a grant of keeping of the water of Exe and the banks thereof, which led to much friction with the city authorities. He was appointed² Steward of England at the Coronation of Queen Margaret, and in consequence of his arrogant claims a great trial lasting three years followed between him and the Earl of Arundel. It was decided, 12 February, 1448-9, by a decree of the King in Parliament,³ that "William, Erle of Arundell & his heires have his seat," etc., "above the Erle of Devon or his heires, without

¹ *Proceedings of the Privy Council*, Vol. V, p. 165.

² May, 1445.

³ *Rot. Parl.* V, 140.

letting challenge or interruption of the said Erle of Devon or his heirs or any other person, any title showed declared or pretended by the said Erle of Devon in the premises notwithstanding." This decision naturally annoyed the proud Earl of Devon and he retired to his own country.

"The Boar¹ is far into the West
That should us² helpe with shield and spear,"

verses written in 1450, when Courtenay had been commissioned to go with the Duke of Buckingham "against the rebels in Kent," Jack Cade and others.

William of Worcester says that Courtenay besieged Lord Bonville in the Castle of Taunton at Christmastime, 1449-50. There is an entry, in the MSS. of Wells Cathedral, of payment made (1449-50) to Lord Bonville and other "noble men" who came to Wells for the defence of the Church of Wells and its ministers; perhaps this quotation should precede the last.

In the verses just alluded to, the Duke of York's name is coupled with Courtenay's, and soon after (1 March, 1451-2) the two appeared in arms against the King at Dartford, the King and his army being at Blackheath. York had 8000 men and 3000 gunners, the Earl of Devon 6000 men, and Lord Cobham 6000.³

By this open rebellion against his sovereign, Thomas Courtenay forfeited his posts held under the Crown, and within a week⁴ letters patent were granted to "the King's knight William Boneville" confirming the earlier grant of 1437, "& to remove any ambiguity thereon, grant to him for life for good service on both sides the sea at his own costs, of the office of Steward of all the King's lordships, manors, lands & stannary courts in Cornwall, or Steward of the Duchy of Cornwall, to hold himself or by deputy, taking yearly the usual wages, fees & profits." He was also given the Castle, Manor, and Borough of Lydford, with the Forest of Dartmoor, and 17 April, 1453, the Water of Exe and the banks thereof. He had been made a Knight of the Garter in 1450. He was ordered to France for the relief of Guienne, and 19 January, 1453-4, he and the Earl of Wiltshire "have donie to be cried at Taunton in Somerset that every man that is likely & wole go with them shall have 6d. a day as long as he abideth with them."

¹ Courtenay's badge.

³ *The Cottonian Roll*, II, 23.

² London.

⁴ March 8, 1452.

On 13 September, 1454, when the King was ill, the Earl of Devon was indicted for high treason before his peers. The Duke of York, then acting as Regent, considering that the arguments advanced against Courtenay reflected on *his* loyalty also, uttered a dignified protest, received with all deference by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal. The Earl was acquitted and, strange as it seems after this action of the Duke of York, from this time he is found on the Lancastrian side, one of the most vehement opposers of the Duke. His influence over the King is shown by the second of two entries in the Patent Rolls. The first records the appointment of a small but very important Commission (26 February, 1455-6), appointing William Bonville, of Chuton, Knt., Nicholas Ayssheton (Justice of Common Pleas), William Doddesham, and Thomas Clement to make inquisition in Cornwall touching all dilapidations, wastes and sales of castles, manors, lordships, mills, lands, and woods and huntings, and destructions in parks and warrens of the King, and other trespasses and offences. On 24 March, Thomas, Earl of Devon, and Thomas Courtenay, Knt., are associated with the above Commissioners, and a mandate issued that if all of them cannot be present at every inquisition, five, four, three, or two of them shall attend, whereof the Earl or Thomas Courtenay *shall always be one*. By Privy seal, etc.

But the Earl's name does not appear amongst those to whom in June, July, August, and September, 1455, Commissions were issued from Westminster for various purposes, defensive and other, in the West, though the list includes William Bourghchier, of Fitzwaryn, Knt., William Boneville, Knt., Nicholas Ayssheton, Walter Moyle, Nicholas Radeford, John Copleston, etc., and the Sheriffs of Devon and Cornwall. These Commissioners were chosen by the King's judges at Westminster, not by the King personally, and there were reasons for the omission of the Earl's name from those appointed to preserve law and order.

In the previous year, April, 1454, James, Earl of Wiltshire, John Stourton, Knt., William Boneville, of Chuton, Knt., John Arundel, Esq., and the Sheriffs of Devon and Cornwall, had been appointed by letters patent to raise loans in Devon for the safe keeping of the sea and the defence of Calais. To effect this, Bonville and

the other Commissioners arranged a meeting at Exeter with merchants and others. But while negotiations were actually in progress the two elder sons of the Earl of Devon, Sir Thomas and Henry, with Hugh Courtenay, of Boconnoc, came to Exeter by night with 400 armed followers, and on the Tuesday after Low Sunday by their terrible threats and warlike demeanour in the High Street so alarmed the merchants that they departed and the money could not be raised. The Courtenays "threatened to murder Bonville, notwithstanding the authority of the Letters Patent from the King, and continuing their Riot in Exeter, the Justices did not dare to hold the usual Easter Sessions, so that all writs, precepts & processes returnable there at that day before the same Justices were wholly discontinued."¹

At this time the Earl was with the King in arms, but though the Duke of York was also in arms, no battle had taken place.

"York, who had been in the North, joined the Earl of Salisbury, and his son the Earl of Warwick . . . together the three lords came with a considerable following to Royston. Thence on 20 May (1455) they dispatched an urgent letter to Archbishop Bourchier, declaring that they were as ready as any to defend the King's person if necessary, but hearing that their personal enemies aspersed their loyalty, they wished him to remove suspicion in the King's mind. . . . Next day they wrote from Ware to the King himself, with strong protestations of loyalty and complaints of being shut out from his presence. The Archbishop, on receipt of the letter addressed to himself, sent it by a special messenger, who overtook the King at Kilburn on his way to Leicester. It was read by Somerset, but he did not deliver it to Henry. The second letter, also, though addressed to the King himself, and received for him by the Earl of Devonshire, was in like manner withheld from his knowledge. The result was that when the King came to St. Albans on 22 May, there was an appearance of a hostile army outside the town,"² and the first battle of St. Albans took place.

This action of Courtenay's throws some light on his feeling towards his former friend and comrade-in-arms, the Duke of York. There is no record of Lord Bonville's being at this, the first battle in the Wars of the Roses; in

¹ Indictment.

² "Life of the Duke of York" by James Gairdner, *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

fact, he does not appear to have been in open rebellion against the King until present at the battle of Wakefield in 1460.

After the battle of St. Albans, in 1455, the Earl came home to nurse his wounds, bringing with him the men-at-arms he had led to the battle, and war being now openly declared in England against Englishmen, found it an excellent opportunity for gratifying his private enmities. He and his three sons, Sir Thomas, Henry, and John Courtenay, entrenched themselves in their strong castle of Tiverton, and issued forth to plunder, rob, and kill as if they had been in an enemy's country instead of their own motherland.

They prevented the holding of the Autumn Sessions in Exeter, by threats, as they had the Easter Sessions in the previous year. On 23 October the Earl's sons murdered, under circumstances of singular treachery and ferocity, Nicholas Radford, the Recorder of Exeter. From Tiverton Castle, on 1 November, 1455, the Earl of Devon and his sons, having collected men to the number of 1000 or 1500,¹ "in warlike fashion & like an insurrection," went to Powderham to "threaten, assault, beat, wound, ill-treat & slay" Sir Philip Courtenay, whom, in spite of his kinship, the Earl hated as he did Lord Bonville. This happened on the 3rd November. The same day, probably on their way to Powderham, the armed host appeared before the city of Exeter, seized the keys of the gates from their rightful guardians, and placed some of their own men on guard, having thus entire control of all who went out of or came into the city.

In the indictments against the Earl and his sons crimes are alleged against them and their followers for almost every day that they passed in Exeter, one of the earliest being to invade (12 November) the Cathedral during service, seize the officiating priest and hold him to ransom. Of this outrage complaint was made to the Duke of York and the Lords by the House of Commons, headed by the Speaker (Burleigh) on Monday, 17 November, praying that action may be taken and relief sent to "abate these great & grievous riots in the West Country."

Meanwhile, the siege of Powderham was continued, the Earl no doubt going backwards and forwards from Exeter. On the 15th a great assault took place, lasting, as the

¹ Indictment.

Indictment states with great precision, from eight in the morning until four after noon. "Great cannon & serpentes were fixed in the earth at different places near the house, and putting into them powder & fire, stones were shot at the mansion of Sir Philip Courtenay, as if they had been in an enemy's country." Nearly 1000 men were engaged and "innumerable arrows" were shot at the house, but, being unable to break in, the Earl returned to Exeter, leaving his second son, Henry, with 500 followers, in charge.

Sir Philip Courtenay managed to send a message to Sir William Bonville at Shete (Shute) to entreat his help. "The said William, being moved by this request, bade his servants, for the preservation of peace within the same county, & specially for the safety & security of the said Philip Courtenay, to ride with him towards the same manor (Powderham) as far as his manor of Lymptone in the same county, through which goes the straight road from the said house of Shute to the manor of Powderham."

Henry Courtenay seeing them approaching, dashed after them, and before they could escape (they were about twenty, whose names are given, to his 500) killed two of the servants. This happened on 19 November, and on the following day Henry returned to his father "in Exeter, who received & comforted him & his men, knowing what had been done." The siege of Powderham was not raised, however, Sir Philip Courtenay, his wife, and children being prisoners in their own house for nearly a month.

On 22 November "the Earl did say to the Dean of the cathedral Church of the Blessed Peter, & to Master Roger Keys, that they must deliver to him all the goods & chattels which were the property of Nicholas Radford then being in the aforesaid church, which had been delivered to the Dean and Roger by Nicholas Radford in his lifetime, to be held safe and sound in trust for him by Indentures made between the aforesaid Nicholas and the Dean and Roger. Or otherwise, he would break the doors of the church and take those goods and carry them off, saying that he was unable to distinguish those goods which belonged to Nicholas Radford, from the goods and chattels of the aforesaid church. And the Dean & Roger replied that they would not deliver the goods & chattels of Nicholas Radford, but they said that they could open the doors of the said church quicker than the said Earl

could break them, & then if he wished to take & carry away the said goods at his own risk, he could take them, & so the Dean and Roger, *to avoid a greater evil*, opened the door of the said church."

On the same day, after his return from this raid on the Cathedral church, the Earl sent for the Mayor, thinking no doubt to overawe him as he had done the Dean and Treasurer. But in the Mayor he met a sturdy Devon man who was not afraid to tell the Earl that he held the city for the King, and he and his fellows as the King's tenants would not meddle in any private quarrel. It is impossible to read the story set forth in the Mayor's Court Roll without feeling a glow of pride in Hugh Germyn and his sturdy backers. It must have needed no small courage to stand face to face with the Earl in full panoply of war, surrounded by his men, who had already shown themselves so cruel and unscrupulous, and tell him that they would not do his bidding in spite of the array of force against them in their own city.

The interview between the Earl and the Mayor was deemed so grave, and of such importance to the city, that a full account of it is given in English, on the Mayor's Court Roll, 34 Henry VI. These Rolls, with the Receiver's Accounts and all other records of the city, were at this period in Latin, but presumably the gravity of the situation was such that the scribe felt his Latin inadequate and so put on record, what is far more interesting and valuable, the very words of Thomas Courtenay and Hugh Germyn.

"Memorandum that the XXII day of Novembre the yere of Kyng Harry the VIth xxxiiij, my lord of Devonshyre at that tyme being at Excetre sente for Hugh Germyn maier of the Cite of Excetre foresaid & the xxiiij men of the comyn counseill of the same Cite & moved them & said, It (hit) was not unknown to them but that they *knewed* well that he was a gentillman & a lord born dwelling in this country here nigh by and oo his antecessors " (all his ancestors) "before him. Also how his enemy Lord Bonevyll was nigh to this City with a grete multitude of people. In case he (my seid lord of Devon) would remove out of this Cite, how soon he would or how late " (earlier or later, as he chose) "he wist not what ordinance the Mayor & his fellowship would make for keeping of the City, & keeping his said enemy from entering in to this City, in case he would " (wished to) "enter at such time as my sd lord of Devonshyre would remove from " (was out of) "this city

saying furthermore that in case his sd enemy did enter in such wyse, yet must he my lord of Devon come into this Cite and would enter and make such a brusshe atte taill of his enemy that perchaunce would turne to litell ayse as well to the Cite as to his enemy.

"Whereupon the Mayor & his fellowship of the 24 by good advice answered and said, That they were both the King's tenants & this the King's City, they under the King having the governance of the same, praying my Lord of Devon to pardon him. As for keeping any Lord out from the City that this was not in their power so to do. Wherefore it might like his Lordship to pardon him & to have him excused (askised) of that.

"Whereupon y^e same day anon right (soon) my lord of Devon removed with his ordynance" (cannon) "and great part of his people to Powderham."

After the Earl had gone

"the Mayor with the advice of his council made proclamation through all the City that every man of this City should in all haste come to y^e Mayer in their best defensible array to keep this the King's City, & the salvation of his people his tenants & true subjects, here within this City eschewing danger that might fall my Lord of Devon being out of this City & much people of his within this City they would do perchaunce hurt unto this City. Whereupon the people of this City came to the Mayor in good array & walked with him & did the Mayor's commandment in keeping of the peace. This City & the King's tenants living within as lawe & reason required, proposing not, nor did not hurt any lord or wrong him or to do anything otherwise than that the law would.

"Upon that [after this] my Lord of Devon came into the City with all his people that went out with him, and so continued here in this City with great multitudes of people fully armed [orig. jakkes and salettes and harnesses] to the Monday next after St. Lucie's day" (13 December).

Many of the Earl's men must have been encamped outside the city; from the Receiver's Accounts it appears that later some of the Council went to confer with John Courtenay on "the heights," perhaps Woodbury.

The Earl heard that the Bonvilles were approaching, and as the Mayor refused to allow his army to hold the city against them, he sallied out, collected his forces within and without the city and met Lord Bonville and his men, who were coming to relieve the siege at Powderham, at Clyst. Clyst St. George and Clyst St. Mary take their

names from the sluggish little river Clyst, spanned by a bridge round which much of the fighting took place; the City Accounts speak of the Earl's return from "Clist Brig," though the open rough ground now called Clyst Heath must have seen most of the skirmish.

It was on the same ground, just about one hundred years later, 4 August, 1549, that another and fiercer fight took place, when the unhappy Cornishmen, for whom at this date one feels more pity than blame, were mowed down by foreign mercenaries under Lord Russell, afterwards first Earl of Bedford.

Clyst Heath served as the battle-ground of Exeter, being the nearest flat place to the city set among hills, and when the plough first turned its virgin soil (early in 1800) many gruesome relics came to light, bones of Englishmen who had died fighting in these two battles.¹

But to return to the Mayor's Roll. "Monday after St. Lucy's day, on which day (that is the 15 December, 1455), the said [Erle²] lord of Devon departed out from the City with his people into ye feld by Clist and there bykered and faughte with y^e Lord Bonevyle and his people and put them to flight and so returned again that night into the City again with his people."

Whether the Mayor and his fellows were pleased at the result of the battle does not appear, but they lighted up the city to receive the victors when they returned at night, comforted themselves with a little wine, and sent barrels of the same to the Earl.

"Item in tallow Candles bought to burn on the stalls (or stairs) at the time of the coming of the Lord Earl from the field at the time of the battle, 1/8½."

The next entry has been struck through, apparently disallowed by the auditor.

"Item in wax bought to burn in the streets by night during the time that the Erle remained in Exeter at the same time 10/-."

"Item in wine given to the Mayor & his fellows at the time of the return of the said Earl from Clisbrige 9½d. To 6 pipes of red wine given to the Earl of Devon 15th day of December by order of the aforesaid Mayor & his fellows 26/8.

¹ *Gleanings from Municipal Records*, etc. W. Cotton and R. S. H. Woolcombe, p. 67.

² So corrected in original.

Also four flagons of red wine were given to the men of the Lord Earl watching at the gate of the City at the same time 2/8."

This was the usual amount of wine sent as a present to lords, judges, and other great folk visiting the city, and the usual price, and one gets some idea of Exeter's state of mind when the Earl and his fierce soldiers rode in flushed with victory. The city hastened, perhaps in response to imperative demands, to furnish barrels of wine, following this up next morning by gifts to the Earl of flagons of red and white wine and Tyre, the barrels being presumably finished.

The Earl remained in the city with his people until "the Sunday (21 December) next before Christmas Day (1455), on which day the said Lord of Devon with his people (save those that were hurt in the field) removed out from y^e City in to Tiverton." It is not difficult to imagine the feelings of the Ever Faithful City on seeing them depart, though the Mayor had, throughout this most-trying time, taken what measures seemed to him possible to let the authorities know of Exeter's plight.

On 19 December, while the Earl was still in the city, presents of wine were sent to Robert Vere, Knight, evidently sent on a mission, for a little later occurs :

"Item. one flagon of red wine sent to Robert Vere, Knight, when he came from the Lord York, by order of the mayor," etc.

He made several journeys, and at the time of the sessions of the peace after Easter, 1456, he received as a reward "for th' afores'd Mayor & his fellows XLs," they at the same time paying "for fodder for his horses at the Tabard, that is to say, for 21 horses 6/7." It must be remembered that owing to the violence and threats of the Courtenays it was long since sessions had been held in the city of Exeter, so that at the restoration of law and order the city was proportionately grateful.

There are many entries of expenses, the result of the fight on Clyst Heath, or as it is euphemistically styled later in the City Accounts, "the great debate," "repairs to the Guildhall and other houses, stones bought for the Guildhall, 2 tilers hired for 10 days at 5d. per day each, ridge tiles, 299 lbs. of lead for mending the gutters in the market," etc. etc. Also

"in divers expenses made by the inhabitants of the City during the time of night-watching at the time of the great debate between the Earl of Devon & Lord Boneville 21s."

This appears in the Receiver's Accounts with entries of repairs to "the May" and "le Olyfaunt," and a large claim for 23s. 4d. disallowed, the Receiver having evidently done his best to sift the many claims for damages brought in by the citizens.

This fight at Clyst is mentioned by John Hoker, alias Vowell (d. 1601), in his valuable volume (a sort of chronicle year by year) still remaining in MS. in the Exeter Muniment Room, and when he edited Holinshed's *Chronicles* in 1586-7 the entry was amplified. Holinshed's *Chronicles* have served as a rich mine or storehouse from which English writers, from Shakespeare downwards, have drawn; it is therefore not surprising to find the story copied with additions and alterations in all our local histories. From Hoker's MS. :

"1454. The xxxiiij yere of King Henry the rot. VIII. VIth. Richard Orenge Mayer; Md. that this yere anno was a greate feught upon Clyst hethe betweene the sequenti lord Thomas Courtenay, Erle of Devon, & the Lord William Bonnevyll baron of Shutt; betweene whom was miche hurt donne & many hurted. The occasion thereof was, as some saye about a dogge: but great displeasure givn thereby unto the City: for immediately after the fight the lord Bonnevyll came to this Citie, & was receved & also reskewed in, the Erle concevinge it for evel parte, thought it had been donne of some displeasure agaynst him."¹

Westcote² has: "This emulation" (between Courtenay and Bonville) "increased at length to a quarrel, & eagerly taken a [*sic*] both sides, about a couple of dogs, or hounds, if you will, which could not by any mediation of friends or intercession of their equals be qualified or appeased, until it was valiantly tried in a single combat (which is now by a fitter word termed a duel) upon Clist-Heath, which manfully & constantly performed by both parties, & after they had well tried one the other's strength & valour, & with their sharp swords, they at last . . . lovingly agreed and embraced each other, and ever after there continued great love and amity between them."

¹ Hoker's MS.

² *A View of Devonshire in MDCXXX*, by Thomas Westcote, Gent. Exeter, 1845.

Picture the astonishment of Hugh Germyn and his fellows could they have read Westcote's rose-hued account of the "great debate," to which certainly a distance of nearly two hundred years had lent enchantment. How Hoker can have so misread his authority is difficult to understand, for he refers to this roll, and it was in verifying his quotation (for what history can be reliable in which the quotations are not verified?) that the entry in the Mayor's Court Roll was discovered.

We who live now are more fortunate than earlier writers in being allowed access to this magnificent collection of contemporary records, the real stones of which historical edifices are built. How much of the history of our county lies hidden there is unknown; the records on which this paper is based furnish one small instance. Other entries prove that Thomas, the second Earl of Devon of that name, was married, a fact hitherto unrecorded. The first Earl Thomas died on 3 February, 1457-8; in the following April "the Wednesday before the feast of St. George" (23 April, 1458) "the City sent to the Earl of Devon & his Countess six flagons of wine when they were with Henry, Duke of Exeter, at Dertyngton, another present of wine as they were returning [passing through] to their own house." And on 10 October, 1459, the City sent a present of satin to the Countess and five yards of "panne de damaske" to the Earl, at the time when the Mayor (John Betty), Hugh Germyn, John Hamlyn and others rode towards Colcomb to confer with the Lord Earl on matters connected with the city.

In the Mayor's Court Roll for 1456 there is a brief account of the election of the Recorder to take Nicholas Radford's place,¹ showing that it was not quite unanimous. The record is in English, modernized very slightly.

"Memorandum that on Saturday on St. Thomas Eve (20 December, 1455) it was moved in the Guildhall by people of the City & others for a Recorder to be had & chosen, thereupon it was answered by the Mayor Hugh Germyn & other of the Common Council of the 24 men of the City, that the Mayor & 24 men aforesaid had chosen a recorder, John More of Colompton. Whereupon the people of the City & others said that he should be chosen by all the comyns² of the City, & also they refused to have the said John More for their Recorder.

¹ Murdered 23 October.

² Commoners.

So some held one opinion, some another, so at last it was thought that it was against lawe & reason to putte him out of recordership without answer of him whether he would take it upon him or not. So at last it was concluded by the Mayor & his fellowship that John Tylard & William Speer should on y^e morn (Sunday 21 December) ride to Colompton to More his place & tell him how he was chosen Recorder, & tell him the point of his charge & that told, to ask him whether he would take the office upon him or not. And that if he would that then he should come to Excetre the morn thereupon, that was the Monday, into the Gildehall & take his oath according to the lawe & custom of y^e City. At which Soneday the s'd William Speer was ready to ride but John Tylard would not ride for no thing that might be, & so the matter standeth yet."

John More was duly appointed Recorder of Exeter, so apparently after the departure of the Earl of Devon, difficulties vanished. Hoker says: "Also this yere John More of Collumpton a man well lerned yn the lawes was chosen Recorder of the Citie about whose election was much trouble."

One can but express the hope that this ancient city, realizing the value of this precious collection, which nothing can replace, for many of its treasures are unknown, very few printed, will see that their habitation is made secure from fire.

Exeter is proud of its antiquity with reason; proud also with reason of its glorious title of the Ever Faithful City which these records maintain and support as nothing else could. Let me, then, as a grateful student, entreat this venerable city to guard its treasures from the terrible danger of fire, to which they would be so easy a prey.

THE EXETER BOND OF ASSOCIATION.

WITH SOME NOTES ON THE SIGNATURES.

BY BEATRIX F. CRESSWELL.

(Read at Exeter, 24th July, 1912.)

FEW, except students of history, have much knowledge of what Froude calls the famous Bond of Association, founded by Leicester and Walsingham in 1584 for the protection of Queen Elizabeth from assassination; by which loyal subjects bound themselves not only to defend their Queen, or avenge her death, but also to refuse allegiance to any successor who might profit by her murder.

These terms were virtually directed against the possibility of Mary Queen of Scots, Elizabeth's actual heir, thus gaining the throne. Her partisans were ready enough to remove Elizabeth, as William the Silent had been but lately removed at Delft; and it was partly the horror his murder had aroused throughout all Protestant Europe which led to the founding of this Association.

The idea was welcomed all over the country. Copies of the Bond were sent to all the counties and principal towns, and everyone flocked to sign it. As the terms of the Association rendered it a virtual suspension of the law, it was legalized by Act of Parliament and remained in force until, with Queen Elizabeth, it died a natural death.

Most of the signed Bonds extant are at the Record Office. Exeter being a city and county had her own copy, which, like so many other documents, has been preserved among the city muniments to the present day.

It is a parchment measuring 42 inches by 19. At the top the terms of the Bond are written without title or preamble. Unfortunately a great part of the top left-hand corner is torn, so that the beginning of nearly every line is lost; similarly the other edge is worn, and all the writing is fast fading. In transcribing it I have supplied

the lost sentences from the copy printed in the first volume of *State Trials*, the additions being italicized in brackets.

No mention of the Bond occurs in the Act Books of the city for the date. This is regrettable, because, as will be shown later, it would be interesting to know whether the Exeter citizens signed it before or after the assembling of Parliament which was summoned in November this same year.

About one hundred and eighty citizens of Exeter affixed their signatures and seals to the Bond, and these form the most interesting part of the document. The names are by no means always legible, in some cases they have entirely perished, and many of the seals are lost. Nor are all the seals private ones; some half-dozen devices appear frequently on the document. No doubt it was kept at the Guildhall, for the citizens to sign, and those who brought no seal of their own used any one that was handy. In many cases loyalty was stronger than learning; the writer put his initials, or his mark, and someone else wrote the name, not always legibly. Among the seals some fine examples of merchants' marks appear, quite worth the consideration of anyone who makes them a special study.

The terms of the Bond are as follows :—

" [For as much as Almighty God hath ordained Kings] Queens and Princes to have dominion and rule over all their subjects and to preserve them [in the possession and observation of the true christian religion according] to his [holy word and commandment and in like sort that all subjects] sholde love feare & obey their soveraigne Princes beyng kinges or [Queens] and to the utmost of their [power at all times to with]stand pursue & supresse all manner [of persons that shall by any] means [intend and attempt] anything dangerous or hurtful to the honnour state or persons of their so[vereigns] Therefore we [whose names are or] shalbe subscribed to this writ[ing being natural born subjects of this realm of] England and having so gracious a Lady our soveraigne Elizabeth by the ordinance of God oure [most rightful] Queene Reignyng over us these manie years [with great] felicity to o^r inestimable comfort [And finding lately by divers depositions confessions and] sundry advertizements out of foreign parts from credible persons well known [to her] Ma^{ties} Counsell and to divers others that for the furtherance and advancement of some [pretended tittle to the crown it hath been] manifest that the lyfe of o^r gracious soverayne Lady Queene Elizabeth hath been most mysteriously and devilishly sought and the same [hath

been most] dangerously [designed against to the peril of her person if Almighty God her perpetual defender] of his mercy had not revealed and w^tstode the same by whose lyfe wee and all [other her] mat^{ties} loyall and true subjects doe enjoy [all] inestimable benefit of peace [in this land do for these reasons and causes before alledged] acknowledge our selves most iustly bounde w^t oure bodies lyves landes and goods in her defence and for her safety to w^tstand pursue and supresse all such [intruders and all other her enemies of what nation condition] or degree soever them shalbe or by what [counsell] or title they shall pretend to be her enemies or to attempt any harme unto her person But we doe [further think it our bounden duties for the great benefit of peace] wealth and godly govern^{mt} which we have more plentifully received these manie years under her mat^{ties} govern^{mt} than oure forefathers have done in any longer time [of any of her progenitors] Kynges of this [realme to declare] and by this writing make manifest our right and bounden duties to our saide soverayne Lady for her safftie And to that end wee and every one of us first [calling to witness the] hollie name of Almighty God Doe voluntarily and most willingly bind ourselves every one of us ioyn^{tly} and severally in the bande of one firme and loyall societie and doe hereby [vow & promise by the Majesty of Almighty] God That wt our whole power bodies lyves lands and goods and w^t our children and servants we and every one of us will faithfully serve and humbly obey o^r said soverayne Queen Elizabeth [against all states dignities and] earthly powers whatsoever and will as well wt our ioyn^t & particular forces during o^r lyves w^tstand offend & pursue as well by force of armes as by all other waies of revenge all manner of persons of what estate [soever and] their abettors that shall attempt by any acte counsell or consent to anything that shall tend to the harme of her Mat^{ties} royall person And we shall never desist from all manner of forcible pursuit against suche [persons to the utter extermination] of them their counsellors and abettors And if any such attempt against her most royal person shalbe taken in hand or procured whereby any that have may or shall pretend later to come to this [croune by the un]timely death of her ma^{tie} so wickedly procured (w^{ch} God for his mercies sake forbid) maie be advanced wee doe not onely vow and bynde orselves bothe ioyn^{tly} and severally never to allow accept or favour any such pretended [successor by] whome or for whome any such detestable act shall be attempted or committed or any that maie in any waie clayme by or from anie such person or pretended Successor as is aforesaid by whome or for whome such an acte shall be attempted [as unworthy] of all government in any Christian land or civil societie But doe also further avow and protest as we are most bounde and that in the prescence of the eternal &

everlasting God to prosecute such person [*or persons to the death*] w^t our ioynt and particular forces and to take the uttermost revenge of them that by anie possible means w^{ch} wee or anie of us can devise or doe or cause to be devised or doen for their utter overthrow & extirpation [*And for*] the better corroboration of this our Loyall bond & association Wee doe also testify by this writing that wee doe confirm the contents hereof by o^r othes coporally taken uppon the Evangelists w^t this express condition that no [*one of us shall for any*] respect of persons or causes or for fears or reward separate o^rselves from this association or faile in the prosecution hereof during oure lyves uppon payne to be by the rest of us prosecuted and supressed [*as perjured persons and as public enemies*] to God oure queene and oure native countrie To w^{ch} punishment and paines we doe voluntarilie submit ourselves & every of us without benefit of any exception to be hereafter challenged by any colour or pretence In witness of all which promises to be inioiablē kept wee do to this writing putt our hands & seals and shall be most readie to accept and admit any other hereafter to this our societie & Association.

“Cittie of Exeter the ix daie of October 1584 in the five and twentieth year of her Ma^{ties} Reigne.

Geoffray Thomas	John Blackall	Tho. Bruerton	
		sworne in ye tyme	
		of ye parliament	
Nicholas Martyn	George Peryman	Ric. Prouse	
		sworne in ye tyme	
		of ye parliament	
Thomas Martyn	Michall Germyn	W. Martyn	(seal with
arms of Peryam)	Harry Ellacott	Phelypp	
Yarde I W	Thomas Chapell	Nicholas Spicer	John
Sampford	Thomas Spicer	Richard	
Swete	John Howell	(Ed)warde Herte	Peter Purvys
W John S	Henry Hull	John ffollett	John Crosse
William Payne	George Bery (?)	Rychard Bevys	Thomas
Hamp(ton)	Richard Dorchester	Thomas Brydgman	
Walter Pryer	John Watkyns	Edward Martyn	
Willym	John Smythe	John More	Tho Sheppard
John Trosse	Nicholas Askham (?)	W ^m Goweke (?)	Thomas
Baskerville	Jo Pole	William Sheppard	Jho Harrys
Richard Stansley (?)	Laurence Seldon	Phillip	
.....	Moris Downe	Sam ^l Warne (?)	Grygge
Diggory Baker	Richard Bartlett	Roger (Selbey)	
.....	F W	Gilbert Smyth	

Edward Spycer	Michal Br . . man	Thomas Nicholys
Humphrey Gilbert	George Rowe	T Furley (?)
Rychard Mawdytt	George Glubbe	
.	Clement	
(Wil)met Tayllor	Gilbert Denys	Richard Radcott
Andrew Mackye	John Tozey	Thomas Chaffe
Horssey	Richard May	
Chapell	Thomas Blackall	Nicholas Evans
Hallcombe (?)	William Dier	Richard Wills
William Germyn	Richard Maninge	Walter Denys
Prouze	Alexander Germyn	John
Thomas T	Edward Searte	
.	Richard Darbie (?)	
Nicholas Hatche	George Drak	Walter Borowe
Spicer	Thomas Raymond (?)	Harry Payne
Johannes Augustine	Richard Pery	W Geret
John Brooks		
R ^d Tayllor	John Kerr (?)	William Knowles
Edmund Cole	William Skinner	Christopher Spicer
Robert Chaffe	Robert ffrye	Peter Wolcott
William Greenwood	William Hancoke	John Ellacott
W Alnet Budlye	Richard Derbye (?)	Thomas Greenwood
Thomas Seynter	William Newcome	John Greenway
Walter Cowper	John Collyns	Peter Risdon
Mychell Blayne		Tayllor I A
John Trygges	Davyd Hancoke	Edward Hurt
Robert Mychell		George Maynwaring
John Hamond	V(alin)tyn Tedbury	John Withycom.

As it is not possible to decipher all the signatures, neither can all those whose names are legible be identified. But when we search the local histories of the date we find that many of them acted as mayors, sheriffs, and officers of the city at the end of the sixteenth century. Nearly every well-known man who has signed belonged to the Guild of Merchant Adventurers, a company that had special reason for asserting its loyalty to the Queen. Elizabeth herself had given its charter, and granted privileges that were no small grievance to those who did not share them. The members must have felt that possibly they would not enjoy the same advantages under her successors.

The first signature and seal on the Bond are lost. I have no doubt they were those of the mayor for that year, the notable John Davy, who was at this same time Governor of the Merchant Adventurers. My reason for concluding that his would be the first name signed, is that Geoffray Thomas, whose name is now the first on the document, was ex-mayor, having served in the office in 1583. His seal is a merchant's mark.

John Blackall may have been the mayor of that name in 1560. He certainly was the John Blackall whose name occurs on the minutes of the Company for 1589, when there was a controversy between him and the Guild, ending in the treasurer paying him 10s. "for a night-cap." "And the said John Blackall doth acquit the whole companie of all manner of matters from the beginning of the world to the present date." Thomas Blackall, who also signs, was elected one of the consuls of the Guild in 1597.

Two signatures, the fourth and seventh, Tho. Bruerton and Ric. Prouse, have written beneath them "sworne in ye tyme of ye Parliament," apparently alluding to Elizabeth's fifth Parliament summoned 23 November, 1584, about six weeks later than the date on this copy of the Bond. In this Parliament, which lasted till 14 September, 1585, Thomas Bruerton and Richard Prouse were members for the city of Exeter.¹

The special reason for summoning Parliament was to pass an Act legalizing the Bond of Association, but it was not done without modifying some of the terms of the oath. From the statement that they have written under their names it would seem as if the two members of Parliament wished to assert that they had sworn to the altered oath, and not to the terms as above written. Had their signatures appeared at the end of the document, this would be quite explicable; doubtless it lay for many weeks at the Guildhall before the signatures were completed. As their names occur among some of the first written, the question arises, did the document reach Exeter actually at the date given on it, or later? Is it not possible that the clerk who copied the formal terms of the oath dated his paper for the "cittie of Exeter October 9th," but that it did not reach its destination until after Parliament was summoned? As I have already said, no entries occur in the Act Books to help us, and I have not been able to

¹ Browne Wills, *Notitia Parliamentaria*, Vol. 2, p. 2.

compare the date on our Bond with dates that may be on others at the Record Office.

The fifth, eighth, and tenth names are those of Nicholas, Thomas and William Martyn, brothers, who were all in turn mayors of Exeter, and Governors of the Merchant Adventurers. Nicholas died in 1598; his gravestone still remains in St. Petrock's Church inscribed: "*Nicholas Martyn nepos armiger bis maior Exon.*" He was grandson of Richard Martyn, mayor in 1533. William was sheriff for this year 1584, and mayor in 1590 and 1600. Thomas had been mayor in 1581. They all use a seal with their armorial bearings, *argent, two bars gules*. The name of Edward Martyn also occurs, but without the family seal. George Peryman was Governor of the Company in 1567, and mayor in 1577. Michael Germyn was mayor in 1582, Governor of the Guild in 1583, mayor again in 1591. Alexander Germyn, sheriff in 1604. Of William Germyn, who signs, I can learn no particulars.

The eleventh signature has perished, but the seal remains. It is a very good impression of the arms of Peryam, *a chevron engrailed between three leopards' faces*. No doubt the signature was that of John Peryam, whose portrait hangs in the Guildhall. He was son of a mayor of Exeter, and brother of Sir William Peryam, Chief Baron of the Exchequer. In 1585 he declined the office of Governor of the Guild "because he was minded to live in London." He must have changed his mind, for he was mayor in 1587 and again in 1598. Harry Ellacott, a Merchant Adventurer, was sheriff in 1579. Of the same family must have been John Ellacott, who was Treasurer of the Company in 1597; he seems to have died about 1594, as mention is made that John Ellacott left 13s. 4d. annually "for a belman that goeth about by night."

Phelypp Yarde was Governor of the Company in 1579, and sheriff in 1587. In 1580 the Guild voted him the repayment of 13s. 4d. for a buck, "that he did provide for dinner on the 6th of August last." At the same time they agreed to have an annual dinner with a buck on that day. The date was specially memorable in Exeter, being the day when Sir Peter Carew and Lord Russell relieved the city after the siege during the Prayer Book rebellion. An annual sermon was then preached in the Cathedral, attended by the mayor and his brethren in state. As they were, in the sixteenth century, all members of the Guild of

Merchant Adventurers, no doubt they discussed the sermon over their buck afterwards.

Thomas Chapell was nominated Governor of the Guild in 1585, when John Peryam refused the appointment. He was mayor in 1588. William Chapell who signs the Bond may have been his son, or the son of that William Chapell who died during his mayoralty in 1579.

Five signatures of Spicers occur on this document. Four of these were brothers, Nicholas, Thomas, William and Christopher, all in turn Governors of the Guild. Nicholas and Thomas were also mayors of Exeter; Christopher, sheriff in 1595, and William in 1598. Nicholas and Christopher were also benefactors to the city, leaving sums for various charitable purposes. A portrait of Nicholas was formerly in the Guildhall, but unfortunately one of the first acts of the new Town Council, after the passing of the Municipal Reform Bill, was to present this picture to representatives of the family, and it seems to have entirely disappeared. In his *History of Exeter*, Oliver describes the picture as inscribed "A.D. 1610 *æt.* 78." Isaacke says that the will of Nicholas Spicer was proved 7 March, 1609.

On 8 November, 1593, the Merchant Adventurers agreed to collect £40 towards the "paving seelinge and building of a certeine roome being under the Guildhall of this cittie," Mr. Thomas Spicer, then mayor, being one of the Company empowered to collect the funds. This connects the Merchant Adventurers with the restoration of the Guildhall, undertaken at that date, when the armorial bearings that decorate the panels were first painted. Among them are the arms of Spicer, below which is the name of John Spicer, five times mayor between 1353 and 1360. No doubt Thomas Spicer had them placed here as asserting his descent from this former mayor. In St. Martin's Church there is a tablet to Thomas Spicer, but it gives no date of his death. Of Edward Spycer, who thus writes his name on the Bond, I have learnt no details.

John Sampforde was Treasurer of the Guild, which also paid him rent for the Merchants' Hall, where it had its meetings. When the Guildhall was restored in 1594, he was appointed overseer of the building, and Dr. Oliver considers that it is to his efforts that we owe the quasi-Italian front, with its mixed styles of architecture.

Richard Swete was one of the Common Council of the

city in 1583-84, and also a member of the Merchant Adventurers Company.

John Howell was Treasurer of the Company in 1587, Governor in 1591, and mayor in 1593.

Edward Herte was Town Clerk from 1574 to 1620. He uses a seal with armorial bearings, *a bend between 3 fleurs de lis*, given by Burke as the arms of Herte of Bovey Tracey.

Henry Hull was Governor of the Company in 1598, and mayor in 1605. John ffollett appears to have been one of the collectors of the Company's dues. "Strangers that do lade within our port shall pay 2/- with every pack." John ffollett and Walter Borough were to collect the same and give an account thereof. Walter Borough or Borowe was mayor in 1610, and a few years later than the date of this Bond John ffollett was made overseer of the new haven (the Exeter canal). Another collector for the Company was John Crosse, who was to have for his pains 12d. out of every pound.

Richard Bevis (he writes his name Bevys), Governor of the Guild in 1594, was a cloth merchant of Exeter, and one of her most prosperous citizens. He had a country house in Heavitree, as well as his shop in Exeter. In 1602 he was mayor, but died during his mayoralty. An interesting inventory of his goods was printed in the *Transactions* of this Society, vol. xli.

Of Thomas Hampton I can find no particulars. His signature has faded, but he has helped to identify it with his seal, which is a rebus of a tun, and the first syllable H.A.M.P.

Richard Dorchester was Governor in 1597, and mayor in 1606. His seal is a merchant's mark, with the letters R.D. and a date, of which 15— only now appears.

Thomas Brydgmán, who seals with an elaborate merchant's mark, was one of the city stewards for this year. John Smythe was mayor in 1567, and we find also the signature of Gilbert Smythe, one of the Merchant Adventurers, and steward of the city in 1585. Some other city stewards, whose names occur, may be mentioned together. Jasper Horssey was a member of the Guild and steward of the city in 1587. Harry Payne we may identify with Henry Payne, steward in 1593; Richard Pery was steward in 1585. Then we meet with the curious name of Alnet Budlye, which would be un-

decipherable did not Isaacke mention him as steward in 1592. We have also the names of William and Thomas Greenwood; of the former I have no details, but Thomas was steward in 1589. Thomas Baskerville was an apothecary of Exeter, and in 1570 steward of the city. He was the father of a well-known physician of that date, Sir Simon Baskerville, whose biography is given in Moore's *Devon*. The seal is the family crest, a wolf's head erased. A cross mark is identified with the name Tho. Sheppard, and near it is the name of William Sheppard. Thomas could not write, and William, judging by his signature, was very illiterate; but his name occurs as steward of the city in 1578.

On this part of the document the names are almost illegible; we find Laurence, and the seal a merchant's mark with L.S. on it; the name is that of Laurence Seldon, a member of the Guild and described by Isaacke as "a native and merchant of this city." By his will, proved 1598, he left donations to various Exeter parishes. Further on is the name Roger, the surname quite faded; in Isaacke we find Roger Selbey, city steward in 1587.

The clearly written signature of Humphrey Gilbert attracts attention. It is not that of the great Sir Humphrey, for he was lost at sea in 1583. This probably was his second son Humphrey, whose name is in the pedigree. Both Sir Humphrey Gilbert and his brother Adrian had connections with the Merchant Adventurers, and most likely the younger Humphrey belonged to the Guild.

Richard Mawdytt's name occurs on the charter as one of the original members of the Guild. In the Acts of the Company we find him taking shares in the freights of vessels, the *Michael* of Exeter, and the *Barthlemew* [*sic*] of Exmouth, which were to lade reesons (raisins), and the *Mary Martyn* of Excester to lade fygges, his share in these being several tons of fruit, and two tons of seeke (sack) in the *Christopher* of Kyngsweere.

Thomas and Robert Chaffe were brothers, sons of Robert Chaffe, Governor of the Company in 1571, and twice mayor of Exeter. He died about 1580, leaving several children. Robert, the eldest, uses a seal with a bird's head erased that might be a crest, and his initials R.C. Thomas, the second son, resided in St. Olave's parish, his daughter Pascha married Tristram Risdon the antiquary, and his son Thomas was that Thomas Chaffe, of Doddscote, gentle-

man, of whom an account is given in the *Transactions* of this Society for 1887. Thomas Chaffe uses a fine seal with his name round the edge.

John Prouze was sheriff in 1599, and mayor in 1608. He also belonged to the Guild and has been immortalized in the minutes for May 31, 1597: "At this court is presented that Mr. John Prouze and Laurence Seldon did of late deliver very unseemly words one of tother in Northinghay. Therefore they and every one of them shall pay according to a certeine act heretofore made 3s. 4d."

George Drak uses a seal with a shield showing a star (or mullet) in chief and base, and his initials G.D. in the centre. This seems a bearing curiously like the arms granted by Queen Elizabeth to Sir Francis Drake. Oddly enough one of the seals in common use on the Bond has a wyvern with its tail knowed, the well-known arms of Drake of Musbury.

William Hurst, who signs, was a son of that William Hurst, five times mayor, whose portrait is in the Guildhall. He had been an important member of the Guild of Merchant Adventurers; his son seems to have repudiated the Company, mention being made in the minutes that William Hurst, of Exeter, Esquire, is no freeman of the Company. His seal displays the armorial bearings of Hurst, *argent, an estoille gules*.

William Newcome is described as "of this city draper," when in 1599 he requested to be admitted a freeman of the Guild. He was sheriff in 1605, mayor in 1612.

The John Greenway who signs this Bond uses a merchant's mark, but not the same as that of the Tiverton merchant John Greenway, which is so profusely carved on Tiverton Church. He died childless in the fifteenth century, but mentions in his will kinsmen of the name at Hemyock, from whom the John Greenway of this document might be descended.

The Peter Risdon who signs so clearly is most likely that Peter Risdon of the parish of St. Lawrence, Exeter, whose will was dated 1614, but beyond this conjecture I can learn nothing about him. The name does not occur in either the pedigrees of Risdon of Bableigh, or Netherton. There appear to have been Risdons settled in Exeter, among whom Peter was a family name. Another Peter Risdon was steward of the city in 1670, and "Peter Risdon" signs the Exeter Association of allegiance to George II in

1745, a Bond somewhat similar in style to its Elizabethan predecessor.¹

George Maynwaring and his brother Oliver had founded St. Anne's Almshouses in 1561. The signature here is very illegible, but has a seal attached to it bearing a coat of arms charged with two bars, gules, seal, and shield differing in shape from that of the Martyns, whose armorial bearings had the same charge. Both Carew and Holland mention this similarity between the arms of Martyn and Maynwaring.

As a mere list of names is of little interest where the individuals are unknown, I trust these notes will not appear irrelevant in their endeavour to show something of the positions and occupations of those loyal citizens who, in token of their readiness to faithfully serve and humbly obey their sovereign Queen Elizabeth, did to this writing put their hands and seals.

I should like to express my thanks to Mr. W. A. Gaye, of the Town Clerk's Office, Exeter, for the great help he has given me in deciphering the terms of the Bond, and the signatures.

¹ Printed in *Notes and Gleanings*, vol. iii., p. 42.

XIII.

THE DOMESDAY HUNDRED OF WENFORD OR WONFORD.

BY REV. OSWALD J. REICHEL, B.C.L. & M.A.; F.S.A.

(Read at Exeter, 24th July, 1912.)

I. General remarks on the Hundred, its manors and townships.

1. The Hundred of Wenfort or Wonford, of which Exe-bridge was the mote-stow or meeting-place, consists of three separate sections, together with an outlier in the parish of Ilsington. The three sections were in former times respectively known as the Wonford or Eastern section, the Halsford or Western section, and the Tynhide or Teignhead section to which the outlier in Ilsington was appurtenant. This outlier comprises the four manors of Racoma or Horridge, Bagtor, Sigford, and Staplehill. In one of the Miscellaneous books in the Record Office (*Exch. Treasury of Receipts*, vol. lxxii), to which the late Mr. Whale drew attention (*Trans.* xxxii. 535), is a table of Hundreds and the scutages of Hundreds, amongst which occur, on p. 200, the following :

“ Names of the suitors of the Eastern part of the Hundred of Wonford every 3 weeks.

“ Names of the suitors of the Halford part.

p. 201. Tithings of the Wonford part.

p. 202. Tithings of the Halford part.

p. 203. And all the tithing-men shall come to Exe-bridge every 3 weeks or every month except the tithings of Hywish (Great Huish), Fouleford (Great Fulford in Dunsford), and Middellond (Medland in Cheriton Bishop) which shall come for 3 fifteen days. And they shall present all crown and other pleas which pertain to the Hundred ; except the tithings of Spreyton and Chageford which shall present nothing. And the steward of the Hundred once in a year after Michaelmas shall make

his *Tourn* thro' the under-written tithings, and the tithing-men and tenants shall present what pertains to view [of frankpledge], and it is called *Tremura*.¹ And if they shall have concealed or presented anything, it shall be adjourned to Exebridge and there determined.

p. 204. Aid of the Hundred of Wonford called *Horderesyeve*.²

p. 205. Suitors of Tynhide part of Wonford every 3 weeks.

Tithings of Tynhide.

p. 207. And all the aforesaid Tithing-men ought to present at each Hundred [court] everything pertaining to the Hundred, except the tithing-men of Stoke [in-Teignhead], a free manor. And the tithing-man of Stoke shall hear the presentations of all tithing-men concerning any felonies perpetrated in the aforesaid tithing, so that the aforesaid tithing-men shall present all felonies within 3 days to the aforesaid tithing-man. And the same tithing shall provide a pound, stocks and other instruments for detaining and hanging felons and shall supervise the *Hoga* called *La Wetherburgh*.³ And shall make that provision thro' all the aforesaid tithings which of old were provided against the coming of ships hostile to the kingdom of England. And all the aforesaid tithing-men as well of the Wonford part as of the Halsford part and also of Tynhide shall come 3 fifteen days to Exebridge without summons to present, as of old they were accustomed. But each tithing-man of the Tynhide part gives 3 pence at Yevetru (Heavitree), so that their pound-keeper need not come at the fifteen days, *i.e.* after the feast of St. Michael, Christmas and Easter."

2. Further particulars respecting the Hundred of Wonford may be found in the *Hundred Rolls* of 3 Ed. I. A.D. 1274. The printed rolls contain two different documents belonging to different dates. In the first document, No. 42, p. 84, and No. 43, p. 85, Isabella de Fortibus, countess of Devon, is in possession of the Hundred. This document, therefore, belongs to a time when Isabella's mother,

¹ *Trans.* xxxv. 304.

² The word appears as *Hordesyft*, or Treasurer's gift, in the *Hundred Roll* of 3 Ed. I., quoted in *Trans.* xxxv. 304. Davidson, *Hist. of Newenham Abbey*, 24, says that this payment is now called "auxiliary money." Uplyme paid to Axminster Hundred 10 shillings annually at the sheriff's *Tourn*, and 6/8 yearly called *herderisgeld* or *horderisgeve*.

³ The Ramsborough.

Amice, widow of the 6th earl, who held the Hundred in dower, was dead. She died in 1284 (*A.-D. Inq.* 12 Ed. I. No. 33). And as this document is identical with the so-called *Kirby's Quest*, printed in *Feudal Aids*, p. 311, it probably belongs to the year 1285. At any rate it cannot belong to 1274, for in the return made in that year Amice is stated to be holding the Hundred of Wonford in dower.

This document commences with a general survey of the privileged manors in the Hundred, followed by a complete list of the fees, their present holders, and the Honours of which they were held, the jurors being William le Espec, William de Foleford, William de Prestone, John de Boyvyle, William Floere, Robert Pyngne, John Floere, Ralf de Lappefode, Roger By Nychedon, Peter de Hakeworth[i] and Henry de Staneweye. It runs:

"Simon de Montacute, lord of Wonford, and Boys de Nonant, lord of Halford, ought to find a bailiff for the King to receive and collect the King's dues. The lord of Halford finds a bailiff in the Western part, just as there is a bailiff in the Eastern part, and neither ought to enter the district of the other; but by a convention made between the lords of Wonford and Halford, the lord of Wonford has to find a bailiff for both divisions.

"There are 66 townships, of which 3 are royal and pay no geld, viz. the township of POLSLOE held by the prioress of the same, the township of COWICK held by the prior of that ilk, and the township of CHRISTENSTOW (Christow) held by the abbot of Bec. Eleven are royal and pay geld, to wit:

[1] James de Moleton [of Pinhoe. See below, No. 2, p. 316] claims to have a liberty, viz. gallows, tumbrel, assize of bread and beer, waifs and strays, pleas of blood and claims of theft, as also view of frankpledge from time out of mind.

[2] Isabella, countess of Devon, claims the same in TOPPESHAM.

[3] The bishop of Bangor holds the township of ALPHINGTON in wardship of the King with the same liberty.

[4] Robert son of Pagan holds the township of STOKES TYNHYDE with the same liberty.

[5] Nicolas Montfort holds the township of *Bridford* in wardship by the King's gift with the same liberty.

[6] Humfrey Kael claims to have the same liberty, in the township of *Holcumb* [Burnell].

[7] Peter [Quivil], bishop of Exeter, holds the township of *Doneford* (Dunsford) with the same liberty.

[8] Thomas de Chagford holds the township of *Chaghheford* (Chagford) with the same liberty.

[9] William Talebot holds the township of *Spreyton* with the same liberty.

[10] Baldwin de Speccot holds the township of *Lamford* with the same liberty.

53 pay geld and are not royal.

[11] John Dabernon holds the township of *Teignton Drue* (Drewsteignton) with the same liberty.

"The sheriff at his tourn received in the Hundred of Wonford 14 shillings and 7 pence, viz. from CLYST FOMISON (Sowton) 6d.; POLTIMORE and CLYST MOYL (Clyst Mois= West Clyst in Broadclyst) 12d.; BRANFOR[D] PYN (Upton Pyne) 12d.; STEVEMSTON (Stevenston in Upton Pyne) 6d.; BAGTOR (in Ilsington) 12d.; HOLEBEME (Holbeam or Hobbin in East Ogwell) 6d.; WEST WOGWELL (West Ogwell) 6d.; EASTWOGWELL (East Ogwell) 7d.; ROUCOMBE HUE (Higher and Lower Rocombe in Stoke-in-Teignhead) 12d.; TEIGN IN TYNHIDE (Teign Harvey in Stoke-in-Teignhead) 8d.; EILFORD CORBIN (East Clifford in Dunsford) 8d.; CLIFFORD STEVEN (West Clifford =Combe Hall in Drewsteignton) 8d.; SCHILTON (Shilston in Drewsteignton) 9d.; RIFFORD (Rushford in Chagford) 12d.; THRUSEGH (Throwleigh) 12d.; CHAGKFORD (Chagford) 12d.; SPRYTON [with] HUETESLEY (Spreyton and Hittisleigh) 2s.; CHURITON (Cheriton Bishop) 6d.; EGHBEARE (Egbear in Cheriton) 12d.; MELEHEWIS (Melhuish in Tedburn) 12d.; FOLEFORD (Fulford in Dunsford) 6d.; TETTEBORN (Tedburn) 6d.; HEWIS (Great Huish in Tedburn) 6d., and 12d. from REWE.

"William de Batteshal holds of Symon de Montacute the serjeantie of the Hundreds of Wonford and Halseord for 30s. a year as tenant at will.

"The prioress of Polsloe claims to have all kinds of liberties by royal charter, viz. exchequer fines for herself and her men and all other liberties except pleas of life or member, and that by charter of King Henry [II.], King John's father, and by charter of King John, confirmed by King Henry [III.], the present King's father.

"The prior of Cowyck (Cowick) also claims liberties of all kinds.

"Isabella countess of Devon [sister and heiress of Bald-

win 7th earl of Devon] has the Hundred of Wonford and assize of bread and beer for which the seneschal takes fines, but she has neither pillory nor tumbrel and the seneschal wrongfully taxes the men of the Hundred."

The list of townships which follows it is unnecessary to transcribe here, as the whole may be consulted in *Feudal Aids*, p. 312.

3. The second document is the actual return made by the Hundred jury in 1274 (*Hund. Rolls*, No. 44, p. 86). This runs as follows :

"Verdict of Wonford Hundred made by John le Floer [of Floyerhayes in St. Thomas], Ralf de Lapeflod, Roger Cotum, Walter Gyrard, Thomas Peterrin, John de Holebeim, Richard Treymenet [of Great Huish], William de Presteton, Robert de Boyland, Henry Tyrel [of Oldridge], Peter de Hakeworth [Hackworthy in Tedburn], Adam de la Leye who say :

[1] "Roger de Valletorta held the manor of BRIDEFORD which belongs to the barony of Hurberton of the King in chief and gave that manor to John de Hokeston and Joan his wife 5 years ago to hold of the aforesaid Roger and his heirs. It is worth £10 a year.

[2] "Amice countess of Devon holds the HUNDRED OF WONFORD in dower since the death of Baldwin her husband sometime [sixth] earl of Devon who held the said Hundred in chief of the King as his heirs still do and it belongs to the barony of Plymton and is worth 100 shillings a year.

[3] "William de Hochesham was convicted of a certain redeseising of Thomas Brother of one common pasture in Hochesham (Huxham), for which he was kept prisoner in Exeter castle by Roger de Predyas then sheriff of Devon until he paid a fine of 40 shillings.

[4] "The freemen of TOPESHAM manor were wont to attend the Tourn of the sheriff of Devon once a year with the Hundred of Wonford, but for more than 30 years have been withdrawn from the said suit.

[5] "Robert de Malleston the King's escheator seised the service-land of the free tenants of Broscumb [DRASCOMBE in Drewsteignton, *Trans.* xxxvii. 418, 427, 433, 440], upon the death of Sarrah de Bromhille who held the aforesaid land of the King in chief by the service of finding the King with a bow and 3 arrows whenever he should come into the forest of Dartmoor and paying him 5s. a year..

And the said Robert received on St. John the Baptist's day 3s. 9d. and it is still in the King's custody.

[6] "John Daveyll claims to hold the land of *Brighebroke* (BUDBROOK in Drewsteignton, *Trans.* xxxvii. 441) in chief of the King by a similar service and paying annually 5s.

[7] "William de Huntiland bedell of Wonford on the eve of St. Andrew more than 2 years ago took the horse of Henry de Hollesham. Henry recovered the return of the said horse in the county [court] of Devon, but never got it.

[8] "William de Hokemton (Okehamton) sold the ox of Robert de Boyland whilst he was in the service of John de Musegrosse sheriff of Devon for 8s. alleging that 5s. 5½d. was due to the King for a levy for the circuit-costs of Robert de Bruwes⁴ and he still keeps the 2s. 6½d. balance ; and subsequently the said William when he was constable of Thomas de Pyn took the plough beasts of the said Robert for the same debt and kept them until he got a fine of 2s.

[9] "Roger de Pridias sheriff of Devon took by the hand of William bailiff of Halsford 8 cows the property of Robert de Boxland, and drove them off to Exeter castle and from the castle to the fair by his own proper servants and there sold them wrongfully without the judgment of the country.

[10] "The same Robert de Mucegrosse when he was sheriff received from various debtors of the King £100 and more by William Puynz under-sheriff, for which as yet he has given no acquittance.

[11] "Sir John de Blakeford gave to Richard de Clifford the King's escheator 100 marks to help him to get possession of the manors of Branton [*Trans.* xxxvii. 431, n. 25], Dounesford [*ibid.*, p. 445] and Rew [*ibid.*, p. 444]. And the same John enfeoffed the same master Richard of a house with ½ acre of land and the advowson of the church of Donisford (Dunsford) for 10 marks."

These presentments afford some idea of the oppression practised by the King's and the county officials in the thirteenth century.

4. The manors of the Hundred were grouped into townships as follows to meet the requirements of the Parliament

⁴ Robert de Brywes was one of the justices at Westminster on 25 June, 1257 (Devon Fine, No. 563). He was on circuit at Exeter on 28 Oct., 1262 (Devon Fine, No. 624), until 10 Feb., 1263 (*ibid.*, No. 666), and at Ilchester, 28 April, 1263 (*ibid.*, No. 653).

at Lincoln, which on 20 February, 1316, had called on each township to "furnish the King with one man at arms" (*Feud. Aids*, 377):

"Hugh de Cortenay is lord of the Hundred [of Wonford]. There is no borough in it but the following townships:

[75] Township of HEVETRE with RYGESWILLE (Ringswell), CLIST FOMYSON (Sowton) and HOXHAM (Huxham). John de Kelly is lord of the same.

[76] Township of POLTIMOR with REWE, COTTON (Cutton in Poltimore) and STEVENYSTON (in Upton Pyne) members thereto belonging. John Bamfeld is lord thereof.

[77] Township of STOKE OF THE CANONS with BRAUNFORD PYN (Upton Pyne), and BRAUNFORD SPEEK (Bramford Speke) and Cowlegh its members. The dean and chapter of blessed Peter of Exeter are the lords thereof.

[78] Township of ALFYNGTON (Alphington) with HOLRUGGE (Holridge in Ilsington), SYGGEFORD (Sigford in Ilsington) and HOLEBEME (Hobbin in East Ogwell) its members. Teobald de Nevyle is lord thereof.

[79] Township of EST WOGWILLE (East Ogwell) with WEST WOGWILLE (West Ogwell), CUMB BLAUNKMESTER (Combe-in-Teignhead), and BAGGETORRE (Bagtor in Ilsington). John de Maleston is lord of the same.

[80] Township of STOKE (Stoke-in-Teignhead) with ROCUMB (Middle Rocombe in Combe-in-Teignhead), ROCUMB HUGHE (Rocombe in Stoke-in-Teignhead) and TEYNG HERVY (Teign Harvey in Stoke-in-Teignhead) its members, of which Robert son of Pagan is lord.

[81] Township of HOLECUMB (Holcombe Burnell) with RYDMOR (Ringmoor), WONFORD (Wonford in Heavitree), HALYSFORD (Halsford in Whitstone) and BRIDEFORD (Bridford), members thereto belonging of which Humfrey Kayel is lord.

[82] Township of DONSFORD (Dunsford) with LANGGELEGH (Langley in Dunsford), CLYFFORD CORBYN (East Clifford in Dunsford), also CLYFFORD STEVENE (West Clifford or Combe Hall in Drewsteignton) and TEYNG DREU (Drewsteignton) members thereto belonging, and the lord of the same is the abbess of Canonsleigh.

[83] Township of THROULEGH (Throwleigh) with CHAGEFORD, SHILSTON (in Drewsteignton) and SPREYTON its members, of which Roger de Moelys is lord.

[84] Township of CHURITONE (Cheriton Bishop) with

FORSHAM (in Drewsteignton), LAMFORD (Lambert in Cheriton) and MYDDELLONDE (Medland in Cheriton) members of the same, the lords of which are John Burnel and the abbot of Tewkesbury.

[85] Township of EGGBERE (Egbear in Cheriton) with MELEHYWYSH (Melhuish in Tedburn), HAKEWORTHY (Hackworthy in Tedburn), FOLEFORD (Great Fulford in Dunsford) and TETTEBORN (Tedburn St. Mary) members going with the same and the lord thereof is John de Kelly.

[86] Township of WHYTESTON (Whitstone) with COWYKE (Cowick), HETHE (Heath in Whitstone) and HYWYSH TREMANET (Great Huish in Tedburn) which are members going therewith. The lord thereof is the earl of He[re]ford by reason of the heirs of John de Pouderham being under age.

5. John Hooker, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, commences his *Chorographical Synopsis* of Devon as follows (Harleian MSS. 5827, p. 96):

“And now I do come unto the Surveye of Devon according to the number of the Hundreds and the parishes within every Hundred and of such payments as do grow out thereof unto the Queen’s majestie for the Tenths and fifteens at such times as the same be due unto her. The first is the Hundred of *Womford* which lyeth nearest and about the citie of Exon; Whereof the citie was parcell before the same was made a several countie [in 1537]. And in this Hundred there be 32 parishes. The first of them is according to the Chequer booke from whence this copie is hadd as followeth:

	Total.			Deductions.		Payable.	
[1] Comigtynethed	31	6	..	nil	..	31	6
(Combe-in-Teignhead).							
[2] Rocombe Hugh	2	4	..	12d.	..	16d.	
(Rocombe in Stoke-in-Teignhead).							
[3] Stokyntened	26	8	..	4/-	..	22	8
(Stoke-in-Teignhead).							
[4] Rumore <i>alias</i> Rydmore	26	0	..	4/6	..	21	6
(Ringmoor). In this parysh dwelleth Hurkmore of Buckl . . . and Syward.							
[5] Alphington	38	0	..	nil	..	38	0
Norley but now Style.							
[6] Christowe and }	3	0	0 ..	0	6 8.	..	53 4
[7] Cowyke }							
[8] Sprayton	3	0	..	nil	..	3	0
[9] Rysheford	3	1	..	nil	..	3	1
(Rushford in Chagford).							

		Total.		Deductions.		Payable.
[10]	Pynnhoo . . .	28 0 ..		nil ..		28 0
[11]	Holbeme . . . (Hobbin in East Ogwell).	3 0 ..		nil ..		3 0
	Kyrkeham, now the best of that name.					
[12]	Dunsford . . .	16 8 ..		nil ..		16 8
	Fulford of Fulford an ancyeut gent. descended of the Saxons as appeareth by the Book of Domesday.					
[13]	Bramford Speke . . .	6 8 ..		2 0 ..		4 8
[14]	Cowleigh . . .	5 8 ..		2 8 ..		3 0
[15]	Eggbeare . . .	6 0 ..		nil ..		6 0
[16]	Rewe . . .	10 6 ..		nil ..		10 6
[17]	Hattensheigh . . . (Hittisleigh).	5 0 ..		nil ..		5 0
[18]	Luxham . . . (Huxham).	4 0 ..		nil ..		4 0
[19]	Westogwell . . .	3 0 ..		16d. ..		20d.
[20]	Winesford and }	20 0 ..		nil ..		20 0
[21]	Halsford }					
[22]	Lamsford . . .	8 0 ..		20d. ..		6 4
	(Lambert in Cheriton Bishop).					
	Reynells.					
[23]	<i>St. Thomas by Exeter.</i> [See No. 70.]					
	Floer of Floerhayes, Prouz of Bowhill, and Peters of Hayes.					
[24]	Polymore and }	19 0 ..		20d. ..		17 4
[25]	Clistmoyes }					
	(West Clyst in Broad Clyst).					
	Bamfield.					
[26]	Polslowe . . .	21 6 ..		4 0 ..		17 6
[27]	Stoke Canon . . .	17 10 ..		5 0 ..		12 10
	Pawlett and Martyn.					
[28]	Clyste Fomeson <i>alias</i>					
	Sowton . . .	6 8 ..		nil ..		6 8
	Ashe, the remainder of the olde and ancient house of the Ashes sometymes Essei of the river Exe so called.					
[29]	Hevitree . . .	7 0 ..		nil ..		7 0
[30]	Ringswell . . .	5 0 ..		nil ..		5 0
	In this parysh dwelleth Smith at Madford, Geere at Ringswell, and Caryl and Kellye of Hevitree.					
[31]	Whitestone . . .	7 0 ..		nil ..		7 0
[32]	Heath . . .	5 6 ..		nil ..		5 6
	Dowrysh at Heth and Loman at Whitestone.					
[33]	Holecombe . . .	14 0 ..		nil ..		14 0
	(Holcombe Burnel). Dennys.					

		Total.		Deductions.		Payable.
[34]	Brydford . . .	14 0 ..		nil ..		14 0
[35]	Toppesham . . . (Topsham with Rohorn in Whitston).	27 0 ..		6 0 ..		21 0
[36]	Villa de Footeford ⁵ . . . (Siggeford de la Clyve now Wearpark in Topsham). Holland at Weare.	4 4 ..		nil ..		4 4
[37]	Cheriton Bishop . . .	3 0 ..		nil ..		3 0
[38]	East Clifford (in Dunsford) . . .	3 8 ..		nil ..		3 8
[39]	West Clifford (Combe Hall in Drewsteignton) . . .	7 4 ..		nil ..		7 4
[40]	Fursham . . . (Forsham in Drewsteignton).	2 6 ..		nil ..		2 6
[41]	Chagford . . . Prouz, Whyddon and Coad.	2 0 ..		nil ..		2 0
[42]	Throwleigh . . .	13 2 ..		nil ..		13 2
[43]	Farrwood . . . (Farwood in Tedburn).	13 4 ..		nil ..		13 4
[44]	Doington (Teignton) and	7 8 ..		20d. ..		6 0
[45]	[Bradford] Dawnem (Bradford Dabernon).					
[46]	Hamell ⁶ and	3 6 ..		nil ..		3 6
[47]	Droscomb Dodbrok (Drascombe and Budbrook in Drewsteignton).					
[48]	Tetborne . . . (Tedburn St. Mary).	5 0 ..		nil ..		5 0
[49]	Hackworth . . . (Hackworthy in Tedburn).	2 0 ..		nil ..		2 0
[50]	Southtauton. [Usually treated as a Hundred by itself.]					
[51]	Gydeleighe. [See No. 66.]					
[52]	Droustainton. [See No. 44.]					
[53]	St. Leonards. [See <i>Trans.</i> xxxiii. 618; Oliver, <i>Mon.</i> 191.]					
[54]	Huxxum. [See No. 18.]					
[55]	Hytleagh. [See No. 17.]					
[56]	Haccombe Rowe. [See No. 2, Rocombe Hugh.]					
[57]	Huyshe . . . (Great Huish in Tedburn).	5 6 ..		nil ..		5 6

⁵ In 1346 John Holonde held $\frac{1}{16}$ fee in Siggeford de la Clyve in Topsham of John de Bukyngton (*Feud. Aids*, 386). This property was held by Sarah de Asselegh in 1241 for $\frac{1}{16}$ fee within the manor of Topsham (*Testa*, 624, p. 181b), and is the Saghe and La Clyve which Joel de Bukyngton held in 1303 for $\frac{1}{16}$ fee (*Feud. Aids*, 345).

⁶ It is suggested that Hooker found Haniwell and Droscombe in one MS. and Droscombe and Bodbrok in the other. Haniwell may then be Honeyford adjoining Budbrook. Budbrook had been originally included in Drascombe (*Testa*, 1482, p. 197a; 1502, p. 198a in *Trans.* xxxvii. 441), and appears to have been separated by grant of Richard, son of Ingulf, to Richard Ruffus on 22 May, 1219 (*Devon Fine*, No. 99 in *Devon and Corn. Rec. Soc.*).

	Total.		Deductions.		Payable.
[58] Melhuyshe	5 0 ..		nil ..		5 0
(Melhuish in Tedburn).					
[59] Mydleland	7 0 ..		16d. ..		5 8
(Medland in Cheriton Bishop).					
[60] Teinge Harvie	6 0 ..		16 ..		4 8
(Teign Harvey in Stoke-in-Teignhead).					
[61] Easteogwell	16 0 ..		nil ..		16 0
(East Ogwell).					
[62] Hamlet of Shilston	6 ..		nil ..		6
(Shilston in Drewsteignton).					
[63] Syggford	3 0 ..		nil ..		3 0
(Sigford in Ilsington).					
[64] Horridge	18 ..		nil ..		0 18
(Horridge in Ilsington).					
[65] Hamlet of Beconnie and	} 3 10 ..		nil ..		3 10
[66] Dadly (Gidleigh) (?)					
[67] Combe Borough <i>alias</i> Bowerley (in Drews- teignton)	4 0 ..		nil ..		4 0
[68] Baggeter	7 0 ..		nil ..		7 0
(Bagtor in Ilsington).					
[69] Bramford Pyne <i>alias</i> Upton Pyne	7 0 ..		nil ..		7 0
Larder, now Coplestone.					
[70] Heghes	3 0 ..		nil ..		3 0
(St. Thomas Hayes).					
[71] Hamlet of Staplehill	3 0 ..		nil ..		3 0
(in Ilsington).					
[72] Steromeston	14 0 ..		4 0 ..		10 0
(Stevenston in Upton Pyne).					
The whole	£30 6 5				
Deductions	48 10				
Remaineth	27 17 7				

One remark only need be made in passing. Hooker evidently had before him two MSS. from which he compiled his list, and when the spelling was different he appears to have supposed the places separate manors. Thus Nos. 23, 50, 52, 54 to 56 are reduplications. And it is also clear that in one of the copies from which he compiled his list, South Tawton and its dependent manors were regarded as belonging to the Hundred of Wonford.

Passing on to

VOL. XLIV.

II. The Domesday Hundred of Wonford.

(Estates which the Geldroll shows must be in this Hundred are in large capitals; those whose assessments were probably not included are in italics.)

I. ROYAL ESTATE.

A. THE KING'S LORDSHIP ESTATES OR COUNTY LANDS :—

W. 59, p. 38 (<i>Vict. Hist.</i> 410) : WENFORT (Wonford in Heavitree with Clyst St. Mary and Halsford in Whitstone) ? Aforetime queen Edida		0	2	0	0	1	0	—	1750	£18 of 20 pence to the ounce (<i>ore</i>) ^s			
W. 60, p. 70 (<i>Vict. Hist.</i> 410) : PINNOC (Pinhoe) ⁹ Aforetime earl Lewin.			1	2	0	0	3	0	[0	3	0]	1020	£6 by weight
W. 61, p. 70 : <i>Church land</i> held by Battle Abbey (Monkaton in Pinhoe)			1	0	—	—	—	—	[80]	5/-			
W. 62, p. 60 (<i>Vict. Hist.</i> 410) : ALFINTONA (Alphington) ¹⁰ Aforetime earl Harald.			2	2	0	0	2	0	[2	0	0]	1363	£6 by weight
W. 63, p. 62 (<i>Vict. Hist.</i> 410) : TOPESHANT (Topsham) ¹¹ Aforetime earl Harald.			1	0	0	0	2	0	[0	2	0]	1030	£6 by weight

⁷ See No. 1, p. 315.

⁹ See No. 2, p. 316.

^s i.e. current money.

¹⁰ See No. 18, p. 322.

See *Trans.* xxix. 454, n. 2.

¹¹ See Nos. 3 to 5, p. 316, 317.

	Assessments.						Value.	
	Totals.		Lordship.		Villagers.			
	Hides	Virg.	Ferl.	Hides	Virg.	Ferl.	Acres.	
[Honour of Gloucester]								
B. FORFEITED SUBJECTS' LANDS given to Queen Matilda :—								
W. 101, p. 90 (<i>Vict. Hist.</i> 414) : HOLECUMBA (Holcombe Berner or Burnel) ¹³ Aforetime Bristric or Brictric.	. 1	0	0	0	0	2	0 3 2	670 £8 15/-
II. ST. PETER'S CHURCH, EXETER :—								
W. 113, p. 110 (<i>Vict. Hist.</i> 416) : STOCHA (Stoke Canon) ¹³ Bishop Osbern.	. 1	0	0	0	1	0	[0 3 0]	542 50/- [The Bishop's barony]
III. BISHOP OF COUTANCE (Geoffrey de Mowbray's lay fee) :—								
W. 192, p. 190 (<i>Vict. Hist.</i> 425) : Kagefort (Chagford) ¹⁴ Drogo ; aforetime Dodo.	. 1	0	0	0	1	0	—	573 30/-; of old 20/- [Honour of Barnstaple]
W. 193, p. 190 (<i>Vict. Hist.</i> 425) : Taincoma (Teigncombe and Collierew in Chagford) ¹⁵ Drogo ; aforetime Alric.	. 0	2	0	0	0	1½	—	688 20/-; of old 15/-
W. 194, p. 218 (<i>Vict. Hist.</i> 425) : CLIS (Clyst Fomison or Sowton) ¹⁶ Geoffrey ; aforetime Edric.	. 1	0	0	0	2	0	—	432 £4; of old 50/- [Honour of Gloucester] [Honour of Barnstaple]

¹² See No. 40, p. 333.¹³ See No. 38, p. 331.¹⁴ See South Tawton Hundred, No. 10, p. 352. Dodo is the same person whose name is written Doda in W. 464 and elsewhere Dode, just as Oro is written Otre in Lovenetorne (*Vict. Hist.* 470) and Oter in Oliver, *Mon.* 187.¹⁵ See South Tawton Hundred, No. 10, p. 352.¹⁶ See No. 48, p. 337.

W. 195, p. 192 (<i>Vict. Hist.</i> 426) : BRANFORTUNA (Bramford Speke) ¹⁷	. 1	0	0	0	1	2	—	708	60/-
Drogo; aforetime Wilnot.									
W. 196, p. 192 (<i>Vict. Hist.</i> 426) : REWA (Rew and Cowley) ¹⁸	. 1	0	0	0	0	2	0	417	20/-; of old 60/-
Drogo; aforetime Wilnot.									
W. 220, p. 224 (<i>Vict. Hist.</i> 429) : <i>A ferling in Poleslwa</i> (Polsloe in Heavitree) ¹⁹	. 0	0	0	1	—	—	—	98	10/-; of old 4/-
Ansger or Anger; aforetime Alwy.									
IV. BALDWIN THE SHERIFF :—									
W. 456, p. 488 (<i>Vict. Hist.</i> 458) : COIC . (Cowick in St. Thomas') ²¹	. 1	0	0	0	2	0	0	646	30/-; of old 20/-
Himself; aforetime Almar or Ailmar.									
W. 457, p. 488 (<i>Vict. Hist.</i> 458) : TAINTONA (Drewsteignton) ²²	. 2	0	0	0	3	0	1	1386	50/-; of old 40/-
Himself; aforetime Osfers or Offers.									
W. 458, p. 490 (<i>Vict. Hist.</i> 458) : ESPREITONA (Spreyton) ²³	. 2	0	0	0	3	0	1	1213	50/-; of old 40/-
Himself; aforetime Osfers or Offers.									
W. 459, p. 492 (<i>Vict. Hist.</i> 458) : ESSOIC (Exwick in St. Thomas') ²⁴	. 1	0	0	0	1	0	0	696	30/-; of old 20/-
Himself; aforetime Eurewaacre.									

¹⁷ See No. 50, p. 338.

¹⁸ See No. 51, p. 338.

¹⁹ This small estate was part of the endowment of Polsloe priory, probably given to it after the murder of Thomas of Canterbury. See *Devon Notes and Qu.* II. 24, 188.

²¹ See No. 21, p. 324.

²² See No. 22, p. 324.

²³ See No. 23, p. 325.

²⁴ See No. 21, p. 324.

	Assessments.								Acres.	Value. 40/- of old 20/-
	Totals.		Lordship.		Villagers.		Fertl.			
	Hides	Virg.	Fertl.	Hides	Virg.	Fertl.		Hides	Virg.	Fertl.
W. 460, p. 492 (<i>Vict. Hist.</i> 459) : CLIFORT . (West Clifford, ²⁵ <i>alias</i> Combe Hall in Drewsteignton) Stephen ; aforetime Brismer.	1	0	0	0	2	0	0	2	0	707
W. 462, p. 494 (<i>Vict. Hist.</i> 459) : RUMOR . (Ringmoor, <i>alias</i> St. Nicholas with Shaldon) ²⁶ Stephen ; aforetime Bristric.	1	1	0	0	2	0	0	3	0	658
W. 463, p. 494 (<i>Vict. Hist.</i> 459) : RISFORT . (Rushford barton in Chagford) ²⁷ Edwy ; aforetime the same.	1	0	0	0	1	2	0	2	2	413
W. 464, p. 496 (<i>Vict. Hist.</i> 459) : HITENESLEIA . (Hittisleigh) ²⁸ Ralf de Pomeria ; aforetime Doda.	0	2	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	626
W. 465, p. 498 (<i>Vict. Hist.</i> 459) : MERTONA . (Mardon, an outlier of Drewsteignton) ²⁹ Richard, son of Torolv ; aforetime Iadolf.	0	1	0	0	0	2	0	0	2	247
W. 466, p. 498 (<i>Vict. Hist.</i> 459) : MELEWIS . (Melhuish in Tedburn) ³¹ Hugh of Rennes ; aforetime Brismer or Brismar.	0	2	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	602
W. 467, p. 500 (<i>Vict. Hist.</i> 459) : TAIGNA . (Teign Harvey in Stoke-in-Teignhead) ³² Hugh of Rennes ; aforetime Aluric.	0	2	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	342

²⁵ See No. 24, p. 325.²⁶ See No. 24, p. 325.²⁷ See No. 37, p. 331.²⁸ See No. 25, p. 325.²⁹ See No. 27, p. 326.³⁰ See No. 26, p. 326.

W. 468, p. 500 (<i>Vict. Hist.</i> 459) : WALDERIGE (Oldridge, an outlier of St. Thomas') ³³ Goscelin Beruin ; aforetime Doda.	.	.	0	0	2	0	0	1	0	0	1	646 of old 20/-
W. 469, p. 502 (<i>Vict. Hist.</i> 460) : TETEBORNA (Town barton in Tedburn St. Mary) ³⁴ Rainer [the house steward] ; aforetime Elmer.	.	.	0	1	0	0	0	1½	0	0	2½	408 of old 15/-
W. 470, p. 502 (<i>Vict. Hist.</i> 460) : TETEBORNA (Colhey in Tedburn St. Mary) ³⁵ Ralf de Pomeria ; aforetime Doda.	.	.	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	3	413 of old 10/-
W. 473, p. 506 (<i>Vict. Hist.</i> 460) : BRENFORT (Rolaston in Upton Pyne) ³⁶ Walter [the Cupbearer] ; aforetime Brungar.	.	.	0	2	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	169 of old 10/-
W. 475, p. 508 (<i>Vict. Hist.</i> 460) : WITESTAN (Westtown and Hackadown in Whitstone) ³⁷ Bernard the napeless ; aforetime Chenistre.	.	.	0	2	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	325 of old 5/-
W. 476, p. 510 (<i>Vict. Hist.</i> 460) : MEDENECOMA (Maidencombe in Stoke-in-Teignhead) ³⁸ Bernard ; aforetime Chenistre.	.	.	0	2	0½	0	1	0	0	1	0½	240 of old 30 pence
W. 477, p. 510 (<i>Vict. Hist.</i> 461) : RACOMA (Rocombe Cadiho, <i>alias</i> Hugh, otherwise Higher and Lower Rocombe with Gabwel in Stoke-in-Teignhead) ³⁹ Bernard ; aforetime Osmer.	.	.	0	2	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	240 of old 30 pence
W. 478, p. 512 (<i>Vict. Hist.</i> 461) : BREDEFORT (Christow next Bridford) ⁴¹ Emma wife of Baldwin ; aforetime Bristric or Brictric.	.	.	2	0	0	0	2	0	1	2	0	1186 of old 30/-

³³ See No. 30, p. 328.⁴¹ See No. 21, p. 324.³⁶ See No. 29, p. 328.³⁹ See No. 33, p. 329.³⁴ See No. 29, p. 328.³⁸ See No. 32, p. 329.³⁷ See No. 28, p. 327.³⁸ See No. 31, p. 328.

	Assessments.						Acres.	Value.
	Totals.	Lordship.		Villagers.				
	Hides Virg. Ferl.	Hides Virg. Ferl.	Hides Virg. Ferl.	Hides Virg. Ferl.	Hides Virg. Ferl.			
W. 479, p. 474 (<i>Vict. Hist.</i> 461) : FIERSEHAM (Forsham in Drewsteignton) ⁴³	0	1	0	0	0	2	513	30/-; of old 20/-
The monks of St. Michael [of Monte Tuba]; aforetime Edolf or Eddulf.								
W. 480, p. 512 (<i>Vict. Hist.</i> 461) : BRENFORT . (Upton Pyne) ⁴³	1	0	0	1	0	0	3	0
Vidal of Colinton; aforetime Godman the presbyter.								
W. 481, p. 472 (<i>Vict. Hist.</i> 461) : PONTIMORA . (Cutton in Poltimore) ⁴⁴	0	2	0	0	1	2	0	0
Canons of St. Mary [of Exeter castle]; aforetime Olmer or Ulmer.								
W. 482, p. 472 (<i>Vict. Hist.</i> 461) : POLESLEUGA . (Hoopern in Heavitree, next Polsloe) ⁴⁵	0	0	0	2	—	—	162	10/-; of old 5/-
Canons of St. Mary; aforetime Aluric.								
W. 483, p. 514 (<i>Vict. Hist.</i> 461) : EIGHEBERA . (Egbear in Cheriton Bishop) ⁴⁶	0	2	2	0	1	0	1	2
Motbert [son of Lambert]; aforetime Leuegar.								
W. 484, p. 514 (<i>Vict. Hist.</i> 461) : OPECOTA . (Upcot in Tedburn with Holcombe in Exminster Hund.) ⁴⁷	0	1	0	0	0	2	0	0
Motbert; aforetime Elmer.								
W. 485, p. 516 (<i>Vict. Hist.</i> 461) : FOLEFORT . (Great Fulford in Dunsford) ⁴⁸	0	1	0	0	0	2	10	0
Motbert; aforetime Aric.								

⁴³ See p. 322. Godman the presbyter also held Ciannaborough.⁴⁴ *Trans.* xxx. 283. See No. 20, p. 323. ⁴⁵ *Trans.* xxx. 283. See No. 20, p. 324.⁴⁶ See No. 35, p. 330. ⁴⁷ *Feud. Aids*, 346. See No. 35, p. 330. ⁴⁸ See No. 35, p. 330.

W. 490, p. 520 (*Vict. Hist.* 462) : WITESTAN . . . 0 1 0 0 0 2 [0 0 2] 172 10/-;
 (Heath barton *alias* Heath St. Mary, *alias* Calchurch in Whitstone)⁴⁹
 Robert de Beaumont ; aforetime Edric.
 W. 492, p. 472 (*Vict. Hist.* 462) : CLISTA . . . 0 2 2 0 1 2 [0 1 0] 253 15/-;
 (West Clyst, *alias* Clist Mois in Broadclyst)⁵¹
 Canons of St. Mary ; aforetime Ulveva.
 One ferling has been taken away from this land which rightfully belonged to it in King Edward's time and has
 been added to Odo's manor of Pontimora.

V. JUHEL OF TOTNES :—

W. 552, p. 586 (*Vict. Hist.* 469) : BRIDEFORDA . . . 2 0 0 0 3 0 1 1 0 1164 £3;
 (Bridford)⁵²
 Himself ; aforetime Alwy.

VI. RALF DE POMARIA's holdings :—

W. 666, p. 934 (*Vict. Hist.* 482) : OCHAWILLÆ . . . 0 3 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 333 20/- each
 (East Ogwell, *alias* Ogwell Peytevin)⁵³
 William Pitaven ; aforetime Aluric.
 Robert has there ——— 0 1 0 [80] 10/-;
 of old 10/-

⁴⁹ *Testa*, 496, p. 180a, calls it Calchurch, short for St. Mary Calchurch. One of the parishes in the City of London is St. Mary Colechurch. See No. 36, p. 331. In *Fæd. Aida*, 387, it is treated as part of Westown and Hackadown ; 1 fee held by Joan Daune in Westcoteseth and La Heghen . . . whereof $\frac{1}{2}$ is held of Alice Beaumont.

⁵¹ *Trans.* xxx. 284. See No. 20, p. 323. *Trans.* xxvi. 167, is in error in describing the canons as canons of Rouen and treating Odo as the bishop of that city. The canons were the canons of St. Mary in Exeter Castle. Odo was presumably the tenant in possession of Haimeric's manor of Polkmere.

⁵² See No. 53, p. 339.
⁵³ See No. 54, p. 340.

	Assessments.							
	Totals.		Lordship.		Villagers.		Acres.	Value.
	Hides	Virg.	Fertl.	Hides	Virg.	Fertl.		
W. 667, p. 936 (<i>Vict. Hist.</i> 482) : OGHAWILLÆ (West Ogwell, alias Ogwell Peytevin) ⁵⁴ William Pitaven; aforetime Edric.	0	2	0	0	1	0	257	10/-; of old 5/-
W. 668, p. 938 (<i>Vict. Hist.</i> 482) : HOCHESAM (Huxham) ⁵⁵ Roger; aforetime Wichin.	0	3	2	0	1	2	508	25/-; of old 10/-
W. 698, p. 964 (<i>Vict. Hist.</i> 485) : <i>Heuetrowa</i> . (Heavitree) ⁵⁶ Roger; aforetime Wichin.	—	—	—	—	—	—	120	20/-
VII. WALTER DE DOUAI :—								
W. 711, p. 782 (<i>Vict. Hist.</i> 487) : DUNESFORDA (Dunsford) ⁵⁷ Girard; aforetime Elsi.	1	2	0	0	1	0	1020	50/-; of old 40/-
								[Honour of Marshwood]
VIII. GOSCELM AND WALTER DE CLAVIL :—								
W. 801, p. 802 (<i>Vict. Hist.</i> 498) : BRANFORT (Stevenston in Upton Pyne, Cowley, and Vendacot) ⁵⁸ Walter himself; aforetime Alveva.	0	2	0	0	1	0	235	15/-; of old 5/-
								[Honour of Gloucester]

⁵⁴ See No. 54, p. 340.⁵⁷ See No. 39, p. 332.⁵⁵ See No. 55, p. 340.⁵⁸ See No. 41, p. 333.⁵⁶ See No. 56, p. 341.

IX. WILLIAM CAPRA :—

[Honour of Braneys]

W. 861, p. 702 (<i>Vict. Hist.</i> 504) : COMBA (Combe Blamoster, <i>alias</i> Combe-in-Teignhead) ⁵² Himself ; aforetime Aluric.	.	0	2	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	325	20/- ; of old 10/-
W. 862, p. 704 (<i>Vict. Hist.</i> 504) : RACUMBA (Horridge in Isington) ⁵¹ Himself ; aforetime Edric.	.	0	2	0	0	1	2½	0	0	1½	251	30/- ; of old 10/-
W. 863, p. 704 (<i>Vict. Hist.</i> 505) : TETEBORNA (Farwood in Tedburn St. Mary) ⁵³ Himself ; aforetime Bugered.	.	1	0	0	0	2	0	0	2	0	486	40/- ; of old 20/-
W. 872, p. 712 (<i>Vict. Hist.</i> 506) : WIPLETONA (Whipton and Ringswell in Heavitree) ⁵³ Himself ; aforetime Wichin.	.	1	0	0	0	2	0	0	2	0	754	£6 ; of old 20/-

X. RUALD ADOBED :—

[Honour of Plymton]

W. 929, p. 990 (<i>Vict. Hist.</i> 512) : CROCHEWELLA (Crockernwell in Cheriton Bishop) ⁵⁴ Rainald [de Valletorta] ; aforetime Ulf.	.	0	1	0	0	0	2	0	0	2	354	15/- ; of old 15/-
W. 932, p. 992 (<i>Vict. Hist.</i> 512) : SIGEFORDA (Sigford in Isington) ⁵⁵ Salomon ; aforetime Bristric or Brictric.	.	0	1	0	—	—	—	—	—	—	134	5/- ; of old 3/-

⁵¹ See No. 57, p. 341.⁵³ See No. 60, p. 342.⁵² See No. 58, p. 341.⁵⁴ See No. 17, p. 321.⁵² See No. 59, p. 342.⁵⁵ See No. 17, p. 321.

	Assessments.						Value. [Honour of Plymton]
	Totals. Hides Virg.	Lordship. Hides Virg.	Feol. Hides Virg.	Feol. Hides Virg.	Villagers. Hides Virg.	Acres. Feol.	
XI. FRANKLING KNIGHTS :—							
W. 990, p. 1086 (<i>Vict. Hist.</i> 519) : SELUESTAN (Shilstone in Drewsteignton) ⁶⁶	0	1	0	0	2	[0 0 2]	288 20/-; of old 10/-
Osbern de Salceid; aforetime Edric.							
W. 990 <i>b</i> <i>Belonging thereto</i>	0	1	0	—	—	[60]	3/-
No one holds it, but 2 villeins are living there. ⁶⁷							
W. 991, p. 1088 (<i>Vict. Hist.</i> 519) : LANFORDA (Little Lamford in Cheriton Bishop) ⁶⁸	0	1	0	—	—	190	10/-; of old 5/-
Osbern de Salceid; aforetime Leuegar.							
W. 994, p. 900 (<i>Vict. Hist.</i> 519) : TRULA (Throwleigh) ⁶⁹	1	0	0	0	1	0	684 £4
Ralf Pagan or Paganel; aforetime Merlosuin.							
W. 995, p. 902 (<i>Vict. Hist.</i> 519) : CAGEFORT	0	2	0	0	0	2½	338 £3
(Wonston with Morchington in Throwleigh) ⁷¹							
Ralf Pagan; aforetime Merlosuan.							
W. 996, p. 766 (<i>Vict. Hist.</i> 519) : WITESTANI	0	1	0	—	—	166	10/-; of old 6/-
(Whitstone) ⁷²							
Rannulf under William de Ow; aforetime Toli.							
W. 997, p. 1194 (<i>Vict. Hist.</i> 520) : SOTREBROC	0	0	2	—	—	[Honour of Hereford]	40 2/-
(Shyttternbrook, alias Floyerhayes by St. Thomas) ⁷³							
Floher; aforetime Alviet.							

⁶⁶ See No. 8, p. 317.⁶⁷ See No. 6, p. 317.⁶⁸ See No. 42, p. 334.⁶⁹ *Trans.* xxvii. 195.⁷¹ See No. 8, p. 318.⁷² See No. 8, p. 318.⁷³ See No. 8, p. 318.

XII. ENGINEER OFFICERS (*arbalestarii*):—

[*Honour of Plymton*]

W. 1032, p. 1130 (*Vict. Hist.* 523): PULTIMORA . . . 3 1 3 1 2 2½ 1 2 1 920 50/-;
(Poltimore)⁷⁴ of old 20/-

Haimerie de Arcis; aforetime Bristric and Scirewold.

The *Exeter Book* (*Vict. Hist.* 542) has the following: Haimerie de Arcis has a manor called Pultimora. To this have been added 1½ hides and 3 ferlings.

W. 1033, p. 1106 (*Vict. Hist.* 524): CLIFORDA . . . 0 2 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 523 20/-;
(East Clifford, *alias* Clifford Corbyn in Dunsford)⁷⁵ of old 20/-

Godebold himself; aforetime Edred or Adred.

W. 1034, p. 1106 (*Vict. Hist.* 524): HALESTOU . . . 0 2 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 507 15/-;
(Halstow in Dunsford)⁷⁶ of old 15/-

Godebold himself; aforetime Alred or Aldred.

W. 1036, p. 1114 (*Vict. Hist.* 524): STOCHES . . . 0 2 2 0 1 0 ——— 423 30/-;
(Stoke-in-Teignhead)⁷⁷ of old 30/-

Nicholas himself; aforetime Ordric.

W. 1037, p. 1114 (*Vict. Hist.* 524): RACUM . . . 1 0 0 0 2 0 ——— 417 20/-;
(Rocombe Blaumoster, otherwise Middle Rocombe in Combe-in-Teignhead)⁷⁸ of old 10/-

Ralf [Paganel] under Nicholas, chief engineer (*archibalistarius*); aforetime Ordric.

W. 1038, p. 1116 (*Vict. Hist.* 524): WOGUWEL . . . 0 2 2 0 1 0 ——— 419 30/-;
(Ogwell Malston or Church Ogwell)⁷⁹ of old 20/-

Nicholas chief engineer; aforetime Ordric.

WENFORD OR WONFORD.

299

⁷⁴ See No. 14, p. 320.

⁷⁵ See No. 15, p. 321.

⁷⁷ See No. 10, p. 318.

⁷⁸ See No. 12, p. 320.

⁷⁶ See No. 15, p. 321.

⁷⁹ See No. 11, p. 319.

	Assessments.							Acres.	Value. 20/-; of old 10/-
	Totals. Hides Virg. Ferl.	Lordship. Hides Virg. Ferl.		Villagers. Hides Virg. Ferl.					
W. 1039, p. 1116 (<i>Vict. Hist.</i> 524) : HOLEBEMA (Hobbin in East Ogwell) ⁸¹	. 0 1 0	—	—	—	—	—	—	251	20/-; of old 10/-
Roger de Aiguille (Aculeus) [otherwise the Sandy] under Nicholas ; aforetime Ordric.									
W. 1040, p. 1118 (<i>Vict. Hist.</i> 524) : BAGATHORA (Bagtor in Ilington) ⁸²	. 0 1 0	0 0 1	—	—	—	—	—	463	20/-; of old 15/-
Roger under chief engineer Nicholas ; aforetime Ordric.									
W. 1041, p. 1128 (<i>Vict. Hist.</i> 524) : CHIWARTHUIS . (Great Huish, <i>alias</i> Huish Tremanet, in Tedburn St. Mary) ⁸³	. 0 2 2	0 1 0	—	—	—	—	—	427	30/-; of old 15/-
Helgot under chief engineer Fulcher ; aforetime 2 thanes.									
W. 1049, p. 1120 (<i>Vict. Hist.</i> 525) : ESTAPELEIA (Staple Hill in Ilington) ⁸⁴	. 0 2 0	0 1 0	0 1 0	0 1 0	0 1 0	0 1 0	—	178	5/-; of old 5/-
Nicholas himself ; aforetime Bristuold or Brictuold.									
XIII. ENGLISH THANES :—									
W. 1085, p. 1180 (<i>Vict. Hist.</i> 530) : <i>Midelcota</i> (Middlecot in Chagford) ⁸⁵	. 0 0 0½	—	—	—	—	—	—	83	5/-
Alwy ; aforetime the same.									

[Honour of Gloucester]

[Honour of Gloucester]

⁸¹ See No. 10, p. 319. *Trans.* xxvii. 181.⁸² See No. 13, p. 320.⁸³ *Inquis.* of John Shilston, 22 Hen. VIII. Vol. 51, No. 89, quoted by Miss Lega-Weekes in *Trans.* xxxvi. 435 n., describes Middlcote and Brodelwyk (Great Week) as situated in the parish of Chagford and held of our lord the King of this manor of Souththing.

W. 1088, p. 1158 (<i>Vict. Hist.</i> 530) : CERTONA (Cheriton Bishop) ⁸⁰	. . . 0 1 0 0 0 2	—	250 of old 20/-	10/-;
Godwin of Chittlehamton (Citremetona) ; aforetime Alestan.				
W. 1089, p. 1158 (<i>Vict. Hist.</i> 530) : LANTFORD (Lamford, Trebbles, Easton, Wolgarston, and Lamford, in Cheriton Bishop) ⁸¹	. . . 0 1 0 0 0 2	—	982 of old 40/-	20/-;
Godwin ; aforetime Alestan.				
W. 1090, p. 1160 (<i>Vict. Hist.</i> 530) : MIDE LANDA (Medland in Cheriton Bishop) ⁸²	. . . 1 0 0 0 1 0	—	653 of old 40/-	20/-;
Godwin ; aforetime Alestan.				
W. 1091, p. 1160 (<i>Vict. Hist.</i> 530) : WOGEWIL (West Ogwell) ⁸³	. . . 0 2 0 0 1 0	—	246 of old 20/-	10/-;
Godwin ; aforetime Alestan.				
W. 1092, p. 1160 (<i>Vict. Hist.</i> 530) : CUMA (Combe Borough in Drewsteignton) ⁸⁴	. . . 0 1 0 [0 0 2]	[0 0 2]	160 of old 5/-	5/-;
Godwin ; aforetime Alestan.			[Honour of Plymton]	
W. 1099, p. 1190 (<i>Vict. Hist.</i> 531) : JACOBESCHERCA (Tre St. James in Heavitree) ⁸⁵	. . . 0 1 2	—	80 40 pence	
Alveia or Alveva ; aforetime the same.			[Honour of Okehamton]	
W. 1118, p. 1188 (<i>Vict. Hist.</i> 533) : DUNESFORDA (Sowton or Little Dunsford in Dunsford) ⁸⁶	. . . 0 1 0	—	100 40 pence	
Saulf ; aforetime the same.			[Honour of Plymton]	

⁸⁰ See No. 45, p. 335.⁸¹ See No. 44, p. 335.⁸² See No. 19, p. 323.⁸³ See No. 47, p. 336.⁸⁴ See No. 47, p. 337.⁸⁵ See No. 47, p. 337.⁸⁶ See No. 7, p. 317.

W. 1134, p. 1091 (*Vict. Hist.* 534) : HACHEURDE
(Hackworthy in Tedburn St. Mary)⁹⁴

Hervei de Helton's widow [Emma]; aforetime Edric.

Assessments.						
Totals.		Loriship.		Villagers.		Value.
Hides Virg.	Ferl.	Hides Virg.	Ferl.	Hides Virg.	Ferl.	
0	1	0	—	—	—	188
						10/-;
						of old 10/-
55		2	1	(Trans. xxxiii. 584.)		

⁹⁴ See No. 16, p. 321.

2. The Geldroll states that there are 54 hides in the Hundred of Wenfort, and it then supplies the following particulars accounting for 53½ only (*Intro. Devonshire Domesday*, p. xlix.).

Geld had been received in respect of	hides virg. ferl. 22 2 0
--------------------------------------	-----------------------------

A. Lands held free of geld by—

			hides	verg.	ferl.	
1. The King . . .	10	1	0			[Wenfort, Pinhoe, Alphington, Topsham, <i>Rushford</i> , <i>Christow</i> , <i>Forsham</i> , <i>Cutton</i> , <i>Hooper</i> n, <i>West Clyst</i> , <i>Hackworthy</i> .]
2. Baldwin . . .	4	3	0			[Drewsteignton, Spreyton, Cowick and Exwick.]
3. Juhel . . .		3	0			[Bridford.]
4. Bishop Geoffrey . . .		3	2			[Bramford Speke.]
5. William Capra . . .	1	2	2½			[Combe-in-Teignhead, Horridge, Farwood, Whipton.]
6. Godbold . . .		2	0			[East Clifford and Halstow.]
7. Ralf Paganel . . .	1	0	0			[Throwleigh, Wonson, and Middle Rocombe.]
8. Haimeric de Arcis . . .	1	2	2½			[Poltimore.]
9. Roger the Sandy . . .		2	0			[Hobbin and Bagtor.]
10. Walter [de Clavil] . . .		1	1			[Stevenston.]
12. Nicholas . . .		3	0			[Stoke-in-Teignhead, Ogwell Malston and Staplehill.]
13. Osbern de Salicto . . .		1	0			[Shilston and Little Lamford.]
14. Godwin . . .		3	2			[Cheriton Bishop, Lamford, Medland, West Ogwell, Combe borough.]
						24 0 2

Forward 46 2 2

Forward 46 2 2

B. Lands in respect of which geld had not been received—

1. Retained by the fee-gatherers . . .	1	0	0	
2. Held by Roger, tenant of Ralf [de Pomeroy] . . .	1	0		[Huxham.]
3. Held by Haimerie . . .	2			[Poltimore.]
4. Held by Hubert, tenant of Tetbald [son of Berner] . . .	1			[Part of <i>Holcombe Burnel</i> .]
5. Held by Humfrey [de Cartreo], tenant of the bishop of Coutances . . .	2	0		[<i>Rew</i> (?). See W. 198 in <i>Trans.</i> xlii. 219.]
6. Held by Walter [de Clavil] . . .	1	0		[Stevenston.]
7. Held by Walter the Cupbearer, tenant of Baldwin . . .	1	0		[Rolaston in Upton Pyne.]
8. Held by Godfrey de Tortavalle ⁹⁵ . . .	1	0		[Crockernwell.]
9. Held by Richard, son of Torolf . . .	1	0		[Mardon in Drewsteignton.]
10. Held by Osbern [de Salceid] (?), tenant of bishop G. . .	1	0		[Clist Fomison.]
11. Held by Owin [the King's bailiff] . . .	1	0		[<i>Pocombe</i> , part of Wenfort.]
12. Held by Ralf Paganel . . .	0	1		[Throwleigh.]
13. Held by Berard, tenant of bishop Osbern . . .	0	1		[In Stoke Canon.]
14. Received and paid over 20/- to William the Hostilar and Ralf de Pomeria for conveyance to Winchester	3	1	1	
<i>Trans.</i> xxvii. 182				6 3 2
„ xxxv. 499				53 2 0

✓ ⁹⁵ Godfrey de Valletorta is mentioned as paying for Fardle under Ermington, W. 23; *Vict. Hist.* 405; but Reginald de Valletorta is named as tenant of Fardle, W. 322; *Vict. Hist.* 442. Evidently Reginald was successor to Godfrey, either son or nephew, and succeeded him between 1084 and 1086.

Between the 55 hides 2 virgates 1 ferling, the sum of the assessments of the Domesday estates, and the 54 hides of the Geldroll, there is a difference of 1 hide 2 virgates 1 ferling. How is this to be accounted for? Several alternatives suggest themselves. The most likely one is that the excess represents estates belonging to South Tawton Hundred, probably Chagford and Teigncombe $1\frac{1}{2}$ hides, together with Middlecot 1 ferling. These added to the total of South Tawton Hundred, 3 hides 1 virgate 3 ferlings, will bring up the total of South Tawton Hundred to 5 hides and leave 54 hides for Wonford Hundred. Wonford and South Tawton, like Budleigh and Ottery, Tiverton and Halberton, North Tawton and Winkleigh, seem always to have been intermixed. For some purposes they formed one Hundred, for others they were separate Hundreds (*Trans.* xxxiii. 572).

Accepting this explanation as most likely we have still to account for the discrepancy between $53\frac{1}{2}$ hides of the Geldroll and the 54 of *Domesday*, and it is suggested that the missing $\frac{1}{2}$ hide of the Geldroll may represent Clyst St. Mary which, although belonging to Wonford Manor (*A.-D. Inq.* 3 Hen. VI. No. 31; *Trans.* xxxiii. 619, n. 19), lay in Budleigh Hundred (*Trans.* xxxv. 289, 316). The seeming difficulty of finding sufficient estates to account for the King's exemption of $10\frac{1}{4}$ hides is easily got over by remembering that many of the King's estates were in the hands of Baldwin as sheriff of the county, and appear in his list of estates instead of in the King's.

IV. *Summary of results.*

1. The Eastern or WONFORD SECTION :—

Parish.	Acres in 1883 (<i>Trans.</i> xxii. 140).	Domesday manors.	Domesday assessments.	Reference to page in following paper.	Domesday acreage.
BRAMFORD SPEKE . . .	1642	W. 195, p. 192 Branfortuna	1 0 0	p. 338	708
Broadclyst **					
West Clyst . . .	320*	W. 492, p. 472 Clista .	0 2 2	p. 323	253
HEAVITREE . . .	3469	W. 698, p. 964 Heuetrowa	—	p. 340	120
Hooper . . .	—	W. 482, p. 472 Polesleuga	0 0 2	p. 324	162
St. James' Church . . .	—	W. 1099, p. 1190 Jacobescherea	0 1 2	p. 317	80
Polesloe . . .	—	W. 220, p. 224 Polesluisa .	0 0 1	p. 291	98
Roleston or Ruxton, part of					
Wenfort . . .	—	W. 59, p. 38	—	p. 314	—
Whipton and Ringswell . . .	—	W. 872, p. 712 Wipletona	1 0 0	p. 342	754
Wonford . . .	—	W. 59, p. 38 Wenfort .	0 2 0	p. 315	1750
HUXHAM . . .	761	W. 668, p. 938 Hoehesam	0 3 2	p. 341	508
PINHOE . . .	1735	W. 60, p. 70 Pinnoc .	1 2 0	p. 316	1020
Church . . .	—	W. 61, p. 70	0 1 0	p. 316	80
POLTIMORE . . .	1710	W. 1032, p. 1130 Pultimora	3 1 3	p. 320	920
Cutton . . .	—	W. 481, p. 472 Pontimora	0 2 0	p. 324	246
REW *7 . . .	563*	W. 196, p. 192 Rewa .	1 0 0	p. 338	417

*6 The present area of West Clyst is approximately 320 acres.

*7 The parish of Rew contains 1340 acres and 4 Domesday estates, 3 of which are in Hairidge Hundred (*Trans.* xlii. 249). 777 acres are allowed for those not in this Hundred.

SOWTON	1094	W. 194, p.	218	Clis (Fomison) .	1	0	0	p. 337	432
STOKE CANON	1217	W. 113, p.	110	Stocha .	1	0	0	p. 331	542
TOPSHAM	1740	W. 63, p.	62	Topeshant .	1	0	0	p. 316	1030
Wear Park	—	Included		Saghe & La Clive	—	—	—	p. 317	—
UPTON PYNE	1852	W. 480, p.	512	Brenfort .	1	0	0	p. 330	785
Rolaston	—	W. 473, p.	506	Brenfort .	0	2	0	p. 328	169
Stevenston	—	W. 801, p.	802	Branfort .	0	2	0	p. 333	235
	16,103				16	1	0		10,309

2. The Western or HALSFORD SECTION :—

ALPHINGTON ⁸⁸	2307*	W. 62, p.	60	Alfintona .	2	2	0	p. 322	1363
Pocombe, part of Wenfort .	—	W. 59, p.	38	—	—	—	—	p. 313	—
Matford do.	—	W. 59, p.	38	—	—	—	—	p. 322	—
BRIDFORD	4114	W. 552, p.	586	Brideforda .	2	0	0	p. 339	1164
Chagford ⁸⁹	—								
Rushford	1167*	W. 463, p.	494	Risfort .	1	0	0	p. 335	413

⁸⁸ A portion of Alphington, viz. Matford Speke (W. 843 ; *Vict. Hist.* 502), 87 acres, is in Exminster Hundred (*Feud. Aids*, 340), or about $\frac{1}{10}$ of the whole. The acreage of Alphington is 2471, from which $\frac{1}{10}$, or 164 acres, has been deducted.

⁸⁹ After allowing 2488 for Shapley, Jurston and Venn in Exminster Hundred, and 3837 for Chagford, Teigncombe, and Middlecot in South Tawton Hundred, there remain 1167 out of the 7492 acres of Chagford for Rushleigh in Wonford Hundred.

Parish.	Acreage in 1883 (<i>Trans.</i> xii. 146).	Domesday manors.	Domesday assessments.	Reference to page in following paper.	Domesday acreage.
CHERTON BISHOP					
Crockernwell	4875	W. 1088, p. 1158 Ceritona .	0 1 0	p. 335	250
Egbear	—	W. 929, p. 990 Crochewella .	0 1 0	p. 321	354
Little Lamford	—	W. 483, p. 514 Eighebera .	0 2 2	p. 330	526
Lamford	—	W. 991, p. 1088 Lanforda .	0 1 0	p. 317	190
Easton	—	W. 1089, p. 1158 Lantford .	0 1 0	p. 336	982
Trebbles	—	W. 1090, p. 1160 Midelanda .	1 0 0	p. 334, 337	653
Medland	—	W. 478, p. 512 Bredefort .	2 0 0	p. 324	1186
CHRISTOW¹⁰¹	2107*				
	14,570		10 0 2		7081
DREWSTEIGNTON	6937	W. 457, p. 488 Taintona .	2 0 0	p. 324	1386
Budbrook, part of Wenfort	—	W. 59, p. 38 —	—	p. 314	—
Combe Borough	—	W. 1092, p. 1160 Cuma .	0 1 0	p. 337	160
Combe Hall	—	W. 460, p. 492 Clifort (West) .	1 0 0	p. 325	707
Drascombe, part of Wenfort	—	W. 59, p. 38 —	—	p. 313	—
Forsham	—	W. 479, p. 474 Fierseham .	0 1 0	p. 322	513
Mardon	—	W. 465, p. 498 Mertona .	0 1 0	p. 331	247
Shilstone	—	W. 990, p. 1086 Seluestan .	0 1 0	p. 317	288
Belonging thereto	—	—	0 1 0	p. 298	60

¹⁰¹ Of 3218, the total acreage of Christow, 1111 were allowed in *Trans.* xxix. 243 for Canonteign, which is in Teignbridge Hundred. The remaining 2107 acres approximately are in Wonford Hundred.

DUNSFORD	.	.	.	5948	W. 711, p. 782	Duneshorda	.	1	2	0	p. 332	1020
East Clifford	.	.	.	—	W. 1033, p. 1106	Cliforda	.	0	2	0	p. 321	523
Fulford	.	.	.	—	W. 485, p. 516	Folefort	.	0	1	0	p. 330	263
Halstow	.	.	.	—	W. 1034, p. 1106	Haleston	.	0	2	0	p. 321	507
Sowton	.	.	.	—	W. 1118, p. 1188	Duneshorda	.	0	1	0	p. 323	100
HITTISLEIGH	.	.	.	1155	W. 464, p. 496	Hitenesleia	.	0	2	0	p. 326	626
HOLCOMBE BURNEL	.	.	.	1836	W. 101, p. 90	Holecumba	.	1	0	0	p. 333	670
St. THOMAS, Exeter	.	.	.	3700	—	—	.	—	—	—	—	—
Cowick	.	.	.	—	W. 456, p. 488	Coic	.	1	0	0	p. 324	646
Cowley barton, part of Rew	.	.	.	—	—	—	.	—	—	—	p. 339	—
Cowley, part of Stevenston	.	.	.	—	part of W. 801, p. 802	—	.	—	—	—	p. 333	—
Exwick	.	.	.	—	W. 459, p. 492	Essoic	.	1	0	0	p. 324	696
Oldridge	.	.	.	—	W. 468, p. 500	Walderge	.	0	0	2	p. 327	646
Shyternbrook, otherwise Floor-hayes	.	.	.	—	W. 997, p. 1194	Sotrebroc	.	0	0	2	p. 298	40
SPREYTON	.	.	.	3606	W. 458, p. 490	Espreitona	.	2	0	0	p. 325	1213
TEDBURN St. MARY	.	.	.	4433	—	—	.	—	—	—	—	—
Colley	.	.	.	—	W. 470, p. 502	Teteborna	.	0	1	0	p. 326	413
Farwood	.	.	.	—	W. 863, p. 704	Teteborna	.	1	0	0	p. 342	486
Great Huish	.	.	.	—	W. 1041, p. 1128	Chiwarthiwis	.	0	2	2	p. 320	427
Hackworthy	.	.	.	—	W. 1134, p. 1091	Hacheurde	.	0	1	0	p. 321	188
Melhuish	.	.	.	—	W. 466, p. 498	Melewis	.	0	2	0	p. 326	602
Town barton	.	.	.	—	W. 469, p. 502	Teteborna	.	0	1	0	p. 328	408
Upcot	.	.	.	—	W. 484, p. 514	Opecota	.	0	1	0	p. 330	412

Parish.	Acreage in 1883 (<i>Trans.</i> xxii. 146).	Domesday manors.	Domesday assessments.	Reference to page in following paper.	Domesday acreage.
THROWLEIGH . . .	1408	W. 994, p. 900 Trula .	1 0 0	p. 317	684
Wonston . . .	—	W. 995, p. 902 Cagefort .	0 2 0	p. 318	338
WHITSTONE . . .	4077	W. 996, p. 766 Witestan .	0 1 0	p. 334	166
Halsford, part of Wenfort	—	W. 59, p. 38 —	—	p. 331	—
Heath barton . . .	—	W. 490, p. 520 Witestan .	0 1 0	p. 313, 315	172
Rohorn, part of Topsham	—	—	—	p. 317	—
West Town . . .	—	W. 475, p. 508 Witestan .	0 2 0	p. 328	325
	47,670		28 3 0		22,013
3. The TYNHIDE (Teignhead) SECTION :—					
COMBEE-IN-TEIGNHEAD . . .	2407	W. 861, p. 702 Comba .	0 2 0	p. 341	325
Middle Rocombe . . .	—	W. 1037, p. 1114 Racum .	1 0 0	p. 320	417
EAST OGWELL (the Peytevin moiety) 249		W. 666, p. 934 Oghawillae	0 3 0	p. 340	333
Ogwell Malston (the Church moiety)	—	W. 1038, p. 1116 Woguwel .	0 2 2	p. 319	419
Holebeam . . .	—	W. 1039, p. 1116 Holebema	0 1 0	p. 319	251
Islington ¹⁰² . . .	1780*	—	—	—	—
Bagtor . . .	—	W. 1040, p. 1118 Bagathora	0 1 0	p. 319	463
Horridge . . .	—	W. 862, p. 704 Racumba .	0 2 0	p. 341	251
Sigford . . .	—	W. 932, p. 992 Sigeforda .	0 1 0	p. 321	134
Staplehill . . .	—	W. 1049, p. 1120 Estapeleia	0 2 0	p. 319	178

¹⁰² The acreage of Islington is 7100. The 4 Domesday estates in Wonford Hundred have an area of 1026 acres. The allowance made for these in *Trans.* xxix. 243 was 1780 acres.

RINGMORE . . .	1128	W. 462, p. 494	Rumor . . .	1	1	0	p. 325	658
STOKE-IN-TEIGNHEAD . . .	2531	W. 1036, p. 1114	Stoches . . .	0	2	2	p. 318	423
Maidencombe . . .	—	W. 476, p. 510	Medenecoma . . .	0	2	0½	p. 329	240
Rocombe Cadiho . . .	—	W. 477, p. 510	Racoma . . .	0	2	0	p. 329	240
Teign Harvey . . .	—	W. 467, p. 500	Taigna . . .	0	2	0	p. 326	342
WEST OGWELL (the Church moiety) . . .	683	W. 1091, p. 1160	Wogewil . . .	0	2	0	p. 335	246
The Peytevin moiety . . .	—	W. 667, p. 936	Oghawillae . . .	0	2	0	p. 340	257
	9,778			9	0	0½		5,177
Add for the Wonford part . . .	16,103			16	1	0		10,309
Add for the Halsford part . . .	47,670			28	3	0		22,013
	73,551			54	0	0½		37,499

EARLY DESCENTS OF THE MANORS IN WONFORD HUNDRED.

BY REV. OSWALD J. REICHEL, B.C.L. & M.A.; F.S.A.

(Read at Exeter, 24th July, 1912.)

Introduction.

STARTING with the list of the Domesday manors supplied in the last paper, it is here proposed to endeavour to trace their descent from the obscure times of the eleventh century to the early days of the fifteenth, when the ordinary county histories become available. And as the Honours are the great landmarks to guide us, it will be best to group the estates under the Honours to which they belong. Until the statute 12 Charles II. c. 24 was passed in 1660-1, abolishing military tenures, these Honours were living realities. It is only in comparatively recent times that they have passed out of mind.

At the outset, it will be well to remember that when a number of persons are described as holding the same estate, A holding it of B, and B holding it of C, and C holding it of some great honour, only the first-named or lowest freeholder was the actual tenant in possession, in legal language the *tenant paravail* or *terre tenant*. The others were those who had previously been *terre tenants* or the heirs of such, who had parted with the estate, reserving to themselves homage and service and in a few cases also a fee-farm rent. From the middle-lords we therefore obtain information as to the previous owners. This system of conveying estates subject to homage and services is known as *sub-infeudation*, and so far as new grants are concerned came to an end with the statute of *Quia emptores*, 18 Ed. I., in 1290. Since that date the purchaser steps into the vendor's shoes and holds the estate exactly as

the vendor held it, the act providing that "the feoffee shall hold his land of the same capital lord of whom the vendor held it."¹ But as the act did not abolish existing tenures, if the vendor held the estate of A, who again held it of B, the new purchaser would also hold it of A who held it of B; only there was no insertion of the vendor as an additional middle-lord.

One other preliminary remark. Not all estates were held by military service. Some were held by special services to the King, either a render in money as socage tenures, or a render of service as serjeanties. The Domesday Wenfort affords examples of both. Besides East, West, and South Wonford, probably also Clyst St. Mary² in the Hundred of Budleigh (*Trans.* xxxv. 289) on the east side of Exeter, and Halsford with Trillow and Nadderwater (Lysons, II. 555) in Whitstone on the west side of Exeter, which were held by military service, the Hundred manor of Wonford included all the land in the district not specifically "booked" to subjects, i.e. the land which still continued to be "folkland"; some parts of it being occupied by tenants in serjeanty, others by tenants paying rent. These tenancies are really survivals of the tenure by folk-right of Saxon times (*Trans.* xxxiii. 570). Pocombe in Alphington (*Testa*, 1495, p. 198a; *Trans.* xxxvii. 439), Exe island, where was the meeting-place of the Hundred, Drascombe and Budbrook in Drewsteignton (*Testa*, 1355, p. 194b, and 1482, p. 197b, in *Trans.* xxxvii. 418, 434) are instances of serjeanties. Rolleston barton in Heavitree (Oliver, *Mon.* 113) is a case of renting.

I. *Service tenancies on folkland.*

The origin of the service land of DRASCOMBE was a grant made by King William to the ancestor of Richard de Droscumb (*Trans.* xxxvii. 418) of liberty to cultivate a certain area of land represented now by four farms in Drewsteignton,³ known as Tarhill, Redlake, Hobhouse, and Gnatenhole, together with Budbrook, upon condition of

¹ Ita tamen quod feoffatus teneat terram de eodem capitali domino. See Knocker's *Special Land Tenure*, p. 19, in Manorial Society's Publications.

² The Turbern family, who held land in the suburb of Exeter (Devon Fine, No. 269), also laid claim to Clyst St. Mary (*ibid.*, No. 159).

³ It was already in four parts in 1244 (*Trans.* xxxvii. 434, 440).

finding and carrying a bow and three arrows behind the King whenever he came to hunt on Dartmoor (*Testa*, 1355, p. 194*b*; 1449, p. 196*b*; 1477, p. 197*a*, in *Trans.* xxxvii. 418).

In 1212 Richard de Droscumb was in possession (*Trans.* xxxvii. 418). Before 1250 Drascombe had come into the possession of the two daughters of Odo the Archer or Bowman, Sarah, wife of Robert de Bromhill, and Agnes, wife of Roger de Notley (*ibid.*, 434), who alienated parts of it to William de Droscumb and John de Droscumb (*ibid.*, 440). In 1275 Walter de Bromhill died seised of one portion of the value of 12 shillings and 9 pence, charged with a payment of 5 shillings to the King, and leaving three daughters, Isabel aged 15, Sarah 11, and Joan 8 (*A.-D. Inq.* 4 Ed. I. No. 18), who were in the King's custody (*Hund. Rolls*, 3 Ed. I.).

BUDBROOK was originally part of Drascombe (*Testa*, 1502, p. 198*a*, in *Trans.* xxxvii. 441), and became a separate estate when Richard [de Drascombe], son of Ingulf, on 22 May, 1219, granted 2 ferlings of land there to Richard Ruffus (Devon Fine, No. 99). In 1244 it was changed from a service-holding into a military holding as $\frac{1}{8}$ fee (*Testa*, 1539, p. 198*a*), and in 1250 it was held by Robert d'Availles and his co-tenants, estimated at 15 shillings' worth of land, subject to a payment of 5 shillings yearly to the King and to discharging the service of $\frac{1}{8}$ fee (*Testa*, 1482, p. 197*b*, in *Trans.* xxxvii. 435, and 1502, p. 198*a*, *ibid.*, 441). In 1275 John deAvaylles held the township of Boggebroc for the same service as Drascombe, viz. finding and attending the King with a bow and three arrows whenever he came to hunt on Dartmoor (*Hund. Rolls*, 3 Ed. I. No. 43, p. 85). In 1311 Alice, widow of John Davaylles, died seised of Boggebrok (*A.-D. Inq.* 4 Ed. II. No. 14). In 1318 John Davailles died seised of Boggebrok hamlet (*A.-D. Inq.* 11 Ed. II. No. 8), and in 1346 another John Davaillea was charged 20 pence for his relief for $\frac{1}{8}$ fee in the hamlet of Boggebrok (*Feud. Aids*, 439).

ROLLESTON BARTON in Heavitree was another piece of folkland rented of the King for 25 shillings a year by Harold, a citizen of Exeter, in 1100. Harold made over his interest in it to St. Nicholas priory, and the grant was confirmed by Henry I. before 1123.⁴

⁴ The charter is witnessed by Robert, bishop of Lincoln. Alexander succeeded him as bishop in Lent, 1123.

II. *Estates held of the Honour of Plymton.*

Passing to estates held by military tenure, the first and largest group consists of those held of the earl of Devon of the honour of Plymton, an earldom first created in June, 1141, by grant to Baldwin son of Richard de Redvers.

1. Among the estates held of this honour the chief one was the Hundred manor of WONFORD and HALSFORD. This manor, after deducting the service-holdings already mentioned, was given to Geoffrey de Mandevil by Henry I. (*Testa*, 1356, p. 194*b* ; *Trans.* xxxvii. 418), in whose family it descended (*A.-D. Inq.* 4 Ed. I. No. 48 ; Lysons, II. 263) until it eventually passed to Robert, son of Payne (*A.-D. Inq.* 1 Ric. II. No. 12). Geoffrey de Mandevil and his successors, however, soon parted with the possession of it in part or in whole. In 1130 Geoffrey, the clerk of Baldwin de Redvers, accounted for £8 6s. 8d. for leave to hold to farm the land of Wunford (*Pipe Rolls*, 31 Hen. I.). In 1237 Walter Gervase and Alan de Hallesworth are returned as holding Wunford by gift of Robert de Mandevil (*Testa*, 1547, p. 199*a*, in *Trans.* xxxvii. 445), who, on the death of Henry de Tilli, had succeeded to Geoffrey de Mandevil's estates by gift of King John in 1208. On 30 June, 1238, another Geoffrey de Mandevil made over the entire manor of Wonford, together with the chief rent of 2 shillings and including the homage and service of Walter Gervase, to Alan de Hallesworth (Devon Fine, No. 267 in Devon and Corn. Rec. Soc.), who, on 18 November, 1239, conveyed the same to Robert le Deneys (Devon Fine, No. 365). Deneys resold it to Montacute, and Montacute, whilst retaining the eastern part, sold the western portion of it, HALSFORD, to Roger de Nonant, who in 1285 "held the township of Halsford for $\frac{1}{2}$ fee of Simon de Montacute by discharging as much service as belongs thereto, and the same Simon holds Wonford and Halsford of Walter le Deneys by the same service and the same Walter le Deneys holds it of John de Mandevile by the same service and John holds it of the aforesaid countess [of Devon] and the countess of the King, and it is $\frac{1}{2}$ fee" (*Feud. Aids*, 313). Simon de Montacute had at this time a park at Wonford, and on 11 December, 1292, a commission was issued to Henry de Raleigh, Peter de

Fishacre, and Andrew de Treyllurk, bidding them enquire as to the persons who broke the park of Simon de Montacute at Wondeford, Co. Devon, hunted therein and carried away deer (*Pat. Rolls*, 20 Ed. I.). In 1320 William de Montacute died seised of Wonford (*A.-D. Inq.* 13 Ed. II. No. 31); in 1345 William de Montacute, Earl of Salisbury (*A.-D. Inq.* 18 Ed. III. No. 51); in 1390 John de Montacute (*A.-D. Inq.* 13 Ric. II. No. 34; *Lysons*, II. 263); and in 1424 Elisabeth, widow of William de Montacute, Earl of Salisbury, held $\frac{1}{3}$ of it (*A.-D. Inq.* 2 Hen. V. No. 34). The Hundred of Wonford was Hugh de Courtney's in 1370 (*A.-D. Inq.* 50 Ed. III. No. 6).

2. PINHOE was given by Henry III. to Robert de Vallibus (*Lysons*, II. 390), and formed part of the dower secured to his widow Matilda by Hubert de Vallibus on 25 November, 1236 (*Devon Fine*, No. 734). It was carried by an heiress to Sir Robert Moleton or Multon, and was held in 1285 by James de Moleton as a privileged manor (*Feud. Aids*, 311). It is not afterwards mentioned in the fee lists. The advowson was the property of St. Nicholas priory from an early date (*Trans.* xxx. 293).

3. TOPSHAM, to which was attached Rowhorn in Whitstone (*Feud. Aids*, 313), was given to St. Peter's "monastery" or clerical body at Exeter by Aedelstan in 937 (*Cod. Dipl.* No. 369 in Vol. II. p. 204; *Cart. Sax.* II. 428). The grant was confirmed to bishop Leofric by the Confessor in 1044 (*Trans.* xiii. 129); but Harald, it is said, wrongfully seized Topsham, and it passed with the rest of Harald's estates to the Conqueror. In 1178 the sheriff accounted for $\frac{1}{2}$ mark as the aid from Topsham (*Pipe Rolls*, 24 Hen. II.). It continued to be the King's (*A.-D. Inq.* Hen. III. No. 248, p. 47) until Henry III. gave it to the earl of Devon. It was part of the dower of countess Amice, who died in 1284 (*A.-D. Inq.* 12 Ed. I. No. 33). In 1285 it was held by Isabella, countess of Devon (*Feud. Aids*, 312). The dean and chapter, nevertheless, held the church for their own uses. "And be it known that at Toppisham aforesaid there is a seaport which is called Exemue because the river of Exe there discharges into the sea and the lord takes from each ship and each boat landing there 2 pence which is called 'kilage.' And he has the third penny of the custom of wines landing there viz. of those who pay custom by the hands of the

bailliffs of the city of Exeter" (*Treasury Receipts, Miscellaneous*, Vol. 72, p. 174).

4. *Rohorn* had been alienated as a sub-manor of *Tops-ham* before 1241, and was held in that year by Robert Whipel for $\frac{1}{3}$ fee (*Testa*, 625, p. 181b). In 1285 John de Toriton was the tenant (*Feud. Aids*, 313), and also in 1303 (*ibid.*, 345), and in 1346 John Trillon (*ibid.*, 386).

5. Another sub-manor of *Topsham* which is met with as early as 1241 is *Saghe* and *La Clyve*, otherwise *Siggeford de La Clyve*, otherwise *Heneaton*, *Hineton*, or *Honiton Sege*, now known as *WEAR-PARK*. In 1241 this manor was held by Sarah de Asselegh for $\frac{1}{20}$ fee (*Testa*, 624, p. 181b), in 1303 by Joel de Bukyngton (*Feud. Aids*, 345), and in 1346 by John Holonde (*ibid.*, 386).

6. *Shilstone* and *Little Lamford* are two estates which *Osbern de Salceid*, one of the Conqueror's military companions, held in 1086. After escheating to the Crown they were bestowed on the earl of Devon, of whom *SHILSTONE* was held for $\frac{1}{3}$ fee by Geoffrey de Worth in 1241 (*Testa*, 636, p. 181b). In 1285 *Shilstone* was in the hands of the countess of Devon (*Feud. Aids*, 312). In 1303 Simon de Plymton held it for $\frac{1}{3}$ fee (*ibid.*, 345); in 1346 his son, Simon Nywenham (*ibid.*, 388); in 1428 John Strode and John [Brony]ton (*ibid.*, 485). *LITTLE LAMFORD* was the prior of Plymton's in 1241 (*Testa*, 638, p. 181b), and was afterwards held jointly with *Shilstone*, the prior having one-third share of the two (*Feud. Aids*, 388, 485).

7. The township of *St. JAMES* in *Heavitree* was held in 1285 by the prior of *St. James* of the countess of Devon (*Feud. Aids*, 312). It had originally been the freehold of Walter, son of Walward, and was purchased from him and his heiress Edith by Baldwin de Redvers, earl of Exeter (Oliver, *Mon.* 193), about 1141 and given to the reformed Benedictines of Clugny. At the dissolution of alien priories in 1444 it was given to King's College, Cambridge (*ibid.*, 192), and was held for $\frac{1}{2}$ fee by Henry de Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, in 1445 (*A.-D. Inq.* 24 Hen. VI. No. 43).

8. Ralf Paganel was another of the Conqueror's military knights who had two estates in this Hundred. One of these, *THROWLEIGH*, was held in 1241 for $\frac{1}{2}$ fee by Fulk de Ferrers (*Testa*, 637, p. 181b) in right of Lucy his wife (Devon Fine, ✓

543) of the Honour of Plymton with Thomas de Blakford as middle-lord, and on 10 May, 1254, Fulk and Lucy sold the same to William le Pruz of Gidleigh (Devon Fine, No. 543). Three years later, on 20 October, 1257, Thomas de Blakford gave his interest in land at Throwleigh with his daughter Joan in marriage to Reginald de Ferrers, reserving to himself an annuity of £20 a year (Devon Fine, No. 610). In 1285 William le Prous was lord, holding the township of Throwleigh of Fulk de Ferrers for homage and service and 10 shillings [rent] (*Feud. Aids*, 313). William le Prous was in possession in 1303 (*ibid.*, 345), and it then passed to Daumarle, whose widow Alice held it in 1346 (*ibid.*, 386). In 1428 Robert Vasy was lord (*ibid.*, 386), but the advowson passed to Courtney, and in 1349 sir Hugh de Courtney presented to the rectory (*Grandisson*, 1388), and again in 1361 (*ibid.*, 1470), 1367 (*ibid.*, 1505), and 1370 (*Brantyngham*, 141). In 1425 the King presented as guardian of Thomas, Hugh Courtney's son and heir (*Lacy*, 83), and in 1452 sir Thomas Courtney (*ibid.*, 371). Paganel's other manor of CAGEFORT is probably Wonson with Morchington in Throwleigh, to which belongs Holly Street mill.

9. Among the Conqueror's engineer officers Nicolas was the chief, whom Dr. Round would identify with Nicolas de la Pole (*Vict. Hist.* 394). Before 1241 all Nicolas' estates had passed to Roger, son of Payne. In that year Roger's heir held STOKE-IN-TEIGNHEAD with both Gabwells of the earl of Devon for $\frac{1}{2}$ fee (*Testa*, 633, p. 181b). The church had been given to Plymton priory, which presented to it in 1279 (*Bronescombe*, 182) and derived from it a revenue of £2 a year (Oliver, *Mon.* 146). In 1285 Robert, son of Payne, held Stoke-in-Teignhead, together with Staplehill, for 1 fee (*Feud. Aids*, 313). In 1303 he held Stoke and Lower Gabwell for $\frac{1}{2}$ fee (*ibid.*, 345). Soon afterwards he sold them to John de Stowford (Lysons, II. 461), who in 1346 held Stoke with both Gabwells (*Feud. Aids*, 386). He, in 1352, gave the manor to the warden and chaplains of the house of Stoke (*A.-D. Inq.* 25 Ed. III. No. 34), apparently in trust for some purpose. In 1428 there were four freeholders, the principal one being Thomas Baron (*Feud. Aids*, 484).

10. Stoke-in-Teignhead was the capital manor of a vavassourship (*Feud. Aids*, 388), of which Nicolas' other

Domesday estates were held, including Staplehill, Bagtor, Holbeam, Ogwell Malston, and Middle Rocombe. STAPLEHILL was held in 1241 for $\frac{1}{2}$ fee by Roger de Stapelhile (*Testa*, 629, p. 181a). In 1285 it was in the overlord's hand, who held it with Stoke (*Feud. Aids*, 313). In 1303 the heirs of John de Stapelhill were in possession (*ibid.*, 345), Emma and her sisters (*ibid.*, 386), and in 1346 Richard Monsron and John de Stapulhull.

BAGTOR was held of the same for 1 fee by William de Baggetorre in 1241 (*Testa*, 627); by Thomas de Baggetorr in 1285 (*Feud. Aids*, 313) and 1303 (*ibid.*, 345); by Geoffrey de Bagetor in 1346 (*ibid.*, 388), to whom John Ford and John Windyeat had succeeded before 1428 (*ibid.*, 486).

HOLBEAM was held for $\frac{1}{2}$ fee by William de Holebem in 1241 (*Testa*, 630); in 1285 by Peter de Holebem (*Feud. Aids*, 313); in 1303 by William de Holebem (*ibid.*, 345); in 1346 by another William de Holebem (*ibid.*, 386), in 1428 by yet another William de Holebem. In 1472 John Holebeme died seised of Holbeme manor (*A.-D. Inq.* 12 Ed. IV. No. 23).

11. One moiety of the township of East Ogwell was held of the manor of Stoke-in-Teignhead by William de Dun in 1224, who on 27 January in that year purchased the advowson of East Ogwell from Osbert le Peytevin (Devon Fine, No. 138). His successor in 1241 was Humfrey de Dun (*Testa*, 631, p. 181b). On 6 October, 1256, Humfrey's daughter Margery and her husband John le Waleys sold this manor and advowson to Hugh de Mallestone (Devon Fine, No. 741), from whom it took the name of OGWELL MALSTON. Hugh presented to the rectory in 1258 (*Bronescombe*, 133). In 1272 Robert de Mallestone had succeeded to it (*ibid.*, 133), and in 1285 held it for $\frac{1}{2}$ fee of Robert, son of Pagan (*Feud. Aids*, 313). In 1303 Thomas Peytevin held East Ogwell as guardian of Hugh de Mallestone (*ibid.*, 345). In 1314 Robert de Malston was lord (*Stapeldon*, 209) in succession to Hugh, also in 1346 (*ibid.*, 386) and 1348 (*Grandisson*, 1375). In 1361 Robert's daughter Elisabeth Durant was in possession (*ibid.*, 1475). Her daughter, Margaret Stighill or Style, brought it to Walter Raynald (*Trans.* xxxii. 237), who in 1393 presented to the rectory (*Brantyngham*, 133). She was still in possession in 1428 (*Feud. Aids*, 484). In 1475 Walter Reynell died seised of East Ogwell manor and advowson (*A.-D. Inq.* 15 Ed. IV. No. 22).

12. MIDDLE ROCOMBE, or Rocombe Blaumoster, was held of the same manor of Stoke-in-Teignhead for 1 fee by Reginald de Albo monasterio, otherwise Blanchminster or Blaumoster, in 1241 (*Testa*, 632, p. 181b), to whom Simon de Montacute had succeeded in 1303 (*Feud. Aids*, 345); Peter de Clyfford and Isabella de Brent before 1346 (*ibid.*, 388), and nine freehold tenants before 1428 (*ibid.*, 483).

13. Another of the Conqueror's engineer officers was Fulcher. Before 1241 all Fulcher's estates had passed to Mohun of Dunster, and amongst them was CHIWARTHIWIS or Slade Huish,⁵ now called Great Huish, or Huish Tremenet, the only estate which Fulcher had in this Hundred. In 1241 Richard Tremenet was tenant in possession (*Testa*, 640, p. 181b). In 1285 John Tremenet was the holder under John de Mohun (*Feud. Aids*, 313), and also in 1303 (*ibid.*, 345); in 1346 Elias Tremenet (*ibid.*, 388), and in 1428 John de Haulegh (*ibid.*, 486).

14. Two other of the Conqueror's engineer officers, Haimeric de Arcis and Godebold, had estates in this Hundred which were afterwards held of the honour of Plymton. Haimeric in 1086 held POLTIMORE. This was held of Plymton with the barons of Torington as middle-lords. In 1241 Bartholomew de Poltimor held it for $\frac{1}{2}$ fee (*Testa*, 626, p. 181b) of the heirs of William de Toriton, who had been dead since 1223 (*Vict. Hist.* 567). Before 1259 Richard de Poltimor had succeeded Bartholomew, and on 9 July, 1259, presented to the rectory (*Bronescombe*, 163). Richard was still in possession in 1285 (*Feud. Aids*, 313), holding it, together with Hill, in Witheridge Hundred (*Trans.* xxx. 406), but shortly afterwards he sold it to Simon, lord Montacute, who resold it to William de Pontyngton or Podyngton (Lysons, II. 419), who was in possession in 1303 (*Feud. Aids*, 345). Soon afterwards the manor and advowson were purchased by John de Bamfeld or Baunfelde, who presented to the rectory on 5 March, 1341 (*Grandisson*, 1330); John Bamfield held it in 1346 (*Feud. Aids*, 386), and presented to the rectory again on 12 January, 1356, but died soon afterwards (*Grandisson*, 1438). In 1358 his widow was in possession and presented (*ibid.*, 1450). She was dead before 1361, when John Bamfeld, junr., was lord (*ibid.*, 1467). On the death of John Bam-

⁵ Carew states that Chiwart is a Cornish word, meaning a Slade.

feld, junr., in 1362, Sir Richard de Merton held the manor and advowson as overlord in wardship for the heir (*ibid.*, 1479), whom he married to Joan, one of his own daughters (*Brantyngham*, 25). Joan survived him, and presented to the rectory in 1373 (*ibid.*, 25). In 1403 Thomas de Bamfylde was lord (*Stafford*, 195); in 1411 John de Bamfylde (*ibid.*); in 1413 five feoffees (*ibid.*); in 1428 John Bamfeld (*Feud. Aids*, 486); and in 1442 the same (*Lacy*, 275).

15. Godebold held EAST CLIFFORD, otherwise Clifford Corbyn in Dunsford, and HALSTOW, otherwise Yalstowe, in 1086. With the rest of Godbold's estates these manors formed a lesser honour or vavassourship, of which Doddscombeleigh was the capital barton (*Feud. Aids*, 388). The heirs of Ralf de Doddescombe were lords of this Honour in 1285, and Geoffrey de Radeweye then held East Clifford and Halstow of him for $\frac{1}{2}$ fee (*ibid.*, 312). In 1303 Thomas de Radeweye was lord (*ibid.*, 346); in 1346 James de Radeweye (*ibid.*, 388); and in 1428 there were five freeholders, of whom Richard Hankford was one (*ibid.*, 485).

16. Two more of the Conqueror's squires also had small estates in this Hundred, which went to the honour of Plymton. Hervei de Helion had HACKWORTHY, but he was dead before 1086, and his widow Emma was then in possession. Together with the rest of Helion's estates, Hackworthy passed with Margaret, daughter of William de Helion, to Richard le Prous, of whom it was held by John de Hakeworth for $\frac{1}{2}$ fee in 1241 (*Testa*, 639, p. 181b). In 1285 Peter de Hakeworthy was tenant in possession (*Feud. Aids*, 313), also in 1303 (*ibid.*, 345); in 1346 John Hakeworthy (*ibid.*, 386); and in 1428 Robert Upcot and Robert Ackland (*ibid.*, 484).

17. Ruald or Rhiwallon, the dubbed knight, was another of the Conqueror's chief supporters, whose estates went to the honour of Plymton. He held two estates in this Hundred, CROCKERNWELL and SIGFORD, both of which were included in the Giffard fee. Crockernwell does not appear in the fee lists, but Sigford was held in 1241 by Joel de Bukethon for $\frac{1}{2}$ fee (*Testa*, 628, p. 181b). In 1285 another Joel de Bukyngton had succeeded to it, and held it of Robert de Dynham (*Feud. Aids*, 313), who had married Emma, heiress of the last Walter Giffard. In 1303

another Joel de Buketon was in possession (*ibid.*, 345); in 1346 yet another Joel de Bukyngton (*ibid.*, 386), and in 1428 John Coplestone and Henry Marwood (*ibid.*, 484).

III. *Estates held of the Honour of Okehamton.*

Of the twenty-five townships (*villæ*) in this Hundred, which in 1285 belonged to the honour of Okehamton, all but two were estates of Baldwin the sheriff in 1086. One of them, however, viz. FORSHAM, is set down in 1285 as held of the honour of Otterton, because it was held of Baldwin by St. Michael's Mount, of which house Otterton was the chief estate in Devon (*Feud. Aids*, 314). The two which were not Baldwin's are Alphington, an earl's land belonging to the Crown, and Little Dunsford (*Feud. Aids*, 387), held by an English thane.

18. In 1241 ALPHINGTON was held by John de Nevyle, or Nevil, lord of Stoke Cury, but it is distinctly stated that it was not held as a fee (*Feud. Aids*, 314). On John's death, in 1274 (*A.-D. Inq.* 2 Ed. I. No. 27), the bishop of Bangor held it in wardship for the heir (*Hund. Rolls*, 3 Ed. I. No. 42, p. 84). In 1279 sir John Nevil, who had come of age, was in possession and presented to the rectory (*Bronescombe*, 107). On his death, in 1282 (*A.-D. Inq.*, 10 Ed. I. No. 22), the manor again fell into the King's hand by virtue of his wardship of John de Nevil's heir, "because John held estates elsewhere of the King in chief" (*Feud. Aids*, 315). In 1312 sir Hugh de Nevil was lord and presented to the rectory (*Stapeldon*, 184); in 1316 Theobald de Nevil (*Feud. Aids*, 377). In 1349 sir Hugh de Nevil presented to the rectory (*Grandisson*, 1380). In 1381, however, sir Hugh Segrave held the advowson and presented to it (*Brantyngham*, 76); and about this time the manor and advowson were acquired by the Courtneys in exchange for Newnham Courtney in Berks. In 1403 sir Peter Courtney was in possession and presented to the rectory (*Stafford*, 141); in 1415 Edward Courtney, 3rd earl of Devon of the Courtney line (*ibid.*, 141), and in 1429 William Courtney, esquire, died seised of it (*A.-D. Inq.* 7 Hen. V. No. 74).

In the fee lists of 1241 and after times we meet with a MATFORD in Wonford Hundred held of the honour of Okehamton for $\frac{1}{8}$ fee. It seems hardly possible that this can be Matford in Heavitree, for there is no Matford among

Baldwin's estates, and Baldwin had no estate nearer than Alphington, of which this could have been a sub-manor. Apparently it was a sub-manor in Alphington, distinct, however, from Matford Speke, also in Alphington, but in the Hundred of Exminster, and from Matford Butter in Exminster (*Feud. Aids*, 346). In 1241 Ralf de Bosco held this Matford for $\frac{1}{4}$ fee (*Testa*, 478, p. 180a); in 1303 the heir of Oliver Deneham (*Feud. Aids*, 345). It would appear that this must be the "Matford $\frac{1}{4}$ fee in the Hundred of Exemue" which Walter Fromond held as under-tenant of Margaret Dynham in 1303, along with Shittisbear and Worthy in Chulmleigh, the whole for $\frac{1}{4}$ fee of the Honour of Okehamton (*ibid.*, 363), and if so the words in italics must have been inserted in error; for the references already given (*Testa*, 478; *Feud. Aids*, 345) clearly show that the Matford $\frac{1}{4}$ fee held of Okehamton was in Wonford Hundred, not to be confounded with either of the Matfords in Exminster Hundred. In 1346 this $\frac{1}{4}$ fee was held by John Dynham in succession to Margaret Dynham (*Feud. Aids*, 385).

19. LITTLE DUNSFORD, otherwise called Sutheton or Sowton, was held in 1086 by the forester Saulf. At an early date Mandevil, who held Great Dunsford appurtenant to his honour of Marshwood (*Testa*, 836, p. 183a), was in possession. Before 1241 Mandevil had parted with it to John de Nevil, who held it for $\frac{1}{4}$ fee of the Honour of Okehamton (*Testa*, 477, p. 180a). In 1277 David de Servyngton or Cervinton died seised of it (*A.-D. Inq.* 5 Ed. I. No. 61). In 1285 William de Servyngton held it for $\frac{1}{4}$ fee of John de Mandevil [of Coker (*Feud. Aids*, 343)], whilst Mandevil held it of the honour of Okehamton (*Feud. Aids*, 314). In 1303 William de Servyngton held it, together with Spurway in Witheridge Hundred (*ibid.*, 346; *Testa*, 831, p. 183a); in 1346 his widow Agnes (*Feud. Aids*, 387), and in 1428 Thomas Chedder and John Rydon (*ibid.*, 483).

Of Baldwin's estates three had been devoted to religious uses before 1086, viz. Clyst Moys, Cutton, and Polesloe; and three others were given by his immediate descendants to be held in free alms, viz. Cowick, Exwick, and Christow.

20. CLYST MOIS, with which went Hayne, had been given to the canons of St. Mary in Exeter castle by Baldwin himself before 1086 (*Trans.* xxx. 284), and was held as a prebendal estate by master Thomas de Wymundeham in

December, 1262 (Devon Fine, No. 635, in Devon and Corn. Rec. Soc.), and by Robert de Littlebiry in 1285 (*Feud. Aids*, 315). CUTTON had also been given by Baldwin to the same canons before 1086 (*Trans.* xxx. 283), and was held in 1263 (Devon Fine, No. 636), and also in 1285, as a prebend by Henry de Esse (*ibid.*, 285 ; *Feud. Aids*, 315). With it went POLESLEUGA, another estate of the canons of Exeter castle, which is not mentioned in the fee lists, but may without doubt be identified with their estate at Hooperne (*Trans.* xxx. 283).

21. Of those given by his immediate descendants, COWICK and EXWICK were bestowed by William, Baldwin's eldest son, who succeeded his father as sheriff in 1090, upon the new foundation which he set up at Cowick as an offshoot from Bec (*Feud. Aids*, 314). Cowick priory held them in 1285 (*ibid.*, 314), and continuously until the dissolution. CHRISTOW, Baldwin had settled upon his wife Emma, and this was given to the mother-house of Bec, either by Emma or by Baldwin's son William, and from Bec was acquired in 1244 by Cowick priory, to hold at a fee farm rent (Oliver, *Mon.* 156).

22. Two estates Baldwin himself held in 1086, Drewsteignton and Spreyton. DREWSTEIGNTON, otherwise called Teignton Drew or Teignton Dabernon, had been given before 1166 to one of the Dabernons, together with Bradford Dabernon, and was held in that year by Engelram de Abernu for $\frac{1}{2}$ fee of Robert the King's son, i.e. of the honour of Okehamton (*Black Book*, 120), Drewsteignton being $\frac{3}{4}$ of $\frac{1}{2}$ fee and Bradford $\frac{1}{4}$ of $\frac{1}{2}$ fee. In 1241 the manor was held by the heir of Ingeram de Aubernoun (*Testa*, 485, p. 180a), John de Abernon, who on 15 May, 1253, had a grant of free warren there (*Charter Rolls*, p. 434), but £10 worth of land there and in adjoining townships was held by Richard, son of Drogo de Teynton, by gift of Drogo his father, on 13 May, 1244 (Devon Fine, No. 390). Part of this land, viz. 100 shillings' worth in Thornbury and Willey, was sold on 27 October, 1245, by Richard de Teynton to Hugh de Dimestorie (Devon Fine, No. 451), and the rest of his land in Drewsteignton, excepting Forsham, was conveyed on 18 November, 1256, by Drogo de Staunton to Roger de Staunton (Devon Fine, No. 600). In 1285 John Dabernon held the manor of Drewsteignton (*Feud. Aids*, 314); in 1303 John Dabernon and John Deneys (*ibid.*, 345). In 1333 John de Aubernonn or Dabrun was lord and presented to

the rectory on 11 September (*Grandisson*, 1295). He, or a son of like name, was in possession of the manor in 1346 (*Feud. Aids*, 386). In 1359 William d'Aubernoun, esquire, died seised of it (*A.-D. Inq.* 32 Ed. III. No. 23), and was succeeded by his daughter Isabel, wife of sir William Croyser, who presented to the rectory on 11 June, 1366 (*Grandisson*, 1499), and again in the following year (*ibid.*, 1502); but before 1395 both manor and advowson had come into the hands of Stephen Durnforde, of Plymouth (Lysons, II. 493), who in that year presented to the rectory.

23. SPREYTON had also been granted out before 1166, the manor to William Talbot, by whom it was held in that year for 1 fee (*Black Book*, 120), the advowson to Cowick priory. Between 1219 and 1226 the overlordship of the manor was acquired by William Briwere from Robert de Courtney (Duchy Lancs., *Anc. Chart.* in *Trans.* xxxv. 501) and passed with William Briwere's daughter Margaret to Pagan de Chaworth, of whom Spreyton was held by Philip Talbot in 1234 (*Testa*, 1627, p. 200a; *Trans.* xxxvii. 450). In 1241 Philip Talbot was still in possession (*Testa*, 487, p. 180a); in 1285 William Talbot (*Feud. Aids*, 314), who died in 1297 (*A.-D. Inq.* 15 Ed. I. No. 10); in 1303 Henry Talbot (*ibid.*, 345); in 1346 Philip Vautort and William Prous (*ibid.*, 386), and in 1428 William Talbot (*ibid.*, 486).

24. Of Baldwin's tenants in 1086 we may first take Stephen. He held three manors, WEST CLIFFORD, otherwise Combe Hall in Drewsteignton, RINGMORE, and Haccombe in Haytor Hundred (*Vict. Hist.* 464; *Trans.* xl. 123). In 1166 these three manors constituted the 1 fee which William, son of Stephen, held of Robert, the King's son (*Black Book*, 120), West Clifford and Ringmore being $\frac{2}{3}$ fee (*Feud. Aids*, 313), and Haccombe $\frac{1}{3}$ fee (*ibid.*, 317). In 1241 Stephen de Haccumbe was in possession (*Testa*, 483 and 536, p. 180b); in 1244 Gilbert, son of Stephen (Devon Fine, No. 380); in 1285 Jordan de Haccomb (*Feud. Aids*, 313), and in 1303 Stephen de Haccomb (*ibid.*, 345). In 1342 sir John Lercedekne was in possession (Lysons, II. 493), and presented to the arch-presbytery of Haccombe (*Grandisson*, 1333), but in 1346 West Clifford was held by William Pypard and Margaret his wife (*Feud. Aids*, 386).

25. Edwy was one of the few Saxons who retained his two estates of RUSHFORD BARTON and Little Manaton (*Feud. Aids*, 339) at the Conquest, both of which he held

of Baldwin. Rushford afterwards passed through many hands. In 1241 it was held by William de Rishford for $\frac{2}{3}$ fee (*Testa*, 486); in 1285 by Nicholas Crespyn (*Feud. Aids*, 314); in 1303 by Robert de Forde (*ibid.*, 345); in 1346 by Robert de Forde (*ibid.*, 387), afterwards by John Berkedon (*ibid.*, 485), and in 1428 by William Monk of Potheridge and four other freeholders (*ibid.*, 485).

26. HITTISLEIGH was one of two estates in this Hundred which in 1086 Ralf de Pomeray held of Baldwin. Like most of the estates which Pomeray held as under-tenant it passed to the family of Bolley, who alienated it to Punchardon, who again parted with it to Talbot, the holder of Spreyton (*Feud. Aids*, 314). In 1241 Philip Talbot was the holder (*Testa*, 488, p. 180a). In 1285 William Cole held it of William Talbot for $\frac{1}{2}$ fee (*Feud. Aids*, 314) and presented to the rectory on 8 November, 1285 (*Quivil*, 347). In 1303 Roger Cole was lord (*Feud. Aids*, 345); in 1346 John Cole (*ibid.*, 387), and in 1351 Adam Cole, who on 21 December in that year presented to the rectory (*Grandison*, 1421). In 1419 John Cole (*A.-D. Inq.* 7 Hen. V. No. 70), who held of Richard Hankford, was in possession, and in 1428 five freeholders (*Feud. Aids*, 485). The other estate, which in 1086 Ralf de Pomeray held of Baldwin in this Hundred, was COLHEY in Tedburn. This also had gone to Punchardon (*Feud. Aids*, 314), of whom it was held by Thomas de Tetteburn in 1241, together with Town barton, for $1\frac{1}{4}$ fee (*Testa*, 493, p. 180a), and descended in the same way as Town barton.

27. Two estates were held of Baldwin by Hugh de Rennes in 1086, viz. MELHUISH and TEIGNHARVEY. These had passed to the Bryans, either by descent or purchase, before 1166, in which year Guy de Brionne held 5 fees of the honour of Okehamton⁶ (*Black Book*, 119). In 1241 Melhuish was held by the heir of Melehiwis for 1 fee with Bryan (*Testa*, 492, p. 180a) as middle-lord; in 1285 by Eleanor de Melhywys of Guy Bryan (*Feud. Aids*, 313); in 1303 by Peter de Melehywyssh (*ibid.*, 345); in 1346 by William Melehywyssh (*ibid.*, 388), and in 1428 by Baldwin Foleford and four others (*ibid.*, 485), whilst Teignharvey or Teyng Jory (*Feud. Aids*, 486), which had origin-

⁶ Made up of Torbryan, 2 fees; Melhuish and Langston, 1; Teignharvey, $\frac{1}{2}$; Simpson, $\frac{1}{2}$; Doddbrook, Portlemouth, and Lamside, 1 (*A.-D. Inq.* 1 Ric. II. No. 12).

ally been Bryan's and been held of Bryan by Eleanor de Melhywys, had been successively sold to John de Newton, by him to William son of Hugh de la Hoke, and by William de la Hoke to Richard le Teing, who held it in 1241 (*Testa*, 482). In 1285 Richard le Baron had succeeded to it (*Feud. Aids*, 313); in 1303 Humfrey de Beauchamp (*ibid.*, 346). In 1346 John Toryton was in possession as tenant for life (*ibid.*, 387). It was next held by Richard de Beauchamp of Ryme, who forfeited it in 1351 (*A.-D. Inq.* 24 Ed. III. No. 70), and in 1428 John Shapewik was the tenant in succession to Margaret Norreys (*Feud. Aids*, 486).

28. OLDRIDGE (Wollerugge, Wallerig), an outlier of St. Thomas' Hayes, was one of three estates held of Baldwin by Goscelin Beruin, the other two being Rackenford and Rockbear Burnell (*Trans.* xxxv. 292). In 1166 William Beivin had succeeded to them and held them for 2 fees of the honour of Okehamton (*Black Book*, 120). Before 1241 part of Rackenford and the whole of Rockbear Burnell had been alienated, part of Rackenford being then held by Robert de Sideham (*Testa*, 1130, p. 189) of Richard Cadiho's heirs and Rockbear by John Theobald of Roger Giffard (*Testa*, 1199, p. 191a) respectively,⁷ whilst Oldridge, which had been sold on 13 July, 1228, by Matilda Coffin to Luke Peverel and Emma his wife (*Devon Fine*, 148), was held in two moieties, one moiety by the heirs of Richard Cadiho (*Testa*, 494, p. 180a), the other by Henry Guraunt (*ibid.*, 493). On 16 February, 1270, Richard Cadiho's heirs, Matilda wife of William son of Ralf and Edith wife of Walter de Clavyle, sold their interest in Oldridge, Westown and Hackadown, and Rackenford to Henry Tyrel (*Devon Fine*, No. 713 in *Devon and Corn. Rec. Soc.*). In 1285 Henry Tyrel's heirs held Oldridge Cadiho for $\frac{1}{2}$ fee (*Feud. Aids*, 314), also in 1303 (*ibid.*, 345); in 1346 Peter Troubrigg in succession to his father of the same name (*ibid.*, 386); in 1428 there were four freeholders, of whom Thomas Trobrogge was one (*ibid.*, 484). The other moiety of Oldridge, after being held by Henry Guraunt for $\frac{1}{2}$ fee in 1241, passed to Sibilla Trolegh in 1303 (*ibid.*, 345), and was afterwards held by Peter Trobrigg, to whom

⁷ *Testa*, 1130, p. 189, and Kirby in *Trans.* xxx. 402, show that Rackenford was also in two moieties. In 1285 Philip de Sideham held one moiety of Henry Tyrel, the successor of Cadiho, who held of Hugh de Courtenay, and the other he held direct of the same Hugh. John Tebant held Rockbear in 1243 of Roger Gifford.

seven freeholders had succeeded in 1428 (*ibid.*, 485). It was afterwards given to Cowick priory (Lysons, II. 499).

29. TOWN BARTON IN TEDBURN St. Mary was one of a group of estates which were held in 1086 by Rainer, Baldwin's house-steward. His successor in title, Roger de Langford, held 4 fees in 1166 of the honour of Okehampton⁸ (*Black Book*, 119; *Trans.* xxxv. 293). Before 1241 Town barton had been sold to Thomas de Tetteburn, who held it for $\frac{1}{2}$ fee of Roger de Langford. Thomas de Tetteburn held another estate at Tedburn, viz. COLHEY, for $\frac{1}{2}$ fee of John de Punchardon, successor in title to Ralf de Pomeray (*Feud. Aids*, 314), the two counting as $1\frac{1}{2}$ fees in 1241 (*Testa*, 493, p. 180a). On 24 September, 1266, Thomas de Tetteburne presented to the rectory of Tedburn (*Bronescombe*, 183). In 1285 Walter de Honyton was in possession of both Town barton and Colhey, and also in 1303 (*Feud. Aids*, 345); in 1346 Thomas de Loweton (*ibid.*, 388), and in 1428 Nicolas Tremayne and Nicolas Penellys (*ibid.*, 486). The patronage of the advowson, however, had gone to Robert de Stockheye, who presented to the church on 4 February, 1333 (*Grandisson*, 1291), and 25 April, 1345 (*ibid.*, 1347), and from him it passed to John de Beauchamp, who presented on 7 November, 1361 (*ibid.*, 1467).

30. ROLASTON in Upton Pyne was a small estate which Baldwin bestowed on his cupbearer, Walter, before 1086. Walter also had Honeychurch and Nymet Roland, Rolandsleigh and Beer. Nymet Roland, Rolandsleigh, and Beer, with members, were held in 1166 by Roland de Nimet for 1 fee (*Black Book*, 120), and from him the estate in Upton Pyne derives its name of Rolandeston. The successor of Roland de Nimet was William de Wolryngton, from whom it passed by purchase to Roger Calle and Alexander de Tauton before 1241 (*Testa*, 476, p. 180a). In 1285 Philip de Roulandeston had succeeded Alexander de Tauton (*Feud. Aids*, 314) as tenant in possession, and held Rolaston for $\frac{1}{4}$ [$? \frac{1}{8}$] fee in 1303 of master John Dyrewyne (*ibid.*, 344), and in 1346 Edmund de Samford in succession to Walter de Robton (? Rolandiston, *ibid.*, 385).⁸

31. Bernard the napeless (or bullneck, as we might call

⁸ Langford's fees consisted of Langford, $\frac{1}{2}$; Town barton in Tedburn, $\frac{1}{2}$; Upcot and Rockbear Baldwin, $\frac{1}{2}$; Dotton, $\frac{1}{2}$; Greenslade, $\frac{1}{2}$; Kigbear and Croft, $\frac{1}{2}$; Matford, $\frac{1}{2}$; Germansweek or Wyke Langford, $\frac{1}{2}$; Payhembury, $\frac{1}{2}$.

him) was the holder of three estates under Baldwin, viz. Westtown and Hackadown in Whitstone, Maidencombe and Rocombe Cadiho in Stoke-in-Teignhead. In 1166 these three estates appear to have been held for $2\frac{1}{2}$ fees by Robert, son of Bernard, of the honour of Okehamton (*Black Book*, 120). They then passed to Richard Cadiho, who sold them to divers tenants, one of whom, Roger de Middeldon, on 21 March, 1219, sold $\frac{1}{2}$ fee at Westtown to Peter de Albamara (Devon Fine, No. 90), and another, Thomas Finamor on 23 June, 1228, sold another $\frac{1}{2}$ fee at Westtown to the same Peter (Devon Fine, No. 169). In 1241 Ralf de Albemara held the whole of WESTTOWN AND HACKADOWN (Westacot and La Haghe) for 1 fee (*Testa*, 497, p. 180a) of Richard Cadiho's heirs (see above, No. 27). In 1285 Henry Tyrel held them of Alan, son of Rouald (*Feud. Aids*, 314); in 1303 Walter de Langedon (*ibid.*, 346); in 1346 Joan Daune[y] (*ibid.*, 387), who with them also held Heath barton.

32. MAIDENCOMBE must have been in the possession of William, son of Stephen, in the twelfth century. For before 1168 he had given 1 virgate of land there to the canons of Plymton, which in that year he charged by a fine in the bishop's court with an annual payment of 5 shillings to Ford Abbey (Oliver, *Mon.* 137a, 339a). It was then the estate of Richard Cadiho,⁹ who sold one part of it to Thomas Finamor, who, on reselling $\frac{1}{2}$ fee there on 30 June, 1228, to Warin, son of Joel, called Richard Cadiho to warrant it (Devon Fine, No. 163). In 1241 Warin, son of Joel, was in possession of this $\frac{1}{2}$ fee (*Testa*, 480, p. 180a). The other $\frac{1}{2}$ fee at Maidencombe was held in 1241 by Peter de la Pole (*Testa*, 481, p. 180a); in 1285 by Henry Tregoz (*Feud. Aids*, 313); in 1303 by Joan de Tregoz and John de Bytelesgate (*ibid.*, 345), and in 1346 $\frac{2}{3}$ thereof by John de Bytelesgate (*ibid.*, 386), and $\frac{1}{3}$ by the prior of Plymton (*ibid.*, 388).

33. ROCOMBE HUGH or CADIHO, or Higher and Lower Rocombe in Stoke-in-Teignhead, was held in 1241 by Richard Cadiho's heirs for 1 fee (*Testa*, 479), the heirs being Matilda, wife of William son of Ralf, and Edith wife of Walter de Clavyle (Devon Fine, No. 713 in Devon and Corn. Rec. Soc.). In 1285 Ralf, son of William, was lord

⁹ On 22 July, 1228, Lucy, wife of Ralf Kadio, called Richard Cadiho to warrant a purchaser, 8/- worth of rent in Little Lashbrook (Devon Fine, No. 236).

(*Feud. Aids*, 313); in 1346 William, son of Ralf (*ibid.*, 387), and in 1428 there were five freeholders, of whom John Baron was one (*ibid.*, 485).

34. In 1086 BRAMFORD *alias* UPTON PYNE was held by Vidal (Vitalis) of Colyton; in 1166 by Simon, son of Herbert [de Pyne], for 1 fee (*Black Book*, 120); in 1241 by Herbert de Pyun (*Testa*, 475, p. 180a);¹⁰ in 1283 by sir Herbert Pyn, who presented to the rectory (*Quivil.*, 358), and in 1285 was lord of the manor (*Feud. Aids*, 314). John de Pyn appears to have afterwards presented to the rectory and his nominee was instituted, but in 1310 an attempt was made to have his institution revoked (*Stapeldon*, 267). In 1303 Herbert de Pyn was lord (*Feud. Aids*, 344); in 1346 John Moryn or Morey (*ibid.*, 385), who presented to the rectory in 1342 (*Grandisson*, 1336). In 1362 the patronage was vested in master Roger Boghemor and Agnes his sister (*ibid.*, 1490), but the manor continued in the Pyne family and was held by Edmund Pyne in 1428 (*Feud. Aids*, 485). See *Devon and Cornwall Notes and Queries*, VII. 134.

35. Three estates in this Hundred were held in 1086 by Modbert son of Lambert (see W. 403, p. 430; *Vict. Hist.* 452), viz. Egbear, Upcot, and Fulford. In 1166 these formed part of the 3 fees held by Nicolas de Chelli (*Black Book*, 119).¹¹ EGBEAR was William de Kelly's in 1241 (*Testa*, 489), John de Kelly's in 1285 (*Feud. Aids*, 314), and 1303 (*ibid.*, 345), together with Heylake in Boleton; Margaret Kelly's in 1346 (*ibid.*, 386), and eight freeholders' in 1428, of whom Richard Kelly was one (*ibid.*, 484). UPCOT, with which Holcombe in Exminster Hundred constituted $\frac{1}{2}$ fee, had been alienated before 1241 to the predecessor of Nicholas de Filleigh,¹² and by him again sold. In 1241 the tenants in possession were Thomas and Reginald de Uppecote and the son of Geoffrey de la Hak (*Testa*, 552, p. 180b); in 1285 Joel de Uppecote, Roger and Richard Tirel, who held it of Nicholas de Filleigh (*Feud. Aids*, 314); in 1303 the heirs of Joel de Uppecote (*ibid.*, 346); and in 1346 Walter French, John Colehaie, and

¹⁰ Herbert de Pyne and Walter, son of William, were the holders of 10 fees in Cornwall in 1234 in right of their wives (*Trans.* xxxiv. 568); the 10 fees consisting of 4 in Middelond (Launceston), 1 in Bere (Alston), 2 in Alwington, Devon, 1 in Marhamchurch, and 2 in Westtor, Penven-ton, and Tetrenwy (*Feud. Aids*, 201).

¹¹ The three consist of Fulford, $\frac{1}{2}$ fee; Egbeare, 1; Kelly, 1; Upcot, $\frac{1}{2}$ (*Testa*, 449, 450, 489, 509, 552).

¹² See *Trans.* xli. 246.

Nicholas Cockescomb in succession to Joel de Oppacote, Walter Franceys, and Nicholas Cockescomb (*ibid.*, 387). FULFORD was held in 1241 for $\frac{1}{2}$ fee by the heirs of Nicholas de Fulford [of William] de Kelly (*Testa*, 491); in 1285 by William de Foleford of John de Kelly (*Feud. Aids*, 314); in 1303 by Gricia de Foleford (*ibid.*, 345); in 1346 by William de Foleford (*ibid.*, 387); and in 1428 by six freeholders, among them being Baldwin Foleford and Roger Bornell (*ibid.*, 485).

36. Witestan, which Robert de Beaumont held in 1086 of Baldwin, is proved by the ownership to be HEATH BARTON, otherwise La Hethe, or Heath St. Mary or St. Mary Calchurch¹³ (*Testa*, 496, p. 180a), in Whitstone. In 1166 it formed part of the 4 fees which Thomas de Beaumont held of the Honour of Okehamton (*Black Book*, 119).¹⁴ In 1241 it was held by Renus' de Halleham for $\frac{1}{2}$ fee (*Testa*, 496, p. 180a), with Beaumont as middle-lord. In 1285 Richard de Langedene was tenant, holding it of Richard Beaumont (*Feud. Aids*, 314), and in 1303 Walter de Langeden held it, together with Westacot and Heghen, for 1 fee (*ibid.*, 346). In 1346 Joan Daune[y] had succeeded to it (*ibid.*, 387), Heath barton being described as parcel of the manor of Shirwell (*ibid.*, 416). In 1428 John Hill of Spaxton had succeeded to it.

IV. Estate held of the Honour of Cardinan.

37. One other estate of Baldwin's finds no place in the fee lists, viz. MARDON or Martin in Drewsteignton, which was held of Baldwin by Richard, son of Torolf. With Richard son of Torolf's other estates, it no doubt went to the honour of Cardinan, and must be looked for either among the fees or the socage tenancies of that Honour (*Trans.* xxx. 283). In the *A.-D. Inq.* of Thomas Battishull in 1636 (11 Car. I.) it was found that he died seised of a tenement called Martyn in Drewsteignton held of Richard Carew as of his manor of Marten in free socage.

V. Estate held of the bishop of Exeter.

38. STOKE CANON is stated to have been given by

¹³ See above, n. 49.

¹⁴ These fees consist of Little Yarnscombe, 1; Lancross, $\frac{1}{2}$; Shirwell with Coxleigh and Brightlicot, $1\frac{1}{2}$; Loxhore with Smitha Park, 1; and Heath barton, $\frac{1}{2}$ (see *A.-D. Inq.* 1 Ric. II. No. 12).

Aethelstan in 938 to the monastery or clergy house of St. Mary at Exeter (Kemble, *Cod. Dipl.* No. 371, p. 207), but the charter is manifestly a forgery (*Trans.* xxx. 305). The charter of Canute dates from 1031 (*Cart. Sax.* II. 431 ; *Trans.* xiii. 120). When the see was moved from Crediton to Exeter in 1050, Stoke and three other manors were assigned for the support of the canons of St. Peter at Exeter (*Hund. Rolls*, 3 Ed. I. No. 43, p. 45), and to them it has ever since belonged until it was taken over by the ecclesiastical commissioners.

VI. *Estate held of the Honour of Marshwood.*

39. GREAT DUNSFORD went with half of Walter de Douai's estates to the honour of Marshwood. This Honour was given by Henry I. to Geoffrey de Mandevil, and passed with his younger son's daughter Dionisia to William, son of John de Harptree, who held it in 1166 (*Black Book*, 84). It consisted of $13\frac{3}{4}$ fees and 2 Mortain fees (*ibid.*), of which $10\frac{1}{4}$ and 1 Mortain fee were in Devon (*Testa*, 831-842, p. 183a). William gave $\frac{2}{3}$ fee, representing Dunsford, with his daughter to Roger Bacun (*Black Book*, 84), brother of Philip de Columbers (*Cal. Docts. in France*, 191), which William Bacon forfeited for taking the Norman side (*Testa*, 1546, p. 199a). King John in 1204 gave Dunsford to Robert de Satchvil (*Pipe Rolls*, 6 John, m. 7), and it descended to Philip Causebuf, Robert de Satchvil's heir. With Causebuf's daughter Avice it passed to Robert de Blakeford (*Trans.* xxxvii. 445), who held it in 1241 (*Testa*, 831, p. 183a). Robert de Blakeford died in 1253 (*A.-D. Inq.* 37 Hen. III. No. 31). His widow then remarried William de Berkeley, who before 1272, against his wife's wishes, sold Dunsford to Balan de Gorges (*Trans.* xxxvii. 444). In 1276 Ellen de Gorges was in possession, holding it of William de Berkeley, who held it of John de Blakeford, Avice's heir (*A.-D. Inq.* 4 Ed. I. No. 48). On William de Berkeley's death John de Blakeford recovered it and sold it to Peter Quivil, bishop of Exeter, who purchased it on behalf of Matilda, widow of Richard 7th earl of Gloucester. The bishop was in possession in 1285 (*Feud. Aids*, 316), and at Matilda's request conveyed the manor and advowson to Canonsleigh priory (Oliver, *Mon.* 230 ; Lysons, II. 171). In 1303 the abbess held it for $\frac{1}{2}$ fee (*Feud. Aids*, 345), also in 1346 (*ibid.*, 385) and 1428 (*ibid.*, 484),

and she presented to the vicarage in 1314 (*Stapeldon*, 208) and 1368 (*Grandisson*, 1506).

VII. *Estates held of the Honour of Gloucester.*

40. Coming to estates held of the honour of Gloucester, HOLCOMBE BURNELL or Holcombe Bernard (Lysons, II. 275), with other of queen Matilda's lands, was, after her death, on 3 November, 1083, given to the predecessor in title of Umfravil, who appears to have given it to Berner or Burnard before 1084, when it was held by Tedbald (*Geldroll*, xlix. B. 4), son of Berner (*Geldroll*, xix.). In 1241 the tenant in possession under Umfravil was Ralf, son of Bernard (*Testa*, 264, p. 178a). Before 1285 it passed by sale to Humfrey de Kail, Keyle, or Caille, who then held it of John, son of Burnard, for 1 fee. John, son of Burnard, again held it of John de Umfravil (*Feud. Aids*, 315), whilst John de Umfravil held it of Gilbert de Clare, earl of Gloucester (*A.-D. Inq.* 8 Ed. II. No. 264). Humfrey Cael held it in 1303 (*Feud. Aids*, 345); another Humfrey in 1346 (*ibid.*, 386), and William Caille died seised of it in 1371 (*A.-D. Inq.* 44 Ed. III. No. 15). In 1428 there were six freeholders, Thomas Denys being one of their number (*ibid.*, 484). The church was apparently given to God and St. Andrew of Wells and the bishop of Bath (cf. *Trans.* xxxix. 367), either by Tedbald, son of Berner, or by his son Robert (*Trans.* xxxix. 377), and was in the patronage of the bishop of Bath annexed to a prebend of Wells in 1273 (*Bronescombe*, 144).

41. An estate at Bramford or Upton Pyne was held in 1086 by Walter de Clavil. This formed part of the 10 fees (*Black Book*, 161) which Walter de Clavil held in 1166 of William, earl of Gloucester. The tenant in possession at that time appears to have been called Steven, who gave his name to Clifford Steven, and from him it was called Bramford Steven or STEVENSTON. The estate included Yendacot in Shobrook and part of Cowley. In 1241 Agnes de Esford was the tenant in possession (*Testa*, 260, p. 178a); in 1303 the heirs of John de Asford (*Feud. Aids*, 346); in 1346 Edmund de Sampford, William Chambernon, and Richard de Esse of Exeter in succession to Simon de Sampford, William Chambernon, and Henry de Esse (*ibid.*, 387), and in 1428 William Bonevyll and William Aysford (*ibid.*, 483).

42. The manor of WHITSTONE, where stands the church, was held in 1086 by William de Ow or de Eu, one of the Conqueror's military knights, who also held Powderham, both estates being in the tenancy of Rannulf [de Poudersham]. William's son forfeited the overlordship of both for treason in 1096 (Round, *Peerage*, 187), when they were given to the earl of Hereford (*Vict. Hist.* 393). These estates are possibly the 2 fees which Margaret de Bohun held in 1166 of the bishop of Hereford (*Black Book*, 151). In 1218 Peter de Poudersham was tenant under the earl of Hereford. He was succeeded by Thomas de Poudersham, against whom Peter's widow Mabel claimed Whitstone as her dower on 23 March, 1219 (Devon Fine, No. 80). On 13 June, 1249, Roger de Puderham was in possession (Devon Fine, No. 475). In 1263 Andrew de Puderham held the manor and advowson, and presented to the rectory (*Branscombe*, 190). In 1285 John de Poudersham held the same "of the earl of Hereford, for homage and service, whilst the earl of Hereford held it of the earl of Gloucester, who again held it of the King by the service of paying 1 mark to the earl of Hereford" (*Feud. Aids*, 316). In 1316 the earl of Hereford was in possession by reason of the heir of John de Poudersham being under age (*ibid.*, 377). It then passed with Margaret, daughter of Humphrey earl of Hereford, to Hugh III. Courtenay (Lysons, 555), who presented to the rectory in 1340 (*Grandisson*, 1329), the year before he succeeded to the earldom of Devon, and at his death in 1378 was given to his younger son Philip Courtney, who presented to the rectory in 1390 (*Brantyngham*, 123) and again in 1392 (*Stafford*, 220), in whose family it still continues.

43. A group of five estates were held in this Hundred in 1086 by Godwin of Chittlehamton, possibly a son of the great earl Godwin, who is enumerated among the King's English thanes. All of these, with the exception of Medland, which Robert, son of Hamon, gave to Tewkesbury abbey (*Dugdale, Mon.* II. 65), were afterwards given to Umfravil and formed part of the 9 fees (*Black Book*, 161), five of which were in Devon,¹⁵ which Gilbert de Umfravil held in 1166 of the Honour of Gloucester (*Black Book*, 161). Umfravil

¹⁵ *Red Book*, II. 558, 607; *Devon Not. and Qu.* VI. 190, 204. The five in Devon were West Ogwell, $\frac{1}{4}$; Natson, $\frac{1}{4}$; Cheriton Bishop, $\frac{1}{4}$; Trebbles, $\frac{1}{4}$; Easton, $\frac{1}{4}$; Chittlehampton, 1; Culm Reigny, *alias* Combe Satchvil, $\frac{1}{2}$; Holbrook, 1; Wray, $\frac{1}{2}$ (*Testa*, p. 177b).

alienated Cheriton, the greater part of Lamford represented by Trebbles and Easton barton, and his moiety of the township of West Ogwell to Champernoun. The remainder of Lamford he sold to Berner's son, and Combe borough to the predecessor of Ralf Maury of Sydenham Maristow (*Feud. Aids*, 315). Champernoun in turn demised one part of Cheriton and Lamford, viz. $\frac{1}{4}$ fee in Cheriton and Stoddon, $\frac{1}{2}$ fee in Triffabel or Trebbles, and $\frac{1}{4}$ fee in Lamford, to John Burnel, who held them in 1285 (*ibid.*, 315), and the remainder of Cheriton and Lamford, viz. $\frac{1}{2}$ fee in Cheriton and Wolgereston and $\frac{1}{4}$ fee in Alriggeston, Aereston or Easton barton, to John Melhywys, whose heiress Elinora held them in 1285 (*ibid.*, 315).

44. In 1241 William de Boyvile and Anastasia¹⁶ his wife were tenants in possession of $\frac{1}{4}$ fee in WEST OGWELL, the moiety to which the church belonged, held of the honour of Gloucester (*Testa*, 263, p. 178a). In 1285 Richard de Clavil held the same of William de Champernoun, who held it of John de Umfravil (*Feud. Aids*, 315). Seemingly Clavil was grantee of the manor under John de Boyvile. For John de Boyvile was patron of the rectory in 1284 (*Quivil*, 359), and himself held the manor in 1303 (*Feud. Aids*, 345), and the patronage in 1318 (*Stapeldon*, 269). In 1346 Margaret, widow of Peter Boyvile, was in possession of the manor (*Feud. Aids*, 387). In 1417 William Boyvil died seised of the manor and advowson of Westwogwill (*A.-D. Inq.* 5 Hen. V. No. 21). In 1428 John Boyvill was lord of the manor (*Feud. Aids*, 486), but the advowson was in the hands of Michael Lercedekne and sir Mathew Downe, canon of Exeter, in 1425 (*Lacy*, 85) and 1428 (*ibid.*, 108) as patrons for this turn.

45. CHERITON, together with WOLGERSTON, was held in 1241 by the heirs of John de Melewis, Simon Lampre, and Hugh de Loges (*Testa*, 265, p. 178a) for life. Before 1280 the heiress, Eleanor de Melewis, granted one acre of land at Cheriton together with the advowson to Walter Bronescombe, bishop of Exeter (*Lacy's Reg.* 38), and the parish has since been known as Cheriton Bishop. In 1285 Cheriton and Staddon were held by John Burnel, whilst Wolgerston, together with Easton, were held by Eleanor

¹⁶ Anastasia was one of four sisters, co-heiresses, the others being Eleanor, wife of Jordan de Ashby; Rosamund, wife of William Tremynet, and Thomasine, wife of Robert Davaylles (*Devon Fine*, No. 467). See *Trans.* xxxii. 237.

de Melhywis of William de Champernoun, and by William de Champernoun of John de Umfravil (*Feud. Aids*, 315). In 1303 both Cheriton and Wolgerston were held by Roger, son of Pagan (*ibid.*, 345), apparently by grant for life; in 1346 by Richard Burnel, in succession to John Burnel (*ibid.*, 387); and in 1428 the freeholders were John Crokker, Baldwin Foleford, William Melhuwys, and William Daveell (*ibid.*, 485).

46. Tryfabel or TREBBLES had Eleanor de Hause for tenant in 1241 (*Testa*, 267, p. 178a), and William de Wodeton or Wotton in 1285, who held it of John Burnel for $\frac{1}{2}$ fee. John Burnel in turn held it of William de Champernoun, whilst Champernoun held it of John de Umfravil (*Feud. Aids*, 315). William de Wotton was still tenant in 1303 (*ibid.*, 345), followed by Richard de Wotton, who in 1346 held it together with Nether Partridge farm (*ibid.*, 388). In 1428 the freeholders were Richard Bowere, William Wode, and John Crosse (*ibid.*, 485).

47. EASTON BARTON, written Alricheston, Alriggeston, Ayrenston, and Aereston,¹⁷ in Cheriton, was held in 1241 by the heirs of William le Barun for $\frac{1}{2}$ fee (*Testa*, 268, p. 178a); in 1285 by Eleanor de Melhywys (*Feud. Aids*, 315); in 1303 by Stephen le Baroun, who held along with it Somerton in Shebbear Hundred (*ibid.*, 346); in 1346 by Robert Baron (*ibid.*, 387); and in 1428 by Richard Bower (*ibid.*, 486).

LAMFORD shorn of Trebbles, Easton, and Wolgareston $\frac{1}{2}$ fee was either by purchase or marriage the estate of the last Baldwin de Belstone, and fell in 1240 between his four daughter co-heiresses, viz. Cecily, the wife of John Theobald; Mariota, the wife of William de Fulford; Joan, the wife of Walter le Chamberleyn; and Maud, the wife of Richard de Speccot. After various demises (Devon Fines, Nos. 550, 575, 680, 681) it was held in 1285 by Baldwin de Specot of Richard le Flemmyng, and by him of John, son of Bernard, who again held it of Umfravil (*Feud. Aids*, 315). In 1303 Henry de Belstone, son of Baldwin de Specot, was in possession (*ibid.*, 345); in 1346 John de Belstone, Richard Chiseldene, and William Foleford in succession

¹⁷ Not to be confounded with another Alricheston, or Easton, in Chagford, part of the royal lordship of South Tawton (*Pipe Rolls*), nor

¹⁸ Aereston, or Hearston, in Brixton, which was assessed under all (*Feud. Aids*, 200, 206).

to Henry de Belstone, Walter Tauntefur, and Henry de Foleford (*ibid.*, 386).

COMBE, or Combe Borough, in Drewsteignton, was held in 1285 by the heirs of Ralf Maury of Sydenham Maristow (*Feud. Aids*, 315), but it does not otherwise appear in the fee lists. In 1371 William Caille, otherwise Keyle, lord of Holcombe Burnel, died seised of it (*A.-D. Inq.* 44 Ed. III. No. 15).

MEDLAND, which had been given to the abbot of Tewkesbury by Robert, son of Hamon, was confirmed to him by Henry I.'s charter (Dugdale, *Mon.* ii. 65), and that abbot held it with Henry de Stanewe as tenant in 1285 (*Feud. Aids*, 315); also in 1303 (*ibid.*, 356), and continuously until the dissolution.

48. One other estate in this Hundred was also held of the honour of Gloucester. Clis, better known as Clyst Fomison, otherwise Clyst St. Michael (*Bronescombe*, 124), or SOWTON, was held in 1086 by a certain Geoffrey [de Trailei] of the bishop of Coutances. When the rest of that bishop's estates in Devon were bestowed upon Juhel of Totnes, and constituted the Honour of Barnstaple (*Trans.* xxxiii. 631), Clyst Fomison and Canonteign were excepted, and were given by William Rufus to Robert son of Hamon, with whose daughter Mabel they passed to Robert 1st earl of Gloucester, in 1119. In 1166 Clyst Fomison was held by the son of Henry de Pomeray for $\frac{1}{2}$ fee of William earl of Gloucester (*Black Book*, 162). In 1241 Richard Fomitun was in possession (*Testa*, 259, p. 178a). In 1285 Richard Fomyson held the township of Clyst Fomyson of the heirs of Henry de la Pomeray for $\frac{1}{2}$ fee (*Feud. Aids*, 315); in 1303 Richard's heir (*ibid.*, 346); and in 1346 Richard de Aysse in succession to Henry de Esse (*ibid.*, 386). The patronage of the advowson lay with the bishop of Exeter.

VIII. *Estates held of the Honour of Barnstaple.*

49. As already stated, the bishop of Coutances' estates, with the exception of Clyst Fomison and Canonteign (*Trans.* xxxiii. 631), constituted the Honour of Barnstaple. This honour in 1166 was held in two moieties, one moiety by Oliver de Tracy, consisting of 23 $\frac{1}{2}$ fees (*Black Book*, 122; Devon Fine, No. 1), the other by William de Braiose, consisting of 28 fees (*Black Book*, 127). Of this Honour

were held Chagford and Teigncombe, Bramford Speke, Rew and Cowley. On Braose's forfeiture in 1213 the entire Honour was given by King John to Henry de Tracy, whose great-granddaughter Maud, on the death of her grandfather, another Henry de Tracy, in 1273, carried it to her husband, Geoffrey de Camvil (*Vict. Hist.* 551).

50. BRAMFORD SPEKE is presumably the $\frac{1}{2}$ fee which in 1166 Robert, son of Reginald [de Courtney] held of Oliver de Tracy (*Black Book*, 123). Richard Speke at that time held 2 fees of the same Oliver at Sourton, Northrussel, Milford, and Thorn (*Testa*, 74, p. 176a ; *A.-D. Inq.* 46 Ed. III, No. 34), but his connection with Bramford is of later date. The manor of Bramford was held of Robert Courtney by William de Tremenet, but the advowson had been given to St. Nicholas' priory before 1220 (Oliver, *Mon.* 113). Richard Speke acquired the manor with William Tremenet's (Oliver, 114) daughter and heiress, and held it in 1241 of the Honour of Barnstaple through a middle-lord [Courtney] (*Testa*, 71, p. 175b). In 1285 William le Espec held Bramford Speke for $\frac{1}{2}$ Mortain [?] fee of Hugh de Courtney, who held it of Geoffrey de Camvil (*Feud. Aids*, 315). In 1346 William Spek held the same for $\frac{1}{4}$ fee in succession to William Spek (*ibid.*, 385). In 1373 Robert Speke died seised of it (*A.-D. Inq.* 46 Ed. III, No. 34) ; and in 1428 yet another William Speke (*ibid.*, 486) was the holder.

51. REWE and Cowley were held in Richard I.'s time by Gilbert de Vilars (*Testa*, 1545, p. 198b ; and 1552, p. 199a). For taking the Norman side Gilbert forfeited them, and in 1204 (*Trans.* xxxiii. 369) they were given by King John to Robert de Satchvil (*Pipe Rolls*, 6 John ; *Testa*, 1545, 1552). Robert de Satchvil was succeeded by his nephew's (*nepotis*) daughter Avice, wife of Robert de Blakeford, who in 1241 held Rewe together with a virgate of land in Silverton for 1 fee (*Testa*, 72, p. 175b), and demised Cowley for $\frac{1}{2}$ fee to his kinsman Thomas de Blakeford (*ibid.*, 72, p. 176a). Avice's second husband, William de Berkeley, shortly before Avice's death in 1272, sold Rewe to sir Balan de Gorges against her will (*Trans.* xxxvii. 444), and the advowson to sir John de Exonia, clerk (*Bronescombe*, 165). In 1285 John Pycot held Rewe of Elena de Gorges, who held it of John de Blakeford, whilst John held it of Geoffrey de Camvil (*Feud. Aids*, 315). In 1303 Walter Tantifer

was lord of Rew manor (*ibid.*, 346)¹⁸; in 1346 Richard Chilsylden (*ibid.*, 387), in right of his wife Joan (*Trans.* xxxiii. 413), Tantifer's heiress. Richard presented to the rectory on 29 August, 1351 (*Grandisson*, 1419), and was followed by John Chiseldon, who presented twice in 1402 (*Stafford*, 197). In 1428 Elisabeth Chiseldon was in possession (*Feud. Aids*, 486).

52. COWLEY BARTON was held in 1285 by William de Champernoun in succession to Thomas de Blakeford of John de Blakeford for $\frac{1}{4}$ fee, John holding it of Geoffrey de Camvil of the Honour of Barnstaple (*Feud. Aids*, 315). It must not be confounded with the small estate at Cowley already referred to (No. 41, p. 86), which, together with Yendacot and Stevenston, was held of the Honour of Gloucester (*Feud. Aids*, 346).

IX. *Estate held of the Honour of Hurberton.*

53. Juhel of Totnes had one estate in this Hundred, viz. BRIDFORD, and this he held as a lordship manor belonging to the Honour of Totnes. Before 1123 he had been dispossessed by Henry I., and the "tenement of Totnes" given to Roger de Nonant (*Trans.* xliii. 212). About 1198, however, the "tenement" was claimed by William de Braiose, as being a descendant of Juhel. The claim was compromised by a partition approved in court on 5 June, 1205, whereby Henry de Nonant secured for himself 28 fees of the tenement of Totnes with the lordship manors of Clawton, Bridford, Brixham, and part of Loddswell, this portion being known as the Honour of Hurberton, and William de Braiose received 28 $\frac{1}{2}$ fees, together with the manors of Totnes, Cornworthy, and the residue of Loddswell (*Devon Fine*, No. 56; *Trans.* xliii. 213), called the Honour of Totton. In 1206 Henry de Nonant sold the Honour of Hurberton, including Bridford, to Roger de Valletorta, who died in the following year. Bridford then descended in the Valletorta family until the death of Roger in 1275. In 1285 Nicolas de Monteforti was in possession by the

¹⁸ *Close Rolls*, 4 Ed. II. 14 June, 1311, p. 353: Walter de Rolandeston came before the King on Monday after the feast of St. Barnabas and sought to replevy to Semann Tille, and Sarah his wife, Robert Biesteculme and Alice his wife their land in Rew near Silferton taken into the King's hand by reason of their default in the court of Walter Taunter before the said Walter against John son of Jordan Biesteculm, John Tille and Cecily his wife, Richard de Huntebere and Isolda his wife and William le Notin.

King's appointment on behalf of Roger de Valletort's heirs (*Feud. Aids*, 316). In 1299 Hawise, widow of Reginald de Valletorta, died seised of it as part of her dower (*A.-D. Inq.* 27 Ed. I. No. 32). In 1312 it was held by James de Oxtou (Lysons, II. 69), to whom Valletort had sold the reversion, and in that year Oxtou presented to the rectory (*Stapeldon*, 197). It afterwards came to Champernoun. Thomas Champernoun was in possession and presented to the rectory in 1349 (*Grandisson*, 1391 and 1359 (*ibid.*, 1451). In 1362 Ida de Raleghe held it in dower (*ibid.*, 1487); in 1392 sir Richard Champernoun (*Brantyngham*, 114).

X. *Estates held of the Honour of Berry.*

54. Two Ogwells, viz. a moiety of East and a moiety of West Ogwell, Huxham and Heavitree, were four estates in this Hundred which went to the honour of Berry. The tenant in possession of the two Ogwell moieties in 1086 was William of Poitou, or le Peytevin, and they form part of the 4 fees which William le Peytevin in 1166 held of Henry de Pomeria (*Black Book*, 128).¹⁹ In 1241 the tenant of these two moieties was Robert le Peytevin (*Testa*, 755, p. 182b). In 1285 John de Bovyle was tenant in possession of the moiety of WEST OGWELL, which he held for $\frac{1}{4}$ fee of Robert Peytevin (*Feud. Aids*, 316). This moiety then disappears from the fee lists, being probably merged in the other moiety which Boyvil held of the Honour of Gloucester. The EAST OGWELL moiety was held in 1285 by Thomas Peytevin for 1 fee of Henry Wyger, (*Feud. Aids*, 316). In 1303 Thomas Peytevin was the tenant (*ibid.*, 346); in 1346 William Peytevin (*ibid.*, 388); and in 1428 John Francheyne (*ibid.*, 486).

55. Huxham and Heavitree were held in 1086 by Roger as tenant under Pomeray. Roger held divers other estates of the same honour. The successor of Roger at Huxham in 1166 appears to have been Robert, son of Nicolas (*Black Book*, 129), and in 1199 Robert, son of Nicolas [de Hochesham]; for on 21 January, 1199, Henry de Pomeray, son of Matilda, sold the greater part of his baronial estate to William Briwere, including the services due from

¹⁹ According to *Testa*, Robert le Peytevin held $2\frac{1}{4}$ fees in Cridie, Danescomb, Westwoggewill, and Eastwogewil. He also had $\frac{1}{4}$ fee in Yeadbury and held Woodford in socage (*Testa*, 1174, p. 190b, and 1164, p. 190b).

Robert, son of Nicholas de Hokesham (Devon Fine, No. 27). In 1241 Richard de Hokesham held HUXHAM for $\frac{1}{2}$ fee (*Testa*, 754, p. 182b). William de Hochesham succeeded him, and died in 1256 seised of Huxham manor (*A.-D. Inq.* 40 Hen. III.). In 1285 another William de Hoxam (*Feud. Aids*, 316) held Huxham of the heirs of William Briwere (*Inquis.* Hen. III. No. 352). He was followed by his son, William de Hockham, who was in possession of the manor in 1303 (*Feud. Aids*, 346), and in 1314 presented to the rectory (*Stapeldon*, 223). William de Hoxham was also the holder in 1346 (*Feud. Aids*, 387); but before 1349 the manor and advowson had passed to John Baunfelde by purchase, who presented to the rectory on 13 August, 1349 (*Grandisson*, 1397). In 1404 Thomas Baunfilde was lord (*Stafford*, 180); in 1410 John Bampfylde (*ibid.*, 180); and in 1428 John Bamfild (*Feud. Aids*, 486).

56. The successor of Roger at HEAVITREE before 1201 was Beatrice, wife of Philip de Satchvil, who, on 1 July of that year, sold it for 10 marks to Robert de Hokesham (Devon Fine, No. 46). Hokesham afterwards sold it to Pycot, and Pycot to Kelly. In 1241 William de Kelly held it for $\frac{1}{4}$ fee (*Testa*, 753, p. 182b). In 1285 John Kelly held it of John Pycot, who in turn held it of William de Hoxam (*Feud. Aids*, 316). In 1303 John Kelly was tenant (*ibid.*, 346); in 1346 another John Kelly (*ibid.*, 387); and in 1428 Richard Kelly (*ibid.*, 486).

XI. *Estates held of the Honour of Braneys.*

57. Four estates held by William Capra in 1086 went to the Honour of Braneys, viz. Combe-in-Teignhead, Racumbe or Horridge in Ilsington, Farwood in Tedburn, and Whipton with Ringswell in Heavitree. COMBE-IN-TEIGNHEAD was given by Henry de Tracy, son of William de Tracy, to Henry de Trubeville, who on 3 September, 1227, conveyed it, together with the advowson, to Reginald de Albo Monasterio, otherwise Blamoster (*Charter Rolls*, p. 58). In 1285 Reginald de Clifford held it for $\frac{1}{4}$ fee (*Feud. Aids*, 316), also in 1303 (*ibid.*, 346), but in 1346 Roger Prideaux was lord (*ibid.*, 387).

58. ROCOMBE OR HORRIDGE was held in 1241 by William Viel for $\frac{1}{2}$ fee (*Testa*, 806, p. 183a), to whom the heirs of Geoffrey de Horigge had succeeded before 1285 (*Feud. Aids*, 316). In 1303 William de Baggetorre was lord (*ibid.*,

346); in 1346 Geoffrey de Bagatorr and Walter de Horigg (*ibid.*, 387); and in 1428 Thomas Horigge, John Baggetoure, and William Quinterell (*ibid.*, 484).

59. FARWOOD in Tedburn was included in 1166 in the $1\frac{1}{2}$ fees which William de Alneto or Dauney then held of William de Tracy (*Black Book*, 122). The other portions of those $1\frac{1}{2}$ fees are represented by Pirswell, Hewise, probably the old name for Woodbarton in Kentisbeare,²¹ and Awliscombe. In 1241 Farwood was held by Ralf de Albemara or Daumarle, still under the name of Tedburn, for $\frac{1}{2}$ fee of John Dauney, who held it of the earl of Cornwall (*Feud. Aids*, 316), but in 1303, when William de Penyll had succeeded Daumarle (*ibid.*, 346), it appears under the distinctive name of Farewode or Farwood. In 1346 David de Penels was lord (*ibid.*, 388), and in 1428 Nicolas Penels (*ibid.*, 486).

60. WHIPTON, otherwise known as Wenford St. Loy, from the chapel of St. Eligius (*Stafford*, 126) with Leymoor in Sowton (Crosslegh, *Bradinch*, 32), was one of William Capra's manors in 1086. In 1166 it was held by William de Tracy in demesne (*Black Book*, 121). After the murder of archbishop Thomas, William gave it to Polsloe priory. King John confirmed the grant on 22 April, 1201 (*Trans.* xxii. 313),²² and the priory held it until the dissolution.

Before the grant was made to Polsloe, RINGSWELL had been taken from it and given to the predecessor in title of Sibilla, wife of Ralf de Tolyro (Devon Fine, No. 687), one of two co-heiresses. She and her husband, on 16 February, 1270, made over their moiety of a rent of 2 shillings in Ringswell to John de Werigeston (Devon Fine, No. 687), who resold it to Prodhome (Lysons, II. 263). In 1285 John Prodhome held Ringswell of Ralf Toliro for $\frac{1}{4}$ fee, Ralf holding the same of the earl of Cornwall (*Feud. Aids*, 316). In 1303 Henry Wyger had succeeded John Prodhomme as tenant (*ibid.*, 346); afterwards Walter Stapeldon (*ibid.*, 387); and in 1346 John Prodhomme (*ibid.*, 387).

²¹ Correcting the identification with Orway porch in *Trans.* xlii. 224, 240, which I am told is part of Orway.

²² The *Charter Rolls*, p. 123, show a grant, on 29 April, 1230, to the church of St. Catharine without Exeter, and to the minikins there of Wimpledeton of the gift of William Tracy (see *Devon Not. and Qu.* II. 63).

XIV.

THE HUNDRED OF SOUTH TAWTON IN EARLY TIMES.

BY REV. OSWALD J. REICHEL, B.C.L. & M.A.; F.S.A.

(Read at Exeter, 24th July, 1912.)

I. *General remarks.*

1. In recent lists South Tawton appears as included in Wonford Hundred. Nevertheless, there is ample evidence that in earlier times, like Winkleigh, it formed a Hundred by itself (*Feud. Aids*, 356), and was then, or at least so much of it as was not included in the manor of South Tawton, known as the crown lordship of Southteign or Southing.¹ In the few places where South Tawton, or any estate belonging to South Tawton, is mentioned in the great Survey, it appears early in the list of Hundreds, and never among estates belonging to Wonford Hundred, which come somewhat low down on the list.

2. In the list of townships in 1316 it is described as "the Hundred of South Tawton, the lord of the same being the King, by reason of the tender age of the heir of the earl of Warwick, in which Hundred there is no [royal] borough and only one single township called South Tawton, the lord of which is the aforesaid lord the King" (*Feud. Aids*, 373).

3. Hooker, in his list of Tenths and Fifteenths, gives the following particulars (Harl. MSS. 5827, p. 96):—

	Due.			Deductions.			Net.		
	£	s.	d.	..		..	£	s.	d.
[770] Ancient demesne of SOUTH TAWTON .	8	18	0	..	30/-	..	7	8	0
[771] Ancient demesne of BUDLEIGH	11	7	8	..	3 0 0	..	8	7	8
[772] FEN OTTERY and									
[773] BRODEHAM (Brad- ham in Withy- combe)									
[774] Ancient demesne of AXMINSTER	5	0	0	..	13 4	..	4	6	8
[775] and MEMBURY									
The whole	25	5	8		103 4		20	2	4

¹ See *Trans.* xxxiii. 400, 410, 422, 566, 585, and *Devon Not. and Qu.* III. 160. Miss Lega-Weekes supplies a wealth of extracts from early documents in her four papers on the parish of South Tawton in *Trans.* xxxiii. 399-468; xxxiv. 578-647; xxxv. 497-538; xxxvi. 415-444.

II. *The Domesday Hundred of South Tawton.*

I. ROYAL ESTATE.

COUNTY LANDS :—

	Assessments.						Value.
	Totals. Hides Virg.	Perl.	Lordship. Hides Virg.	Perl.	Villagers. Hides Virg.	Perl.	
W. 39, p. 40 (<i>Vict. Hist.</i> 407) : TAUTONA (South Tawton, including South Teign) ² The King ; aforetime Githa.	 3	1 0	0 2	0 0	1 2	1 1	£48 by weight
W. 40, p. 40 (<i>Vict. Hist.</i> 408) : AISSA (Ash in South Tawton)	 1	2	—	—	—	—	30/-

King William entered upon it ; aforetime it was held by Uluric or Ulfric.

II. THE COUNT OF MORTAIN :—

W. 271, p. 294 (<i>Vict. Hist.</i> 436) : GHIDERLEIA (Gidleigh) ³ Godwin the presbyter ; aforetime the same.	0	0	3	—	—	—	5/-
---	---	---	---	---	---	---	-----

III. THE FRANKING SQUIRES :—

W. 977, p. 1084 (<i>Vict. Hist.</i> 517) : PAFORDA (Parford in Drewsteignton, or Pofford in North Tawton, or Ford in South Tawton) ⁴ Osbern de Salceit ; aforetime Godric.	 0	1 0	0 2	0 2	0 0	2	20/-
--	-------------	-----	-----	-----	-----	---	------

This manor owes yearly to the King's lordship manor called Tautona either 30 pence or 1 ox, by way of customary due. The *Exeter book* (*Vict. Hist.* 537) adds : Since Osbern has held it, the King has not had his due.

² See Nos. 1 and 3, pp. 346, 348.

³ See No. 4, p. 349. This is apparently only the lordshipland of Gidleigh, the rest of that parish belonging to the manor of Lydford.

⁴ Palforda, Escapeleia and Taulanda all paid to Tauton (*Vict. Hist.* 537) the King's lordship manor, i.e. South Tawton, not to the ancient crownlordship of Tautona or North Tawton. See No. 5, p. 350.

W. 978, p. 1092 (*Vict. Hist.* 517) : ESCAPELEIA . . . 0 1 1 — — — [300] [50/-?]
 (Ramsleigh (?) in South Tawton)⁵

Girolld the chaplain ; aforetime a thane.

This manor owes yearly to the King's lordship manor called Taetona 10 shillings by way of customary due. The *Exeter book* (*Vict. Hist.* 537) adds : Since Girolld has held it, the King has not had his due.

IV. WILLIAM THE GUESTMASTER :—

W. 1057, p. 1134 (*Vict. Hist.* 526) : TAUELANDA . . . 0 1 0 0 0 1 0 0 3 308 20/- ;
 (Cocktree in South Tawton)⁶ of old 10/-

Robert under William the guestmaster ; aforetime Godric.

This manor paid yearly to the King's lordship manor called Taetona either 1 ox or 30 pence by way of customary due. The *Exeter book* (*Vict. Hist.* 537) adds : Since William the guestmaster has held it, the King has not had therefrom his customary due.

⁵ See No. 6, p. 351.

⁶ See No. 7, p. 351.

It will be noticed that the assessments on the lordship and the villagers fall short of the total assessment of South Tawton, but that if the assessments of the contributory estates are added the whole works out correctly. Thus :—

	Hides	Virg.	Ferl.
South Tawton lordship . . .	0	2	0
„ villagers . . .	1	2	1
„ Ash . . .	0	1	2
Patforda . . .	0	1	0
Escapeleia . . .	0	1	1
Tauelanda (Cocktree) . . .	0	1	0
	3	1	0

It seems highly anomalous that any Hundred, even an inland Hundred, should have been assessed at 3 hides 1 virgate 3 ferlings, viz. 3 hides 1 virgate for South Tawton and 3 ferlings for Gidleigh. I am therefore disposed to think that, as suggested under Wonford Hundred (p. 305), three of the estates there enumerated as belonging to Wonford Hundred really belonged to South Tawton Hundred, to wit the Bishop of Coutances' Chagford and Teigncombe (W. 192, 193, p. 190), 1½ hides, and Alwy's, one of the King's thanes', Midelcota (W. 1085, p. 1180). There is nothing in the sequence to prevent these estates being in South Tawton Hundred. They both come after estates in South Molton Hundred, and before estates in Wonford Hundred.

With these additions we have for the Hundred of South Tawton :—

	Hides	Virg.	Ferl.
South Tawton and contributory estates	3	1	0
Gidleigh . . .	0	0	3
Bishop of Coutances' Chagford . . .	1	0	0
„ Teigncombe . . .		2	0
Alwy's Middlecot in Chagford . . .		0	1
Total . . .	5	0	0

III. *Some notes on the estates in this Hundred.*

1. The Hundred-manor of SOUTH TAWTON, which had been held by Gytha before the Conquest, continued to be held as a county-land until the time of Henry III., grants being from time to time made out of it, which were renewed from year to year. Henry I. gave Ailrichescot,⁷ now

⁷ This Ailrichescot, or Addiscot, which appears to have been the name of the demesne of South Tawton manor, must not be confounded with another Ailrichescot, or Ailricheston, otherwise Easton in Chagford, which, together with Great or Hamton Week, now known as the Prince's Week was appurtenant to Lydford manor, and was usually

called Addiscot, in South Tawton, to his side-wind daughter Constance,⁸ wife of Roscelin, sheriff of Maine (*Trans.* xxxiv. 590). On the death of Constance in 1175 (*ibid.*, xxxv. 518), the grant was continued to her son, Richard de Beaumont, who in 1199 gave the same, with his daughter Constance in free marriage, to Roger de Tony (*ibid.*, xxxiv. 589). In 1205 and until 1211 Roger de Tony was in possession of Ailrichescot (*Pipe Rolls*, 7 John); in 1212 his widow Constance (*Testa*, 1375, p. 195a; *Trans.* xxxvii. 425); in 1214 her son, Ralf de Tony (*Pipe Rolls*, 16 John). On Ralf's death in 1239 another Roger de Tony succeeded. He presented to the rectory of South Tawton, "saving the vicar's rights," on 23 November, 1262 (*Bronescombe*, 181), but died the following year (*A.-D. Inq.* 48 Hen. III. No. 28). At the time of his death he was lord not only of Ailrichescot, but of the whole Hundred of South Tawton (*Trans.* xxxvi. 434), including the borough of Zeal (*Trans.* xxxiii. 407). His son, Ralf de Tony, presented to the rectory in 1282 (*Quivil*, 356), and died in Gascony in 1294 (*A.-D. Inq.* 23 Ed. I.). From the petition of his executors it appears that he had let the manor to farm for a term of three years for the service of the King in Gascony, and his son Robert was then under age (*Trans.* xxxiii. p. 409). On coming of age Robert procured a grant of a weekly market on Thursday for his manor of Zeal Tony or South Zeal in South Tawton (*Charter Rolls*, 27 Ed. I. No. 92). He had previously been entitled to one-third of North Tawton market (*Trans.* xxxiii. 408). On his death in 1309 without issue (*A.-D. Inq.* 3 Ed. II. No. 33) his sister Alice, widow of Thomas de Leyburne, who had remarried Guy de Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, succeeded as next heir (*Trans.* xxxiii. 411), and the overlordship descended in the family of the Beauchamps, earls of Warwick. In 1316 it was in the King's hand, owing to the tender age of the earl of Warwick (*Feud. Aids*, 373). In 1397 Thomas, earl of Warwick, died seised of it (*A.-D. Inq.* 21 Ric. III. No. 3); in 1438 Richard, earl of Warwick (*A.-D. Inq.* 17 Hen. VI. No. 54); in 1445 Henry, earl of Warwick (*A.-D. Inq.* 24 Hen. VI. No. 43), on whose decease his daughter Ann, aged two, became entitled.

2. The original grant by Henry I. was a gift, renewed

held by the queen. Queen Eleanor had it down to the year of her death in 1204. For the next five years it was held by Hamelin de Toriton, and then by Richard Malherbe; and was eventually given to the Prince of Wales. See *Devon Not. and Qu.* III. 159.

⁸ Chronicles of the reigns of Stephen, Henry II., and Richard (*Rolls Ser.*), IV. 235, call her Matilda in error.

from year to year, of a portion of a county estate to a side-wind member of the royal family. King John's grant in 1199 describes it as "Ailrichescot, in Devonshire, in the district (*parochia*) of Suthawtune" (*Trans.* xxxiv. 589). Its value in 1285 is stated to be £13 (*Pipe Rolls*, 7 John). In the *Pipe Rolls* it constantly appears as Ailrichescot, the name being variously written Ailrichescote (*Pipe Rolls*, 33 Hen. IV.; 7 John; 16 John; 3 Hen. III.), Aderichescote (*Pipe Rolls*, 23 Hen. II.), Aedrichescote (*Pipe Rolls*, 8 Ric. I.), which survives in Addiscot, and in 1219 it is described as "Ailrichescot, which is a member of Tauton" (*Pipe Rolls*, 3 Hen. III.). The circumstances under which Tony's family acquired the lordship of the Hundred manor, of which Addiscot was only a part, are not before us; but apparently the extension took place after 1219 and before 1243. The jurors of the Hundred court in 1274 speak of South Tawton *manor* as having been given by the Conqueror to Roscelin de Beaumont (*Trans.* xxxiv. 590); but in this they are clearly wrong; for as late as 1280 Ralf de Tony's right to the Hundred-manor was challenged by the Crown (*Trans.* xxxv. 506). The extension probably had no other foundation than King John's charter of disafforestation of Devon of 1205, authorising owners to essart and make parks of waste lands outside the forest boundaries (*Trans.* xxxiii. 605).

After acquiring the lordship of the Hundred-manor Roger de Tony before 1263 made over the court-house of Blackhall and the lordship land to Alfred de la Porte (*Trans.* xxxiii. 407, 431), elsewhere called Alfred de Taunter (*Trans.* xxxiii. 430), mayor of Exeter, who in 1294 was executed for felony (*A.-D. Inq.* 23 Ed. I. No. 21), in connection with the murder of Walter de Lecchelade (*Bronescombe*, 441). His brother, Walter de Taunter, succeeded him (*Trans.* xxxiii. 431), at first as lessee for a term of years (*Trans.* xxxiii. 409), and afterwards as perpetual lessee of the whole manor and Hundred. Walter's heiress, Joan, carried it to her husband, Richard Cheseldon, who was in possession in 1347 (*Trans.* xxxiii. 413), and in his family it continued for a century. Elisabeth Cheseldon was in possession in 1428, and from her it passed to Wadham.

3. It appears from the Inquest on Roger de Tony in 1263 that at that date there were several sub-manors held of South Tawton.

(1) William le Pruz, lord of Gidleigh, held certain lands

by charter for which he paid 50s. yearly "subject to relief when it befalls" (*Trans.* xxxiii. 407). From a document six years later in date this land is stated to be COLETON, worth £4 a year (*ibid.*, 429; xxxvi. 443).

(2) Richard de Poltimore held land to the value of £12 5s. 6d. by the service of $\frac{1}{10}$ knight's fee, subject to relief and wardship (*Trans.* xxxiii. 407). This is identified with the manor of ASH.

(3) Henry de Horton held 100 shillings' worth of land by the service of $\frac{1}{10}$ fee, also subject to relief and wardship (*Trans.* xxxiii. 407). This estate, on Henry's death without issue, passed to his sister Petronilla, wife of Robert Knoel, who on 23 February, 1270, conveyed it to Richard Tantifer to hold of the said Petronilla and her heirs at a yearly rent of 50s. in place of the 100s. previously paid (Devon Fine, No. 700, in Devon and Corn. Rec. Soc.).

(4) William de Moun secured £10 12s. worth of land in free marriage with Juliana de Vernun, apparently granted before 1240 (*Trans.* xxxiii. 406, 408). This is the present manor of IRTON or Yedeton (*Trans.* xxxiv. 720).

(5) The borough of Zeal Tony or SOUTH ZEAL consisted of some forty small holdings, with an annual rental of 31s. 2d. (*Trans.* xxxiii. 408).

4. From the smallness of the area, only 80 acres and value 5s., it is clear that the Ghiderleia of *Domesday* must have been confined to the demesne land of Gidleigh, exclusive of the park, and that it did not include any of the freeholds Thevil, Endsworthy, Chapel, Southford, Berrydown, Crebeare, Greenway, and Moortown, which by the charter of Martin, duke and earl of Cornwall and Mortain, and lord of Lydford, were given in 1516 to be held of it to Giles de Gidleigh.⁹ These freeholds were, however, presumably attached to it soon after the *Domesday* inquest, or else it would be hard to explain its being let by the sheriff for 72 shillings and 1 penny (*Trans.* xxxiv. 720), the amount for which it was let to farm as early as 1155 (*Pipe Rolls*, 2 Hen. II.). In 1196 Gidleigh figures among lordships and escheats paying tallage, its contribution in that year being 20 shillings (*Pipe Rolls*, 8 Ric. I.), and in 1199 2 marks (*ibid.*, 1 John). It appears to have been then given to Prous. William Probus or le Prous held it in 1259, and on 20 September in that year

* Mr. A. Guy Whipham, the present owner of Gidleigh Park, has kindly allowed me to see and make extracts from an early copy of this charter.

presented to Gidleigh rectory (*Bronescombe*, 142). At his death in 1269 (*A.-D. Inq.* 54 Hen. III. No. 21) Gidleigh was stated to be held of the King in chief (*Trans.* xxvii. 198 n., 55; xxxiii. 429; xxxvi. 443). Sir William le Pruz succeeded to it, and on 26 December, 1284, presented Walter Prus to Gidleigh rectory (*Quivil*, 345). Sir William died in 1316 (*A.-D. Inq.* 9 Ed. II. No. 27) seised of Gidleigh manor, which "he held of the castle of Exeter." His widow Alice, daughter and co-heiress of William Reigny, of Brixton, was next in possession, and presented to the rectory on 19 June, 1324 (*ibid.*, 218), and again on 30 November, 1332 (*Grandisson*, 1291). Her daughter Alice carried Gidleigh to John Damarel, of Fleet, who died seised of it in 1340 (*A.-D. Inq.* 13 Ed. III. No. 36). Daumarle's widow presented to Gidleigh rectory on 8 September, 1347, and again in the following year (*Grandisson*, 1362, 1364). On 19 September, 1368, John Daumarle was in possession and presented to the rectory (*Grandisson*, 1506), and died seised of the manor in 1392 (*A.-D. Inq.* 13 Ric. II. No. 8).

5. To judge by the sequence Patforda, which is the first estate named among those of the Frankling knights, ought to be looked for either in Lifton or South Tawton Hundred. Parford, in Drewsteignton, naturally suggests itself, and being held by Osbern de Saleid, who also held the adjoining Shilstone, it may well have descended along with Shilstone. So far I have been unable to ascertain whether it ever paid a chief rent to South Tawton. The same remark applies to Pafford or Poffard in North Tawton, popularly known as Paradise, which otherwise would seem more likely, but there seems hardly room for 432 acres in that corner of the parish by the side of Crook Burnel or Stone (*Trans.* xxix. 260). Pecketsford, in Samford Courtney, has also been suggested, which would place it in Blacktorington Hundred, and there is also a Ford in South Tawton. Miss Lega-Weekes finds Pofford mentioned in an Assize Roll of 32 Hen. III. No. 178 (1248), but does not define its locality, and this Pofford is probably the Pofford which William, son of Adam de Curtelhyate and Margery his wife, conveyed by fine to Simon Doget on 7 December, 1269 (*Devon Fine*, No. 720). The late Mr. Whale identified Patforda with Batworthy in Gidleigh, but as Batworthy pays a quit-rent to Gidleigh and not to South Tawton, Batworthy must be ruled out of court.

6. The identification of ESCAPELEIA has been a matter

of considerable difficulty. As Girold the chaplain's other estates, Abbots Bickington and Stoke St. Nectan, are found among the estates of Hartland Abbey, it seemed natural to look for Escapeleia also among estates of that abbey. Mr. Whale accordingly identified it with Leigh in Hartland. To this identification there are two objections. (1) If Escapeleia lay in Hartland Hundred, it ought to have come immediately before or immediately after Stoke St. Nectan, and not separated from Stoke by an estate in Blacktorington Hundred. (2) As Gytha possessed Hartland before the Conquest, as well as South Tawton, a tributary estate in Hartland district would have paid its tribute to Hartland rather than to South Tawton. Judging by the sequence of Hundreds, Escapeleia should lie in one or other of either Lifton, South Tawton, or Blacktorington Hundreds. Hartland abbey had an estate at Sourton, in Lifton Hundred (Oliver, *Mon.* 214), but this estate cannot represent Escapeleia, because it was worth only 4s. at the dissolution, whereas Escapeleia, paying a chief rent of 10s., must have been worth at least £2; nor can it be Chapel in Gidleigh, as Mr. Whale suggested, because Chapel is held of Gidleigh (Charter of Martin referred to in n. 9), and not of South Tawton. Possibly it may be Ramsleigh, in South Tawton.

7. That Taelanda is the estate now called COCKTREE, in South Tawton, seems hardly open to doubt. In 1303 Cocktree was held for $\frac{1}{2}$ fee by Roger Burnel (*Feud. Aids*, 356; *Trans.* xxvii. 198, n. 55). With his daughter and heiress it passed to Weeks, and was sold by Francis Weekes to Hole (Lysons, II. 483).

8. CHAGFORD and TEIGNCOMBE were, it is suggested, two of the 7 fees which were held in 1166 by Henry de Campbern (Champernoun) of Oliver de Tracy (*Black Book*, 123), and may have been held of him in 1196 by Henry de Chageford, who held Yaley in Fremington in that year directly of Tracy (Devon Fine, No. 1). In 1241 Hugh de Chagford held $2\frac{1}{2}$ fees in Chageford and Yaley (*Testa*, 46, p. 175b). Thomas de Chageford had succeeded him in 1285 (*Feud. Aids*, 315), but in 1303 Simon de Wibbyry was in possession (*ibid.*, 346) of both manor and advowson and presented to the rectory in 1319 (*Stapeldon*, 199). In his family Chagford descended for seven generations (Lysons, II. 96). In 1346 the manor was held by Oliver de Wybbury (*Feud. Aids*, 386, 434), but the advowson was frequently granted out.

In 1371 James de Audley (Daudelee, *Brantyngham*, 246) presented to the rectory, and again in 1382 (*ibid.*, 79) and 1384, as patron for this turn (*ibid.*, 89), but in 1391 (*ibid.*, 109) and 1392 (*ibid.*, 118) John Wybbyri held both manor and advowson. They then passed through female heirs to Bonvyle, and in 1428 Thomas Bonvyle and Leva his wife were in possession (*Feud. Aids*, 486).

IV. *Summary.*

						Domesday assessment. Hides Virg. Ferl.	Domesday acreage.
CHAGFORD ¹²	.	.	.	.	3837*		
Middlecot	.	.	.	.	—	1 0 0	573
Teigncombe	.	.	.	.	—	0 0 1	83
	.	.	.	.	—	0 2 0	688
GIDLEIGH	.	.	.	.	3449	0 0 3	30
SOUTH TAWTON	.	.	.	.	10879	2 0 1	6460
Ash	.	.	.	.	—	0 1 2	—
Cocktree	.	.	.	.	—	0 1 0	308
Ford (?)	.	.	.	.	—	0 1 0	432
Itton	.	.	.	.	—	—	—
Ramsleigh (?)	.	.	.	.	—	0 1 1	[300]
					18165	5 0 0	8874

* Allowing 2488 for Shapley, Venn, and Jurston in Exminster Hundred, and 1167 for Rushford in Wonford Hundred, there remain 3837 acres for South Tawton Hundred out of the total of 7492.

INDEX TO THE HUNDREDS OF WONFORD AND SOUTH TAWTON.

(Names of places are in italics. When several references are given to the same name it does not follow that they always refer to the same person.)

A

Ackland, Robert, 321
Addiscot in South Tawton, 346, 347, 348
 Adred or Edred, 299
 Aiguille, Roger de, 300, 303
 Ailmar, 291
 Ailricheston, 336, 346. See Easton
Ailrichecsot. See Addiscot
 Albamara, Peter de, 329
 Albamara, Ralf de, 329, 342
 Albamarle de. See Daumarle
 Albo, monasterio, Reginald de, 320, 341
 Alestan, 301
 Almar, 291
 Alneto de. See Dauney
 Alred or Aldred, 299
Alphington, 280, 284, 285, 289, 303, 307, 322
 Alric, 290
 Aluric, 292, 294, 295, 297
 Alveva, 296, 301
 Alviet, 298
 Alwy, 291, 295, 300, 346
 Amice, countess of Devon, 280, 282
 Ansgar, 291
 Archer, Haimeric le, 299, 303, 304
 Archer, Odo le, 314
 Aric, 294
 Asford, Esford, John de, 333
 Ashe, 286
Ash in South Tawton, 344, 349, 352
 Asselegh, Sarah de, 287 n., 317

Athelstan, 316, 332
 Aubernoun de. See Dabernon
 Axminster, 343
 Aysford, William, 333
 Aysse, Esse, Ash, Richard de, 337
 Aysse, Esse, Henry de, 337

B

Bacon, William, 332
 Bacun, Roger, 332
 Bagtor, 278, 281, 284, 288, 300, 303, 310, 319
 Bagtor, Baggetorre, Bagatorr, Geoffrey de, 319, 342
 Bagtor, John de, 342
 Bagtor, Thomas de, 341
 Bagtor, Baggetorre, William de, 341
 Baldwin the sheriff, 291, 303, 322
 Baldwin de Redvers, 315, 317
 Baldwin, Emma, wife of, 293, 324
 Baldwin, William, son of, 324
 Bamfeld, Joan, wife of John, 321
 Bamfeld, Baunfeld, Bamfylde, John (several), 284, 286, 320, 341
 Bamfeld, Thomas, 341
 Bangor, bishop of, 280, 322
 Barnstaple, Honour of, 290, 337
 Baron, Barun, John le, 330
 Baron, Richard le, 327
 Baron, Robert, 336

- Baron, Stephen le, 336
 Barun, William le, 336
 Bath, bishop of, 333
 Batteshal, William de, 281
 Battishull, Thomas, 331
 Battle abbey, 289
Batworthy in Gidleigh, 350
 Beauchamp, Guy de, 347
 Beauchamp, Henry de, 317
 Beauchamp, Humfrey de, 327
 Beauchamp, John de, 328
 Beauchamp, Richard of Ryme, 327
 Beaumont, Constance de, 347
 Beaumont, Richard de, 331, 347
 Beaumont, Robert de, 295
 Beaumont, Roscelin de, 347, 348
 Beaumont, Thomas de, 331
 Bec abbey, 280, 324
 Beconnie, 288
 Becket, Thomas à, archbishop, 342
 Beivin, William, 327
 Belstone, Baldwin de, 336
 Belstone, Henry de, 336
 Belstone, John de, 336
 Berard, 304
 Berkedon, John, 326
 Berkeley, William de, 332, 338
 Bernard the napeless, 293, 328
 Bernard, John, son of, 333, 336
 Bernard, Ralf, son of, 333
 Bernard, Robert, son of, 329, 333, 336
 Berner, Tetbald, son of, 304, 333
 Berry, Honour of, 295, 340
Berrydown in Gidleigh, 349
Blackhall in South Tawton, 348
 Blakeford, John de, 332, 339
 Blakeford, Robert de, 332, 339
 Blakeford, Thomas de, 318, 339
 Blaumoster, Reginald de, 320
 Boghemor, Agnes, 330
 Boghemor, Roger, 330
Boledon in Cheriton, 330
 Bonvyle, Leva, wife of Thomas, 352
 Bonvyle, Thomas, 352
 Bonvyle, William, 333
 Bornell, Roger, 331
 Bosco, Ralf de, 323
 Bowere, Richard, 336
 Boxland, Robert de, 283
 Boyland, Robert de, 282, 283
 Boyvile, Anastasia, wife of William de, 335
 Boyvile, John de, 280, 335, 340
 Boyvile, Margaret, widow of Peter, 335
 Boyvile, Peter de, 335
 Boyvile, William de, 335
 Braiose, William de, 337, 339
Bramford Pyne, 281, 330. See Upton Pyne
Bramford Speke, 284, 286, 291, 303, 306, 338
 Braneys Honour, 297, 341
Braunton, 283
 Brent, Isabella de, 320
 Brictric, Bristric, 290, 293, 297, 299
 Brictuold, 300
Bridford, 280, 282, 284, 287, 295, 303, 307, 339
 Brismer, 292
 Briwere, William, 325, 340, 413
 Briwere, Margaret, daur. of, 325
 Briwes, Robert de, 283
Brixham, 339
Broadclyst, 306, 323
Brodeham, 343
 Bromhill, Robert de, 314
 Bromhill, Sarah de, 282, 314
 Bromhill, Walter de, 314
 Bronyton, John, 317
 Bronescombe, Walter, bishop of Exeter, 335
 Brother, Thomas, 282
 Brungar, 293
 Bryan, 326

Brywes, Robert de, 283
Budbrook, Brighebrok, 283, 287,
 313, 314
Budleigh, Hundred of, 305
 Bugered, 297
 Bukyngton, Joel de (several),
 317, 321
 Burnard, John, son of, 333
 Burnard, Ralf, son of, 333
 Burnel, John, 335, 336
 Burnel, Richard, 336
 Burnel, Roger, 336
 Bytelesgate, John de, 329

C

Cadiho, Richard, 327, 329
 Cael, Caille, Humfrey, 333
 Caille, William, Keyle, 333,
 337
Calchurch, 295. See Heath St.
 Mary
 Calle, Roger, 328
 Camvil, Geoffrey de, 338
 Canons of St. Mary, 294, 295,
 323
 Canonsleigh, abbess of, 284,
 332
Canonsleigh, 332
 Capra, William, 297, 303, 341,
 342
 Cardinan, Honour of, 331
 Carew, Richard, 331
 Cartreo, Humfrey de, 304
 Cary, 286
 Chageford, Henry de, 351
 Chageford, Hugh de, 351
 Chageford, Thomas de, 281, 351
Chagford, 278, 281, 284, 287,
 290, 305, 346, 351, 352
 Chamberleyn, Joan, wife of
 Walter le, 336
 Champernoun, Henry de, 351
 Champernoun, sir Richard, 340
 Champernoun, Thomas, 340
 Champernoun, William, 335,
 336, 339
Chapel in Gidleigh, 349, 351

Chauceboff, Avice, daur. of
 Philip, 332
 Chauceboff, Philip, 332
 Chaworth, Pagan de, 325
 Chedder, Thomas, 323
 Chenistre, 293
 Chelli, Nicholas de, 330. See
 Kelly
Cheriton Bishop, 281, 285, 287,
 301, 303, 308, 335
 Chiseldon, Elisabeth, 339, 348
 Chiseldon, John, 339
 Chiseldon, Richard, 336, 339,
 348
Chiwarthiwis, 300, 320
Christow, 280, 285, 293, 303,
 308, 324
 Clavil, Richard de, 335
 Clavile, Edith, wife of Walter
 de, 327, 329
 Clavile, Walter de, 296, 303,
 304, 327, 329, 333
 Clifford, Peter de, 320
 Clifford, Reginald de, 341
 Clifford, Richard de, 283, 335
Clifford East or Corbin, 281,
 284, 287, 299, 303, 309, 321
Clifford West or Steven (Combe
 Hall), 281, 284, 287, 292, 308,
 325
Clive La in Topsham, 287
Clugny, Benedictines of, 317
Clyst Fomison, 281, 284, 286,
 307, 337. See Sowton
Clyst Mois, 281, 286. See West
 Clyst
Clyst St. Mary, 289, 305
 Cockescombe, Nicholas, 331
Cocktree in South Tawton, 345,
 351, 352
 Cole, Adam, 326
 Cole, John, 326
 Cole, Roger, 326
 Cole, William, 326
 Colehaie, John, 330
Coleton in South Tawton, 349
Colhey in Tedburn, 293, 309,
 326

- Columbers, Philip de, 332
Combe borough in Drewsteignton, 288, 301, 303, 308, 337
Combehall in Drewsteignton, 292. See West Clifford
Combe-in-Teignhead or Blamosster, 284, 285, 297, 303, 310, 341
 Constance de Beaumont, 347
 Constance de Tony, 347
 Cornwall, earl of, 341
 Cotum, Roger, 282
 Coplestone, John, 322
 Cornwall, earl of, 342; Martin, duke of, 349
Cornworthy, 339
 Courtney, Edward, 3rd earl of Devon, son of sir Edward, died 1429, 322
 Courtney, Hugh II, 1st earl of Devon, died 1341, 284
 Courtney, Hugh III, 2nd earl of Devon, died 1378, 316, 318, 334
 Courtney, Peter, 4th son of Hugh III, died 1405, 322
 Courtney, Philip, 5th son of Hugh III, died 1406, 334
 Courtney, Robert, grandson of Reginald, 338
 Courtney, Reginald, 338
 Courtney, Thomas, son of Hugh, 4th earl, died 1457, 318
 Courtney, William, 322
 Coutances, bishop of, 290, 303, 304, 337, 346
Cowick, 280, 285, 291, 303, 309, 324
 Cowick, prior of, 281
Cowley, 284, 286, 296, 309, 333, 339
Crebare in Gidleigh, 349
 Crespin, Nicholas, 326
Crockernwell, 297, 304, 308, 321
 Crokker, John, 336
Crook Burnel, 350. See *Stone*
 Crosse, John, 336
 Croyser, William, 325
 Curtelhyate, Adam, 350
 Curtelhyate, Margery, wife of William, 350
 Curtelhyate, William, son of Adam, 350
Cutton, 284, 294, 303, 306, 324

D

- Dabernon, Ingelram, 324
 Dabernon, Isabel, daur. of William, 325
 Dabernon, John, 281, 324
 D'Aubernoun, William, 325
Dartmoor Forest, 282
 Daudelee, James, 121
 Daumarle, Alice, 318
 Daumarle, Alice, widow of John, 318, 350
 Daumarle, John, of Fleet, 350
 Daumarle, John the younger, 350
 Daumarle, Ralf de, 342
 Dauney, Joan, 295 n., 329, 331
 Dauney, John, 342
 Dauney, William, 342
 Davell, John, 283
 Davaylles, John (several), 314
 Davaylles, Alice, widow of John, 314
 Daveyl, William, 336
 Deneys, John le, 324
 Deneys, Robert le, 315
 Deneys, Thomas le, 333
 Deneys, Walter le, 315
 Dennis, 286
 Devon, earl of, 315
 Devon, Isabella, countess of, 279, 280, 281
 Dinham, Margaret, 323
 Dinham, Oliver, 323
 Doda, 290, 292, 293
 Dodescombe, Ralf de, 321
Dodscombesleigh, 321
 Dowai, Walter de, 296, 332

Downe, sir Matthew, 335
 Dowrish, 286
Drascombe, 282, 287, 308, 313, 314
Drewsteignton, 281, 285, 287, 291, 303, 308, 324
 Drees, Drew, 291
 Droscumb, John de, 314
 Droscumb, Richard de, son of Ingulf, 314

Droscumb, William de, 314
Drascombe in *Drewsteignton*, 314. See *Drascombe*
 Dun, Humfrey de, 319
 Dun, William de, 319
Dunsford, 281, 283, 284, 286, 296, 309, 332
 Durant, Elizabeth, 319
 Durnforde, Stephen, 325
 Dyrewyne, master John, 328
 Dynham. See *Dinham*

E

Easton barton in *Cheriton*, 301, 308, 336
Easton in *Chagford*, 336, 346 n.
 Eddida, queen, 289
 Edric, 290, 295, 296, 297, 302
 Edulf, 294
 Edwy, 292, 325
Egbear in *Cheriton*, 281, 285, 286, 294, 308, 330
 Elmer, 293
 Elsi, 296
Endsworthy in *Gidleigh*, 349
 Engineer officers, 299
Escapeleia, 345, 351, 352. See *Chapel*
 Esford, Agnes de, 333. See *Asford*
 Esse, Henry de, 333, 337
 Esse, Richard de, 333
 Eurewacre, 291
Exebridge, 278, 279
Exemouth port, 316
Exeter castle, 283, 323, 350

Exeter, Dean and Chapter of, 284, 316
Exeter, Baldwin de Redvers, earl of, 317
Exeter, Peter Quivil, bishop of, 281, 332
Exeter, St. Peter's, 290
Exonia, John de, 338
Exwick, 291, 303, 309, 324.

F

Farwood in *Tedburn*, 287, 297, 303, 309, 342
Fen Ottery, 343
 Ferrers, Fulk, 318
 Filleigh, Nicholas de, 330
 Fishacre, Peter de, 315
Fleet Damarel in *Holbeton*, 350
 Fleming, Richard le, 336
 Floere, 286, 298
 Floere, John, 280, 282
 Floere, William, 280
Floerhays, 286, 298, 309
 Folkland, 313
 Fomison, Richard, 337
Ford abbey, 329
 Ford, John, 319
Ford in *South Tawton*, 344, 350, 352
 Forde, Robert de, 326
Forsham, *Fursham*, 308, in *Drewsteignton*, 285, 287, 294, 303, 322, 324
Fortibus, Isabella de, 279. See *Devon*, countess of
 Franceys, Walter, 331
 Francheys, John, 340
 French, Walter, 330
 Fulcher, chief engineer, 300
Fulford, 278, 281, 285, 294, 309, 330
Fulford, Baldwin de, 326, 331
Fulford, Gricia de, 331
Fulford, Henry de, 337
Fulford, Mariota, wife of William de, 336

Fulford, Nicholas de, 331

Fulford, William de, 280, 286,
331, 336

G

Gabwell in Stoke-in-Teignhead,
Higher and Lower, 318

Gascony, 347

Geere, 286

Geoffrey de Trallei, 290, 337

Geoffrey, bishop of Coutances,
290, 303

Geoffrey the clerk, A.D. 1130,
315

Gervase, Walter, 315

Ghiderleia, 349

Gidleigh, Giles de, 349

Gidleigh, 287, 344, 349, 350, 352

Giffard, Walter, 321

Giffard's fee, 321

Girard, 296

Girold the chaplain, 345, 351

Githa, 344, 351

Gloucester, Honour of, 290, 296,
333

Gloucester, Gilbert de Clare,
earl of, 333

Gloucester, Matilda, countess
of, 332

Gloucester, Robert, earl of, 337

Gloucester, William, earl of,
333, 337

Gnatenhole in Drewsteignton,
313

Godbold, 299, 303, 320

Godman the presbyter, 294

Godric, 344

Godwin, earl, 334

Godwin of Chittlehamton, 301,
303, 334

Godwin the presbyter, 344

Gorges, Balan de, 332, 338

Gorges, Ellen de, 332, 338

Goscelin Beruin, 293, 327

Goscelm, 296

Greenway in Gidleigh, 349

Guraunt, Henry, 327

Gyrard, Walter, 282

H

Hacombe, 325

Hacombe, Jordan de, 325

Hacombe, Stephen de, 325

Hackadown in Whitstone, 329

Hackworthy in Tedburn, 285,
287, 302, 303, 309, 321

Haimerie de Arcis, 299, 303,
304

Hakeworthi, John de, 321

Hakeworthi, Peter de, 280, 282,
321

Halleham, Remus de, 331

Hallesworth, Alan de, 315

Halsford, Halford, Halseord,
280, 281, 284, 286, 289, 313,
315

Halsford division, 278, 283, 307

Halstow in Dunsford, 299, 303,
309, 321

Hamon, Robert, son of, 337

Hampton Week in Chagford,
346 n.

Hankford, Richard, 321

Harald, earl, 289

Harold of Exeter, 314

Harptree, William, son of John
de, 315, 332

Harston. See Hearston

Hartland abbey, 351

Haulegh, John de, 320

Hause, Eleanor de, 336

Hearston in Brixton, 336 n.

Heath St. Mary, 283, 295, 310,
329, 331

Heavitree, 284, 286, 296, 306,
341

Helgot, 300

Helion, Emma, widow of Har-
vei de, 321

Helion, Hervei de, 302, 321

Helion, Margaret, daur. of
William de, 321

Helion, William de, 321

Henry I, 337, 346

Henry III, 346

Herbert, Simon, son of, 330

Hereford, earl of, 285, 334

Heylake in Boledon Cheriton, 330

Hill, 320

Hill, John, of Spaxton, 331

Hineton in Topsham, 317

Hittisleigh, 281, 286, 287, 292, 309, 326

Hobhouse in Drewsteignton, 313

Hochesham. See *Huxham*, 282

Hochesham, Henry de, 282

Hochesham, Nicholas de, 340

Hochesham, Richard de, 341

Hochesham, Robert de, 340

Hochesham, William de, 282, 341

Hoga La in Teignhead, 279

Hoke, Geoffrey de la, 330

Hoke, Hugh de la, 327

Holbeam in West Ogwell, 281, 284, 286, 300, 303, 310, 319

Holebeam, John de, 282

Holebeam, Peter de, 319

Holebeam, William de, 319

Holcombe in Exminster Hundred, 294, 330

Holcombe Burnell, 280, 284, 286, 290, 304, 309, 333

Hole, 351

Holland, Holonde, John, 287, 317

Honeychurch, 328

Honiton Sige in Topsham, 317

Honyton, Walter de, 328

Hooker, John, 285

Hooper in Heavitree, 294, 303, 306, 324

Horderesyue, 279

Horigge, Walter de, 342

Horridge in Ilsington, 278, 284, 288, 297, 303, 310, 341

Horton, Henry de, 349

Horton, Petronilla, sister of Henry, 349

Hubert, 304

Huish Tremanet, Great Huish, 278, 281, 285, 287, 300, 309, 320

Humfrey, 304

Huntiland, William de, 283

Hurberton Honour, 295, 339

Hurkmere of Buckl . . . , 285

Huxham, 284, 286, 287, 296, 304, 306, 340

I

Iadolf, 292

Ingulf, Richard, son of, 287 n.

Ilsington, 278

Isabella, countess of Devon, 280, 316

Itton in South Tawton, 349, 352

J

Joel, Warin, son of, 329

Juhel of Totnes, 295, 303, 337, 339

Jurston, 307 n., 352 n.

K

Kael, Caille, Keyle, Humfrey, 280, 284, 333

Kael, William, 337

Kelly, John de, 284, 285, 330, 341

Kelly, Margaret de, 330

Kelly, Nicholas de, 330

Kelly, Richard, 286, 330, 341

Kelly, William de, 330, 341

Kilage, 316

King, 303

King's College, Cambridge, 317

Kirby's Quest, 280

Knocker, Special Land tenures, 313 n.

Knoel, Petronilla, wife of Robert, 349

Knoel, Robert, 349

Kyrkham, 286

L

Lambert, Modbert, son of, 294, 330

Lamford in Cheriton, 281, 284, 286, 301, 303, 308

- Lamford, Little*, in Cheriton, 298, 303, 308, 336
Lampre, Simon, 335
Langedene, Richard de, 329
Langedene, Walter de, 329, 331
Langedon, Walter de, 336
Langford, Roger de, 328
Langleigh, 284
Lappeffode, Ralf de, 280, 282
Lecchelade, Walter de, 348
Leigh in Hartland, 351
Leofric, bishop, 316
Lerchedekne, Sir John, 325
Lerchedekne, Michael, 335
Leuegar, 294, 298
Lewin, earl, 289
Leye, Adam de la, 282
Lincoln, Robert, bishop of, 314 n.
Lincoln, Parliament of, 284
Little Dunsford, 322. See Sowton.
Little Lamford in Cheriton Bishop, 298, 303, 308, 317
Littlebiri, Robert de, 324
Loddeswell, 339
Loges, Hugh de, 335
Loman, 286
Loweton, Thomas de, 328

M

- Mabel*, daur. of Robert, son of Hamon, 337
Madford in Heavitree, 286
Maidencombe in Stoke-in-Teignhead, 293, 311, 329
Maine, Roscelin, sheriff of, 347
Maleston, Hugh de, 319
Maleston, John de, 284
Maleston, Robert de, 282, 319
Manaton, Little, 325
Mandevil, Dionisia, grand-daur. of Geoffrey de, 332
Mandevil, Geoffrey de, 315, 332
Mandevil, Geoffrey de, the younger, 315
Mandevil, John de, 315
Mardon in Drewsteignton, 292, 304, 331
Market, grant of, 347
Marshwood Honour, 332
Martyn, 286
Marwood, Henry, 322
Matford, 322
Matford Butter, *alias* Inner in Exminster, 323
Matford Speke in Alphington, 323
Matilda, queen, 333
Maury, Ralf, 335
Medland in Cheriton, 278, 285, 288, 301, 303, 308, 337
Melhuish, 281, 285, 288, 292, 309, 326
Melhuish, Melhywys, Eleanor de, 326, 335, 336
Melhuish, John de, 335
Melhuish, Peter de, 326
Melhuish, William de, 326, 336
Membury, 343
Merlosuan, 298
Middeldon, Roger de, 329
Middlecot in Chagford, 300, 305, 346, 352
Milford, 338
Military tenures abolished, 312
Moelis, Roger de, 284
Mohun of Dunster, 320
Mohun, John de, 320
Mohun, William de, 349
Moleton, James de, 280
Moleton, Robert de, 316
Monk, William, 325
Monkaton, 289
Monsron, Richard, 319
Montacute, Elisabeth, widow of William de, 316
Montacute, John de, 316
Montacute, Simon de, 280, 281, 315, 320
Montacute, William de, 316

Montfort, Nicholas, 280, 339
 Morey, John, 330
 Modbert, son of Lambert, 294
 Mucegros, Robert de, 283
 Multon, Moletton, Robert de,
 316

N

Nadderwater, 313
Nether Partridge in Cheriton,
 336
 Nevil, Hugh de (several), 322
 Nevil, John de (several), 322
 Nevil, Theobald de, 284, 322
Neunham Courtney, 322
 Newton, John de, 327
 Nicholas, chief engineer, 299,
 300, 303, 318
 Nicolas, Richard, son of, 341
 Nicolas, Robert, son of, 340
 Nonant, Boys de, 280
 Nonant, Henry de, 339
 Nonant, Roger de, 315, 339
 Norley, 285
 Norreys, Margaret, 327
North Russel in Sourton, 338
North Tawton market, 347
 Notley, Agnes, wife of Robert
 de, 314
 Notley, Roger de, 314
 Nychedon, Roger By, 280
Nymet Rowland, 328
 Nywenham, Simon de, 317

O

Odo the Archer, 314
 Offers, Osfers, 291
Ogwell East, *Peytevin*, Wog-
 wille, 281, 284, 288, 295, 310,
 340
Ogwell Malston in East Ogwell,
 299, 303, 311, 319
Ogwell West, *Peytevin*, 281,
 284, 296, 311, 340
Ogwell West, 281, 284, 296, 301,
 303, 311, 335

Okehamton, William de, 283
 Okeston, Joan, wife of John de,
 282
 Okeston, John de, 282
Oldridge, 293, 309, 327
 Olmer, Ulmer, 294
 Ordric, 299
 Osbern, bishop, 290, 304
 Osbern de Salceid, 304. See
 Salceid.
 Osmer, 293
Ottertton, 322
 Oxton, James de, 340
 Ow, William de, 298
 Owin the bailiff, 304

P

Pafford's house in North Taw-
 ton, 350
 Pagan, Paganel, Ralf, 298, 299,
 303, 304, 317
 Pagan, Robert, son of, 280, 284,
 315, 317
 Pagan, Roger, son of, 336
Parford in Drewsteignton, 350
Patforda, 344, 350, 352. See
 Ford
 Pawlett, 286
Pecketsford in Samford Court-
 ney, 350
 Penyllys, Nicolas, 328
 Penels, David de, 342
 Penels, Nicholas de, 342
 Penyll, William de, 342
 Peter, bishop of Exeter, 281
 Peterrin, Thomas, 282
 Peters of Hayes, 286
 Peytevin, Osbert le, 319
 Peytevin, Robert, 340
 Peytevin, Thomas, 340
 Peytevin, William, 295, 340
Pinhoe, 280, 286, 289, 303, 306,
 316
Plymton Honour, 282, 315
 Plymton priory, 318, 329
 Plymton, Simon de, 317
Pocombe in Alphington, 313

Pofford, 350
 Pole, Nicolas de la, 318
 Pole, Peter de la, 329
Polesloe, 280, 286, 291, 306, 342
 Polesloe, prioress of, 281
Poltimore, 281, 284, 286, 299, 303, 304, 306, 320
 Poltimore, Richard de, 320, 349
 Pomeray, Henry de, 340
 Pomeray, Ralf de, 292, 293, 295, 304, 326
 Pontington, William de, 320
 Porte, Alfred de la, 348
 Powderham, Andrew de, 334
 Powderham, John de, 285, 334
 Powderham, Mabel, widow of Peter de, 334
 Powderham, Thomas de, 334
 Prestetone, William de, 280, 282
 Prideaux, Pridias, Roger, 282, 283, 341
 Prodhorne, John, 342
 Prous of Bowhill, 286
 Prous, Alice le, 350
 Prous, Richard le, 321
 Prous, Walter le, 350
 Prous, William le, 318, 325, 348, 349, 350
 Punchardon, John de, 326, 328
 Puyns, William le, 283
 Pycot, John, 338, 341
 Pyne, Pyun, Edmund, 330
 Pyne, Herbert de (several), 330
 Pyne, Thomas de, 283
 Pyngne, William, 280
 Pypard, Margaret, wife of William, 325
 Pypard, William, 325

Q

Quia Emptores, statute of, 312
 Quinterell, William, 342

R

Rackenford, 327
 Radeweye, Geoffrey de, 321

Radeweye, James de, 321
 Radeweye, Thomas de, 321
 Rainer, Baldwin's house-steward, 293, 328
 Ralf, William, son of, 327, 330
 Raleigh, Henry de, 315
 Raleghe, Ida de, 340
 Ralf, Matilda, wife of William, son of, 327
Ramsleigh in South Tawton, 351
 Raynald, Reynel, Walter, 319
Redlake in Drewsteignton, 313
 Redvers, Baldwin de, 315
 Reigny, Alice, daur. of William, 350
 Rennes, Hugh de, 292
 Reginald, Robert, son of, 338
Rewe, 281, 283, 286, 291, 304, 306, 332, 338
 Reynell, Raynald, Walter, 286, 319
Ringmoor, 284, 285, 292, 311, 325
Ringswell, Rygeswille, in Heavtree, 284, 286, 297, 306, 342
 Rishford, William de, 326
Rockbear Burnell, 327
Rocombe Hugh, or Cadiho, Higher and Lower Rocombe in Stoke-in-Teignhead, 281, 284, 285, 287, 293, 311, 329
Rocombe Middle, or Blamoster in Combe-in-Teignhead, 284, 299, 303, 310, 320
 Roger d'Aiguille or the Sandy, 296, 303, 304
Rohorn in Whitstone, 310, 317
Rolaston in Upton Pyne, 293, 304, 307, 328
 Rolandiston, Philip de, 328
 Rolandiston, Walter de, 328
Rolleston barton in Heavtree, 306, 314
 Rouald, Alan, son of, 329
 Ruald the dubbed Knight, 321
 Ruffus, Richard, 287 n.

Rushford in Chagford, 281, 285,
292, 303, 307, 325
Rydon, John, 323

S

St. James' church, 301, 306, 317
St. Leonard's, 287
St. Michael's mount, 294, 322
St. Nicholas, priory of, 338
St. Thomas' hayes, 286, 288
Saghe in Topsham, Siggeford
de la Clyve, 287, 317. See
Wear park
Salceid de Salicto, Osbern de,
298, 303, 304, 317, 344, 358
Salomon, 297
Samford, Edmund de, 328, 333
Samford, Simon de, 333
Satchvil, Beatrice, wife of
Philip de, 341
Satchvil, Philip de, 341
Satchvil, Robert de, 332, 338
Saulf, 301, 323
Scirewold, 299
Segrave, Hugh, 322
Service-tenancies, 313
Servington, David de, 323
Servington, William de, 323
Shaldon in Ringmoor, 292, 325
Shapewyk, John, 327
Shapley, 307 n., 352 n.
Shilstone in Drewsteignton, 281,
284, 288, 298, 303, 308, 317
Shittisbear in Chulmleigh, 323
Shytternbrook in St. Thomas,
298, 309
Sigford in Ilsington, 278, 284,
288, 297, 310, 321
Silverton, 338
Smith of Matford, 286
Somerton in Shebbear Hundred,
336
Sourton, 351
Southford in Gidleigh, 349
South Tawton manor, 287, 344,
346, 348, 352
South Tawton Hundred, 343, 346
Southteign in Chagford, 300 n.,
305, 343
Sowton, 281, 290, 307, 337
Sowton in Dunsford, 301, 309,
323
Speccot, Baldwin de, 281, 336
Speccot, Maud, wife of Richard
de, 336
Speccot, Richard de, 336
Speke, William le, 280, 338
Speke, Richard, 338
Spreyton, 278, 281, 284, 285,
291, 303, 309, 325
Spurway, 323
Staddon in Cheriton, 335
Staneweye, Henry de, 280, 337
Stapeldon, Walter, 342
Staplehill, 278, 288, 300, 303,
310, 318, 319
Staplehill, John de, 319
Staplehill, Roger de, 319
Stephen, 292, 325
Stephen, William, son of, 325,
329
Steven, 333
Stevenston in Upton Pyne, 281,
284, 288, 296, 303, 304, 307,
333
Stockheye, Robert de, 328
Stoke-in-Teignhead, 280, 284,
285, 299, 303, 311, 318
Stoke Canon, 284, 286, 290, 304,
307, 331
Stoke St. Nectan in Hartland,
351
Stone in North Tawton, 350
Stowford, John de, 318
Strode, John, 317
Style, Margaret, 319
Style, William, 285
Sub-infeudation, 312
Sydenham Maristow, 335, 337
Syward, 285

T

Talbot, Henry, 325
Talbot, Philip, 325, 326
Talbot, William, 281, 325, 326

- Tarhill* in Drewsteignton, 313
Tauntifer, Alfred de, 348. See
 de la Porta
Tauntifer, Joan, heiress of, 339,
 348
Tauntifer, Richard, 348
Tauntifer, Walter, 337, 338,
 348
Tauton, Alexander de, 328
Tedburn St. Mary, 281, 285,
 287, 293, 309, 342
Teign Canon, 337
Teigncombe, 290, 305, 346,
 352
Teign Harvey, 281, 284, 288,
 292, 311, 326
Teign, Richard de, 327
Teignhead section, 278, 279,
 311
Tenant paravail, or *Terre*
 tenant, 312
Tetteburn, Thomas de, 326,
 328
Tewkesbury abbey, 334
Thanes Saxon, 300
Theobald, Cecily, wife of John,
 336
Theobald, John, 336
Thorn, 338
Throwleigh, 281, 284, 287, 298,
 303, 304, 317
Tilli, Henry de, 315, 332
Toli, 298
Tolliro, Ralf, 342
Tony, Alice de, 347
Tony, Constance de, 347
Tony, Ralf de, 347
Tony, Ralf II de, 347
Tony, Robert de, 347
Tony, Roger de, 347, 348
Tony, Roger II de, 347
Topsham, 280, 282, 287, 289,
 303, 307, 316
Toriton, John de, 317, 327
Toriton, William de, 320
Torolv, Richard, son of, 292,
 304, 331
Totnes tenement, 339
Tourn of the sheriff, 279, 281,
 282
Town barton, Tedburn, 293,
 309, 328
Tracy, Henry de, 338
Tracy, Oliver de, 338
Tracy, William de, 342
Trebbles, Trifabel, in Cheriton,
 301, 308, 336
Tregoz, Joan de, 329
Tregoz, Henry de, 329
Trelurk, Andrew de, 315
Tremayne, Nicholas, 328
Tremenet, Elias, 320
Tremenet, John, 320
Tremenet, Richard, 282, 320
Tremenet, William, 338
Tremura, 279
Trifabel. See *Trebbles*
Trillon, John, 317
Trillow in Whitstone, 313
Trollegh, Sibilla, 327
Troubrigg, Peter, 327
Troubrigg, Thomas, 327
Turbern family, 313, n. 2
Tynhide division, 279, 311.
 See *Teignhead*, *Stoke*, and
 Combe
Tyrel, Henry, 282, 327, 329
Tyrel, Richard, 330

U

- Ulf*, 297
Ulfric, 344
Ulmer, 294
Ulnod, 291
Ulveva, 295
Umfravil, John de, 333
Umfravil, Gilbert de, 334
Upcot, 294, 309, 330
Upcot, Joel de, 330
Upcot, Reginald de, 330
Upcot, Robert, 321
Upcot, Thomas de, 330
Upton Pyne, 281, 284, 288, 294,
 307, 330

V

Valletorta, Godfrey de, 304 n.
 Valletorta, Hawise de, 340
 Valletorta, Rainald de, 297
 Valletorta, Reginald de, 340
 Valletorta, Roger de, 282, 339, 340
 Vallibus, Hubert de, 316
 Vallibus, Matilda, wife of Hubert, 316
 Vallibus, Robert de, 316
 Vascy, Robert, 318
 Vautort, Philip, 325
Venn in Chagford, 307 n., 352 n.
 Vernon, Juliana de, 349
 Vidal of Colyton, 297, 330
 Viel, William, 341
 Vilers, Gilbert de, 338

W

Wadham, 348
 Waleys, John le, 319
 Walward, Walter, son of, 317
 Walward, Edith, heiress of, 317
 Walter the cup-bearer, 293, 304, 328
 Warwick, Ann, countess of, 347
 Warwick, Henry, earl of, 347
 Warwick, Guy, earl of, 347
 Warwick, Richard, earl of, 347
 Warwick, Thomas, earl of, 347
Wear park in Topsham, 307, 317
Week, Great, in Chagford, 346 n.
 See *Hamptonweek*
 Werigeston, John de, 342
 Weekes, 351
West Clifford, Combe Hall in Drewsteignton, 281, 284, 287, 292, 308, 325
West Clyst in Broad Clyst, 281, 295, 303, 306, 323
Westown in Whitstone, 293, 310, 329
Wetherburgh in Teighnhide, 279

Whale Mr., 278, 350, 351
 Whipel, Robert, 317
Whipton, 297, 303, 306, 342
Whitstone, 285, 286, 298, 310, 334
 Wibbery, Wibbyri, John de, 352
 Wibbery, Simon de, 351
 Wibbery, Oliver de, 351
 Wichin, 296, 297
 William the hostelar, 304, 345
 William, Ralf, son of, 329
 William, bailiff of Halsford, 283
 Windyeat, John, 319
Winesford, 286
Winkleigh, 305, 343
 Wode, William, 336
Wolgereston, 335
 Wolryngton, William de, 328
Wonford east, 313
Wonford Hundred, 278, 281, 282, 285, 289, 313, 315
Wonford manor, 284, 289, 303, 306, 315
Wonford section, 278, 306
Wonford south, 313
Wonford west, 313
Wonston in Throwleigh, 298, 310, 318
 Woodbarton in Kentisbeare, 342
 Wotton, Richard de, 336
 Wotton, William de, 336
 Worth, Geoffrey de, 317
 Wyger, Henry, 340, 342

Y

Yaley in Fremington, 351
Yedeton in South Tawton, 349.
 See *Itton*
Yendacot in Shobrook, 296, 333, 339

Z

Zeal, Tony, borough of South, 347, 349

DEVON COUNTY MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT.

PART I.

THE EARLY PLANTAGENET PERIOD (1213-1327).

BY J. J. ALEXANDER, M.A., J.P.

(Read at Exeter, 24th July, 1912.)

I. INTRODUCTION.

SEVERAL accounts have been given, in these *Transactions* and elsewhere, of the parliamentary representation of various Devon boroughs.¹ There may be some doubt as to the value of these accounts when considered from the standpoint of the local historian. Many of the members owed their seats either to the favour of some powerful patron, or to a lavish and not always creditable expenditure of money, and had no real connection with the places they represented.

But the representation of the county itself, considered as a whole, stands on a different footing. The area was generally found to be too large for the effective exercise of patronage or purchase. The members returned were, for the most part, men of local importance. It seems therefore eminently desirable that their names should be collected and placed on record.

Parliamentary government dates from the thirteenth century. About two years before the time of the Great Charter the practice of summoning knights from each county to discuss the business of the kingdom is first noted. The meetings were held in various places, most frequently at Westminster, occasionally at an old cathedral city like York, or a convenient Midland town like Northampton; once even so far north as Carlisle; and once so far west as Exeter, where Edward I stayed for over a fortnight during the Christmas of 1285.²

¹ See *Trans.* XLI., p. 152.

² Freeman's *Exeter*.

The meetings of these early assemblies did not last many days, and when the duties for which they were called had been got through they were dissolved. Hence every new session usually involved a fresh election.

Historians are not agreed as to which of these assemblies the term parliament, as we understand it, is properly applicable.¹ Some of those mentioned in the lists of returns, even so late as the time of Cromwell, were so irregularly summoned and so imperfectly constituted as to be hardly deserving of recognition. It will be sufficient for our purpose, however, to include all which are known to have contained representatives from a substantial number of constituencies and to have formally assembled.

The Writs and Returns preserved in the Public Record Office, and published in the four Blue Books, 69, 69 I, 69 II, and 69 III, are very imperfect in the earlier lists. No Devon members are supplied previous to 1290, but from another source² we learn that Sir William de Courtenay of Musbury, second son of Robert, Baron of Okehampton, was a member in 42 Henry III, presumably of the so-called Mad Parliament.

The record of Devon members between 1290 and 1450 is fairly complete, nearly ninety per cent of the names having been preserved. Then from 1450 to 1550 the returns are extremely defective, but from the latter date onward very few names are missing, and none after 1660. The greatest gap occurs between 1478 and 1529, and thus there is a considerable hiatus between the list of mediæval members and that of modern members.

The story of the Unreformed Parliament prior to 1832 can be regarded as consisting of four phases. The first phase embraces the earlier attempts to form a representative body, including the parliaments of the first two Edwards. The extant Devon returns for the reigns of these two kings are thirty-four in number, containing sixty-nine names, and referring to thirty-six distinct individuals; only about nine returns are missing.

It is most likely that the members for Devon were originally elected at Exeter by the full county court (the Norman equivalent of the earlier "shiremoot"). This body in the time of Edward I had wide powers of control over county affairs, judicial, magisterial, military, and fiscal.³ The powers even included at that time the right

¹ See Addenda (Note A).

² Vivian's *Visitations* (Courtenay ped.).

³ Stubbs.

of appointing sheriffs and justices (*custodes pacis*). The court was convened and presided over by the sheriff, and consisted of bishop and abbots, barons and knights, freeholders of the county, twelve citizens or burghers from each city or borough, and four men and the reeve from each township. It was supposed to meet once a month.

This court with its comprehensive character and its wide responsibilities has a deeper significance for us than any list of names or narrative of elections can convey. For to its existence we may largely attribute the growth of that form of patriotism in miniature known as love of county, which, originating in remote Saxon times, temporarily arrested by the Norman conquest, and culminating in the days of the great Tudor queen, is so conspicuously manifested in our great English counties, and in none more so than in Devon.

The orders for the election of two "knights of the shire" for Devon, and of two burgesses each for the towns in that county, not specified by name, were originally contained in one writ addressed to the sheriff of Devon. In 1325 that functionary received on the same writ the orders for the Cornish elections also, which he duly transmitted to the sheriff of Cornwall, "who was to execute the same in his county." In several parliaments of the reign of Edward II twenty-eight writs were made to do duty for thirty-seven counties (Durham, Cheshire, and Monmouth were excluded, the first two as Counties palatine, the last as a Welsh county). Norfolk was linked in its writ with Suffolk, Somerset with Dorset, Notts with Derby, and so on; some counties, among them Rutland, always had separate writs. London also had a writ to itself.¹

Reference has been made to the parliamentary boroughs of Devon. These were at the outset selected by the sheriff, apparently in an arbitrary and fitful manner. Before 1327 Exeter, Barnstaple, Totnes, and Plympton were represented on at least fifteen occasions each, Torrington seven times, Tavistock four times, Honiton, Sutton (later called Plymouth), and Okehampton three times each, and six other places, Ashburton, Bradninch, Crediton, Dartmouth, Lydford, and South Molton, once each.² The elections for these towns were held locally in accordance with writs addressed by the sheriff to the mayor and bailiffs or, in the lesser boroughs, to the bailiff.³

¹ Palgrave's *Writs*.² Blue Book.³ See Addenda (Note B).

Later in the fourteenth century it became a common practice to arrange all the elections for places in one county at the meeting of the county court,¹ which, it has been already stated, was attended by burgesses from each of the towns. There is reason to believe that this practice of simultaneous election was more usual in Devon than in some of the other counties.

Returning to the question of the county election, we can suppose that the writ was first read by the sheriff to the assembled court. Two or more candidates were then proposed, and the election was made by acclamation. There is no suggestion as to how the vote was taken in the case of a close contest ; probably the clamour of voices was sufficiently pronounced to enable the sheriff to decide who were the two selected by the majority. The decision of the sheriff was the thing that mattered, at least so we gather from the disputed election of 1319.

The return was then filled up and signed by the sheriff, who included in his statement the names of those elected for the boroughs, either transmitted to him by the mayors and bailiffs, or perhaps announced at the meeting by the delegates from the boroughs. There is no doubt that the process of completing the borough returns was attended to in a lax manner, and it is not surprising to find that after a time most of the elections drifted into the county courts, and had to be restored to the boroughs by legislative interference.²

The members chosen for the county in the earliest parliaments possessed, as the phrase " knight of the shire " implies, the rank of knighthood, but this requirement was not always insisted on. It was not always possible to select from those holding the honour the most suitable representatives. The fatigue, hardships, and dangers of travelling to and from the place of meeting (in those times Exeter was six days' journey from London, and ten days' journey from York), and the discomfort of residence in a strange town did not attract aged and infirm heads of knightly families. Young and active men, the sons of knights, or persons below that rank active in county affairs, were sometimes put forward ; and as the legislative activity of parliament increased, the claims of men learned in the law were frequently recognized.³

¹ Bright's *History*.

² Porritt's *Unreformed Parliament*.

³ *Ibid.*

Within a month or two after the election parliament had met and transacted its business, and the members had returned home. The sheriff now received another order of a less agreeable character, known as the Writ de Expensis, directing him to collect and pay the wages of the members who had attended on behalf of his county. An allowance for travelling was included in the bill, calculated according to the distance of the county town from the place of meeting.¹ Thus a session of twenty-four days at Westminster meant a thirty-six days' allowance for each of the Devon members, and a forty days' allowance for each of the Cornish members. The Writs de Expensis for the boroughs were addressed separately to mayors or bailiffs of the various towns, and we can imagine that some of the taxpayers of the smaller towns felt the burden somewhat severely, and were not sorry to be disfranchised. The rate of payment seems to have varied from 2s. 6d. to 5s. in the counties, and was frequently 4s., a very generous scale, having regard to the purchasing power of money six hundred years ago. The wages of a county member who was not a knight were sometimes on a reduced scale, and the wages of a borough member were about half those paid to a county representative. It may be that the election of an untitled person was sometimes urged on the ground of economy. In 1322 Richard Chisbeach, who had on two previous occasions been allowed the full scale, was allowed only two shillings per diem for thirty-five days, being fifteen days' attendance, ten days going to York, and ten days returning, the rate of pay for knights in that parliament being four shillings per diem.²

In the city of Exeter the rate was 2s. in 1318, and 1s. 8d. in 1319. In the latter year Matthew Crawthorne was returned for Exeter, and was also a candidate for Devon. He petitioned the King in Council, stating that he had been duly elected for the county, but that others had been returned in his stead by Robert Beudyn, the sheriff, against the will of the "commune" of the county. Upon this petition it was ordered that he should have a writ addressed to the Treasury and barons of the Exchequer, commanding them to cause the under sheriff to come before them, to answer for such false return.³ Surely this is one of the earliest instances, if not the very earliest, of election petitions. As Crawthorne sat for Exeter it may

¹ Palgrave.² *Ibid.*³ *Ibid.* See also the introduction to Glanvil's *Reports of Elections* (1774 edit.).

be assumed that what chiefly troubled him was the loss of 2s. 4d. per diem, the difference between a knight's and a citizen's wages.

Double and multiple returns first occur in Edward II's reign. In both parliaments of 1311 Henry Champernowne was returned for both Cornwall and Devon, and appears to have been granted his expenses for each seat, though whether the sheriffs came to any arrangement to reduce the amount to one knight's fee the records do not say. In 1313 Humphrey Beauchamp was in the same position as regards Devon and Dorset; in 1314 Richard Stapeldon similarly sat for Cornwall and Devon. In January, 1324, William Hereward was returned for Cornwall and Devon, but was paid only by the latter.¹ He would have done better financially to have sat, like William Ferrers in 1315, for Cornwall alone; as his Cornish colleague was allowed for sixteen days' journey, while the two Devon members had only travelling allowance for twelve days, the venue being Westminster. The existence of these "pluralist" members points to the conclusion that in the fourteenth century parliamentary honours were not eagerly coveted.

Most of the thirty-six persons returned for Devon during the reigns of the first two Edwards can be readily identified. Materials for identification during that period are fortunately abundant. There are the Calendars of State Papers, such as the Close and Patent Rolls and the Inquisitions; also Rymer's *Fœdera* and Palgrave's *Parliamentary Writs*; and the references in Pole, Risdon, Lysons, and Vivian are fairly numerous and explicit. There are also some references in the Exeter Diocesan Registers.

The following extracts, taken somewhat at random from the Calendars, will serve as illustrations of the many clues obtainable:—

"24 January, 1292—Westminster. Commission of oyer and terminer to Oliver de Dynham and Henry de Ralegh on complaint by Master Andrew de Kilkenny,² Master Peter de Insula, and Master Robert de Veteri Terra, executors of the will of Peter,³ sometime bishop of Exeter, touching the persons who by night carried away a whale cast upon the shore at Teynton, Devon, within the liberty of the said bishop." (Pat. R.)

"15 November, 1292—Berwick-on-Tweed. The like

¹ Palgrave.

² Dean of Exeter (1285-1302).

³ Quivil.

to Henry de Ralegh and Andrew de Trellosk on complaint by Giles son of Truda, citizen and merchant of Caruc in Zealand, touching the persons who entered his ship at Suthtun in the port of Plymouth, beat his men, and carried off his goods." (Pat. R.)

" 27 February, 1301—Lincoln. Commission to Reginald de Ferariis, Peter de Chalouns, Master William de Kilkenny and John de Kirkeby to enquire by jury of expert miners and others touching the state of the King's mines of Birland, Co. Devon, at the time when the merchants of the society of the Friscombaldi of Florence received them to farm." (Pat. R.)

" 3 August, 1309—Stamford. Protection for five years for Nicholas de Alneto, going on pilgrimage to Jerusalem—by the King." (Pat. R.)

" 18 December, 1309—Westminster. William Martyn, Gilbert de Knoville, and James de Oxtun are appointed to enquire touching all prizes taken in Devon for the King's use or for the use of others contrary to the statute of Stamford." (Pat. R.)

" 8 July, 1313—Westminster. Order to the sheriff of Devon to release on bail Richard de Chissebeche and Peter de Beare from Exeter prison, where they are imprisoned on indictments before William Martin, William le Pruz, and the sheriff, for certain trespasses alleged against them." (Cl. R.)

" 4 February, 1316—Lincoln. Hugh de Curtenay puts in his place Stephen de Accoumbe and Richard de Chessebech to seek and receive the inheritance falling to him by the death of Isabella de Fortibus, late Countess of Devon." (Cl. R.)

" 5 June, 1322—To the Sheriff of Devon. Order to supersede the execution of the King's order (of attachment for neglect to obey summons) so far as concerns Richard de Chaumbernoun, Richard de Merton, Robert Beaupel, and others, and to restore their lands, etc., to them, as the King learns from Walter, bishop of Exeter, that they are and were of his retinue and were journeying when the King ordered the Bishop not to come. The like to the Sheriff of Gloucester in favour of William Hereward." (Cl. R.)

" 18 June, 1323—Cowick. To the Sheriff of Devon. Order to release Robert de Beaupel the younger, knight,

from prison at Exeter, as William Hereward, of that county, and John de la Slo, of Co. Somerset, have mainperned to have him before the King when ordered to answer for his adherence to certain rebels." (Cl. R.)

"24 April, 1327—Stamford. The King orders Matthew de Crauthorn, receiver of Glamorgan, to pay 100s. a day to Thomas de Berkele and John Maltravers for the expenses of the late King."¹ (Rymer.)

The names of the members up to 1327, so far as they have been ascertained, are given in the Schedule. The 1300 return is taken from the Calendar of Patent Rolls (28 Edw. I, m. 14); the rest are from the Blue Book 69. The dates given are those of the assembly of parliament; the elections were probably held in each case within the preceding month. The surnames are spelt as in the Blue Book, and modern equivalents are given in an Index to the Schedule.

The biographical notices appended are, it must be confessed, very inadequate; but they have the slight merit of drawing attention to a few bygone Devonians who, considering their position and importance, have remained too long unnoticed in the annals of the county.

II. SCHEDULE OF MEMBERS.

To prevent needless verbiage the following abbreviation is used :—

(s)=elected previously for Devon; refer to first election.

HENRY III.

There is a mention in the Introduction of the 1258 parliament, to which Sir William Courtenay is said to have been returned.

EDWARD I.

(About twenty parliaments, twelve returns extant.)

The earlier parliaments were somewhat defective in their constitution, and no returns for Devon can be found.

1290. July. Robert de Wodeton (a).

Andrew de Trelloske (b).

(a) Sir Robert Wodeton of Wodeton, probably the son of Sir Adam Wodeton of Wodeton, a knight of Somerset and Dorset (T.R. Hen. III). The place Wodeton is not identifi-

¹ Edward II was then in prison.

able, the name (with variants) being of common occurrence; the family coat of arms is certainly not the same as that of Wadeton of Stoke Gabriel, but such a family resided at Correham in Halberton. Sheriff of Devon 1286, but in the Patent Rolls usually associated with Dorset or Somerset as an acting justice.

(b) Sir Andrew Trelosk of Dunterton, probably the son of Sir Roger Trelosk of Dunterton and of Trelaske in Cornwall (T.R. Hen. III).

1294. November. No returns found.

In the Patent Rolls a list is given containing two names for each county of persons charged with the duty of levying a tax of one-tenth. Two knights (and subsequently two others) were returned for each county to this parliament. The list may refer to the second return; the names given for Devon are Roger de Nonaunt and Andrew de Trelosk (22 Edw. I, m. 2).

1295. November. Robert de Wodeton (s).

William le Prus, *vel* Pruz (a).

This is the well-known Model Parliament.

(a) Sir William Prous (1245–1315) of Gidleigh, eldest son of Sir William Prous of Gidleigh (sheriff 1269, d. 1269).

1297. October. Henry de Raleigh (a).

Hugh le Prouz (b).

(a) Sir Henry Raleigh of Strete Raleigh in Whimble, and later of Beamport in Bishopsnympton; a leading justice of the county; son of Sir Henry Raleigh of Strete Raleigh; died 1301; for the curious dispute concerning his interment, see Brushfield's *Raleighana* in *Trans.* XXXIV.

(b) Sir Hugh Prous of Gatcombe in Colyton; third son of Sir William Prous (d. 1269).

1298. May. John de Umframville (a).

William de Chambernoun (b).

(a) Sir John Umfraville of Lapford served in the French wars of Edward I's reign.

(b) Sir William Champernowne (c. 1240–1304) of Ilfracombe, eldest son of Sir Henry Champernowne of Clist Champernowne in Ilfracombe.

1300. March. Robert Beaupel (a).

Reginald de Ferrers (b).

(a) Sir Robert Beaple of Knowstone, son of Sir Reginald Beaple of Knowstone (d. 1270).

(b) Sir Reginald Ferrers of Bere and Newton Ferrers,

second son of Sir William Ferrers of Bere Ferrers (fl. 1243) ; succeeded his elder brother Roger about 1291 ; died about 1305.

1300. May. William de Chambernoun (s).
 Andrew de Trelosk (s).
 William le Graunt (a).

Three knights were elected by each county to this parliament.

(a) It is not easy to trace William Grant in connection with Devon. The only known contemporary with the same surname was John le Graunt, M.P. for Norwich in 1298. There is a William Grant of Westlegh mentioned by Risdon, who was the son of Mauger le Grant, but is not given in any list of knights.

1301. January. Henry de Raleghe (s).
 Nicholas de Kyrkham (a).

The writ of summons directed the re-election of the members who sat in March, 1300, but the King's instructions could not be followed, "quia Reginaldus de Ferers, et Robertus Beaupel, milites qui alias fuerunt ad parliamentum, per electionem comitatus, non sunt potentes ad laborandum ad praesens." Thus early was the influence of the Crown being used to control elections.

(a) Sir Nicholas Kirkham of Paignton, son of John Kirkham of Ashcombe ; acquired Blagdon in Paignton by marriage with the sister of Sir Robert Dennis ; sheriff of Devon 1308 and 1309.

1302. September. Andrew Trelloske (s).
 Hugh de Ferrers (a).

(a) Sir Hugh Ferrers of Churston Ferrers, third son of Sir William Ferrers (fl. 1243) ; acquired Churston by marriage with the heiress of Bozun.

1305. February. Robert Beaupel (s).
 Roger de Kokyntone (a).

(a) Sir Roger Cockington of Cockington, descended from the Norman family of Fitz-Martin, who took a new surname from their place of abode.

1306. May. Thomas de Raleghe (a).
 Roger de Kokyntone (s).

(a) Sir Thomas Ralegh of Challacombe Ralegh, sheriff of Devon from 1300 to 1306, and in 1307.

1307. January. Roger de Cokyntone (s).
 Roger de Nonaunt (s).

Owing to the projected invasion of Scotland, this parliament met at Carlisle.

(a) Sir Roger Nonant of Broadclyst, descended from Roger, baron of Totnes (T.R. Wm. II); probably son of Sir Guy Nonant (T.R. Hen. III).

EDWARD II.

(Twenty-seven parliaments, twenty-three returns extant.)

1307. October. Roger de Nonant (s).
Roger de Cokynghon (s).

1308. March. No return found.

1309. April. Henry de Campo Arnulphi (a).
John de Bykebury (b).

(a) Sir Henry Champernowne (c. 1274–1330) of Ilfracombe, son of Sir William Champernowne (q.v.); also M.P. for Cornwall.

(b) Sir John Bigbury of Bigbury, sheriff in 1319.

1311. August. Henry de Chaumbernoun (s).
Stephen de Haccombe (a).

(a) Sir Stephen Haccombe of Haccombe, son of Sir Jordan Haccombe; restored Haccombe Church, 1328; died 1332; Haccombe arch-presbytery founded (through bequest from him) by his granddaughter's husband in 1337.

1311. November. Henry de Chambernoun (s).
Stephen de Haccombe (s).

Practically a second session of the preceding parliament. Most of the members are the same.

1312. February. No return found.

1312. July. Nicholas de Cheyny (a).
Humphrey de Beauchamp (b).

(a) Sir Nicholas Cheyny of Up Ottery, probably son of Sir William Cheyny (T.R. Edw. I); also held lands in Dorset; custodian of the Channel Islands 1297; sheriff of Somerset and Dorset about 1320, of Devon in 1321; died about 1328.

(b) Sir Humphrey Beauchamp of Teignharvey in Stoke-in-teignhead, and Oburnford in Halberton; also held Ryme in Dorset; married the heiress of Nonant (q.v.).

1313. March. Roger de Nonaunt (s).
Nicholas de Kirkham (s).

1313. July. Humphrey de Bello Campo (s).
Roger de Nonaunt (s).

On this occasion Beauchamp also sat for Dorset, and was apparently allowed expenses for both constituencies.

1313. September. Humphrey de Bello Campo (s).
Roger de Nonaunt (s).

Practically a second session of the preceding parliament.

1314. April. No return found.

1314. September. Richard de Stapildone (a).
Robert Beaupel, junior (b).

(a) Sir Richard Stapeldon of Stapeldon in Cookbury and Annery in Monkleigh, eldest son of Sir William Stapeldon of Annery; brother of Walter, Bishop of Exeter; born c. 1259; M.P. also for Cornwall; a puisne judge of the King's Bench.

(b) Sir Robert Beaple of Knowstone, son of Sir Robert Beaple, M.P. in 1305 (q.v.); accused of rebellion in 1323, but released.

1315. January. Nicholas de Alnoto (a).
James de Oxtone (b).

William de Ferrers (Sir William Ferrers, son of Sir Reginald Ferrers of Bere Ferrers, M.P. in 1300) was at first returned, but his name was struck out (he was also returned for Cornwall), and that of James de Oxtone substituted.

(a) Sir Nicholas Dauneý of Norton Dauneý in Dartmouth, recorded as having undertaken pilgrimages to Jerusalem (1309) and Santiago (1313); afterwards created a baron; died 1333.

(b) Sir James Oxton of Modbury, son of Sir Alexander Oxton and Joan, widow of Ralph Valletort.

Forty-eight days' expenses were allowed to each at the rate of four shillings per diem.

1316. January. Nicholas Dauneý (s).
John de Chalouns (a).

(a) Sir John Challons of Legh Challons in Plympton.

1316. April. No return found, but probably the names are as given for the following parliament.

1316. July. Richard de Chissebeche (a).
Ralph de Braunford (b).

These names are according to the Writ de Expensis, but John de Launcevetone is named instead of Chisbeach on the return. There is a John of Launceston mentioned

as a notary-public in Prebendary Hingeston-Randolph's memoir of Bishop Stapeldon (*Episc. Reg. Stapeldon*). One John Fitz-John was M.P. for Launceston 1313.

(a) Richard Chisbeach is in several places described as *miles*, but it is doubtful whether he ever attained that honour. Neither Pole nor Risdon gives him among the knights holding land in Devon. He is mentioned in the Close Rolls in connection with loans of money to needy landowners, and in one entry he is described as holding lands in Devon and Bucks. In the Writ de Expensis for November, 1322, he is described as *valettus*, a feudal designation of inferior rank, probably implying that he held his lands as a feudatory tenant (*vassalettus*), and not as a tenant in chief. He may have resided in Exeter, where he was imprisoned in 1313 (see Cl. R.) for an alleged trespass, and may have been a lawyer by profession. His surname suggests a family connection with Chesil Beach in Dorset.

(b) Ralph Bramford was probably of that branch of the Beares which lived at and took a new surname from Broomford in Jacobstowe. He is not described as a knight.

1318. January. Martin de Fyshacre (a).

Richard Chissebeche (s).

This parliament was revoked on account of the invasion of the Scots.

(a) Sir Martin Fishacre of Morlegh, son of Sir Peter Fishacre, who built the church there as a penance for homicide (T.R. Edw. I).

1318. October. Robert de Stokeheye (a).

Richard de Chussebeche (s).

Each of the members was allowed five shillings per diem for expenses.

(a) Sir Robert Stockhey of Santon in Braunton, son of Sir Robert Stockhey (T.R. Edw. I).

1319. May. Richard de Stapeldone (s).

Richard de Chissebech (s).

Matthew Crawthorne petitioned against this return (see Introduction). The allowance for expenses was four shillings per diem.

1320. October. Robert Beudyn (a),

William Hereward (b).

(a) Sir Robert Beaudyn of Efford in Egg Buckland, sheriff in 1318 and 1320; M.P. for Cornwall 1326; died

about 1332. As sheriff he was concerned in the return above against which Crawthorne petitioned, and in this return of his own name, an unusual proceeding.

(b) Sir William Hereward of Dodscott near Torrington, possibly son of Sir Hamlyn Hereward ; among the knights accused of disaffection towards Edward II ; surety for Beaple (see Introduction).

1321. July. Roger de Nonaunt (s).
Richard de Chyssebeche (s).

1322. May. Richard de Chissebeche (s).
Matthew de Crauthorne (a).

This was the most important parliament since 1295.

(a) Sir Matthew Crawthorne of Crawthorne in Somerset, and East Bray in South Molton ; M.P. for Exeter 1307, and five times subsequently ; candidate for Devon 1319 ; sheriff 1322, 1323, and 1331 ; receiver of Glamorgan 1327 ; licensed (*Episc. Reg. Grandisson*) to conduct private oratory at Bray (Preb. Hingeston-Randolph suggests Bray in Morval, but there is no mention of Crawthornes living there), probably East Bray as above, 1331.

1322. November. Robert Beudyn (s).
Richard Chessebyche (s).

Chisbeach, described as *valettus*, was allowed only two shillings per diem for expenses.

1324. January. William Hureward (s).
Richard de Chissebyche (s).

Three shillings and fourpence per diem was allowed to each member.

1324. October. Richard de Chaumbernoun (a).
Richard de Chissebeche (s).

Two shillings and sixpence per diem was allowed to each member.

(a) Sir Richard Champernowne of Modbury, son of Sir Richard and Joan, sister of Sir James Oxtun (q.v.) ; nephew of Sir William Champernowne, M.P. in 1298 (q.v.) ; accused of disaffection in 1322 (see Introduction).

1325. November. Roger le Jeu (a).
Richard de Chissebeche (s).

Jew was allowed four shillings per diem, and Chisbeach three shillings.

(a) Sir Roger Jew of Cotlegh.

1326. December. John de Beaumound (a).
Thomas de Cokyingtone (b).

Each member was allowed four shillings per diem. This parliament voted the deposition of Edward II.

(a) Sir John Beaumont of Shirwell, son of Sir Richard Beaumont; died 1330.

(b) Sir Thomas Cockington, probably son of Sir Roger Cockington of Cockington, M.P. in 1305 (q.v.). He may have been the person connected with Stockleigh Pomeroy in Grandisson's letter of February, 1329 (*Episc. Reg. Grandisson*, Vol. I).

III.—INDEX OF NAMES.

The number of times elected for Devon is prefixed to each name, and the date of the first election is appended.

- (2) Beaple, Sir Robert I, of Knowstone (1300).
- (1) Beaple, Sir Robert II, of Knowstone (1314).
- (3) Beauchamp, Sir Humphrey, of Stoke-in-teignhead (1312).
- (2) Beaudyn, Sir Robert, of Egg Buckland (1320).
- (1) Beaumont, Sir John, of Shirwell (1326).
- (1) Bigbury, Sir John, of Bigbury (1309).
- (1) Bramford, Ralph, of Jacobstowe (?) (1316).
- (1) Challons, Sir John, of Plympton (1316).
- (3) Champernowne, Sir Henry, of Ilfracombe (1309).
- (2) Champernowne, Sir Richard, of Modbury (1324).
- (2) Champernowne, Sir William, of Ilfracombe (1298).
- (1) Cheyney, Sir Nicholas, of Up Ottery (1312).
- (10) Chisbeach, Richard (1316).
- (4) Cockington, Sir Roger, of Cockington (1305).
- (1) Cockington, Sir Thomas, of Cockington (?) (1327).
- (3) Crawthorne, Sir Matthew, of South Molton (1322).
- (2) Dawney, Sir Nicholas, of Dartmouth (1315).
- (1) Ferrers, Sir Hugh, of Churston (1302).
- (1) Ferrers, Sir Reginald, of Bere Ferrers (1300).
- (1) Fishacre, Sir Martin, of Morleigh (1318).
- (1) Grant, William, of Westleigh (1300).
- (2) Haccombe, Sir Stephen, of Haccombe (1311).
- (2) Hereward, Sir William, of St. Giles-in-the-Wood (1320).
- (2) Jew, Sir Roger, of Cotleigh (1325).
- (2) Kirkham, Sir Nicholas, of Paignton (1301).

- (6) Nonant, Sir Roger, of Broad Clyst (1307).
- (1) Oxton, Sir James, of Modbury (1315).
- (1) Prous, Sir Hugh, of Colyton (1297).
- (1) Prous, Sir William, of Gidleigh (1295).
- (2) Ralegh, Sir Henry, of Whimble (1297).
- (1) Ralegh, Sir Thomas, of Challacombe Ralegh (1306).
- (2) Stapeldon, Sir Richard, of Cookbury (1314).
- (1) Stockhey, Sir Robert, of Braunton (1318).
- (3) Trelosk, Sir Andrew, of Dunterton (1290).
- (1) Umfraville, Sir John, of Lapford (1298).
- (2) Wodeton, Sir Robert, of Halberton (?) (1290).

Four of the re-elections (Crawthorne 2, Jew 1, and R. Champernowne 1) occurred in the reign of Edward III. These, with the sixty-nine individual returns given, make the total in the brackets up to seventy-three.

IV.—ADDENDA.

NOTE A.—The first complete parliament, according to Stubbs and some other writers, was that of 1295; but the Blue Book 69, published by authority of the House of Commons, includes among its list of parliaments the assembly of 1213 and nine others previous to 1295. It is probable that some of these should be regarded merely as feudal assemblies, but the term parliament is usually, and not unreasonably, applied to most of the national conventions summoned from 1254 onward. The essential of a parliament appears to be that it should consist in part at least of members representing geographical divisions, and that these divisions, taken together, should comprise the whole, or nearly the whole, of the country governed.

NOTE B.—The returning officer of the non-chartered towns was generally known as the "bailiff." In about six western towns (four in Devon, one each in Cornwall and Wilts) the old Saxon name of "portreeve" seems to have been preserved. There does not appear to have been any distinction between a portreeve and a bailiff other than what might arise through local usage. In the sixteenth century, when so many small boroughs in the West were enfranchised, several of them, presumably by analogy with neighbouring constituencies, also called their returning officers portreeves.

NOTE C.—Two of the persons named (John of Launceston and Thomas of Cockington) may have been clerks in orders. Up to 1407 clergymen were occasionally returned to the Commons; they have been excluded by resolution since 1553 and by statute since 1801.

PLYMOUTH CHINA.

BY MRS. G. H. RADFORD.

(Read at Exeter, 24th July, 1912.)

PLYMOUTH china has a special claim on us as Devon folk, for it was made by a Devon man, William Cookworthy, born at Kingsbridge in 1705, died at Plymouth in 1780. It also appeals to all Englishmen, for it was the first true china made in England and from "all British" materials, discovered to the lasting advantage of his country by the same great man and by him first compacted and made into porcelain. To us porcelain is so familiar that we have lost our sense of wonder at its smoothness, delicacy of shape and colour, and its extraordinary durability; but in Cookworthy's early days this was not so. Porcelain was only to be seen in the houses of the wealthy, as it had to be brought over the sea from China, either directly or through Holland. In England we still commonly speak of china when we mean porcelain.

For centuries the secret of its composition had been so jealously guarded that Europe was in ignorance. It was not until missionaries were allowed to settle in China that the process of making porcelain began to be understood. One of these Jesuit missionaries, Père d'Entrécôlles, wrote home describing what he had seen and heard at Kiang-te-Chin, one of the largest porcelain factories in China, where he was stationed. He also succeeded in sending home specimens of the natural constituents used in the manufacture; these were known as kaolin and petunste, the first a non-fusible substance, the second fusible. Baron Réaumur, the distinguished French chemist, after whom the thermometer is named, published in 1727-9 the results of his experiments on these samples in the *Transactions* of the Académie des Sciences. These were read by Cookworthy, an excellent French scholar, with keenest interest. What a delightful and wonderful thing it must have been

to learn that these delicate, smooth, translucent porcelain cups and vases were really made of stone and clay, fused by fire! This knowledge came to a man who was familiar in his laboratory with the action of heat in melting solid substances, and who had seen in his travels an immense variety of stones and minerals. His trade as a wholesale chemist took him often into Cornwall, and as he always rode on these journeys and had plenty of leisure to use his eyes, many strange stones must have been carried back to Plymouth to be melted in crucibles.

Among the many Cornish friends visited by Cookworthy, perhaps the most useful to him when making these researches was John Nancarrow, superintendent of mines in the St. Austell district, a clever engineer who made considerable improvements in the early steam-engines. From Nancarrow he must have heard of the clay used to mend furnaces and the fire-places of the engines by the tin miners, which was able to stand intense heat without disintegrating.

The soapy rock at Mullion was known without question to both. This steatite had been used in the manufacture of a kind of porcelain at Bristol before 1750,¹ and later at Worcester, but here the natural element was added to an artificial compound, and although the result, especially at Worcester, was beautiful, it was not true porcelain.

It is perhaps well to explain here, by a quotation from two great authorities on the subject, the difference between hard and soft porcelain :—

“True porcelain, sometimes called hard paste, is composed only of natural elements (Chinese, Dresden, Plymouth, Bristol, etc.).”

“Artificial porcelain, also known as soft paste, where the body is an artificial combination of various materials agglomerated by the action of fire (St. Cloud, Old Sèvres, Chelsea, Bow, etc.).”²

There are many versions of how William Cookworthy first discovered the long-sought-for kaolin. A traveller³ in 1797 was told at the china stone works in St. Stephen's

¹ *Travels in England* (chiefly in 1750–7). By Dr. R. Pococke, afterwards Bishop of Ossory. Printed by the Camden Society, 1888.

² *Official Guide to the English Pottery and Porcelain in the British Museum*, by R. L. Hobson, p. 85, quoting Mr. Wm. Burton's definition of soft paste.

³ The Rev. John Skinner, who visited the works in the autumn of 1797. His diary remains in MS. in the British Museum. Add. MS. 33,635.

that being present at the founding of some bells at Fowey he noticed the appearance of some of the stones which had been contained in the mould, etc. ; probably the great heat of the molten mass of bell metal had fused some stones used to line the mould, and Cookworthy's practised and eager eyes saw what he had so long desired. If this is true, and it is at all events a possible story and gleaned early on the spot, it would have enabled him to identify stones of the same appearance elsewhere.

He actually found both kaolin and petuntse "in the parish of Germo, in a hill called Tregonnen Hill"¹ (596 ft. high, about a mile from Godolphin House, between Helston and Marazion). "The whole country in depth is of this stone. It reaches East and West from Breag to Germo, and North and South from Tregonnen Hill to the sea. From the cliffs some of this stone hath been brought to Plymouth, where it was used in the Casemates of the Garrison." "The stone of this petuntse is a species of the granite, or, as we in the West call it, the Moor stone." "The stone is compounded of small pellucid gravel and a whitish matter which indeed is kaolin petrified." "Caulin (kaolin) in the Chinese way of speaking, constitutes the bones as the Petuntse does the flesh of China Ware." This recalls the story of Père d'Entrècolles, who telling a Chinese manufacturer that in Europe porcelain had been attempted with petuntse but without kaolin (then unknown), had been answered that the Europeans were indeed a wonderful people to attempt to build up a body with flesh without bones.

But Cookworthy had now the supreme delight of knowing that he had discovered that here in England, in his own neighbourhood, the long-desired kaolin existed in immense quantities. What a benefactor this made him to his own West-country (his mother was a Cornish-woman and he Devon) he never lived to see. After being certain by repeated experiments that he had the real materials for making porcelain, the next thing would be to shape it into cups or other vessels. Cookworthy, though not a practical potter, had certainly knowledge of the necessary processes, whether gained earlier in Staffordshire on visits to the Marshes, Friends, who, after the Elers left the potteries, took Bradley Farm

¹ Cookworthy's Memorandum, printed page 199 *et seq.* of *Memoirs of William Cookworthy by his Grandson*, 1853.

and tried, according to Shaw,¹ experiments in their old furnace ; or at Bristol, where the manufacture of pottery had been carried on for very many years. It does not appear, though records are far from complete, that after being settled at Plymouth he went to Staffordshire ; his visits there must have taken place from London in his young days, perhaps when travelling for the great Quaker firm of Bevan, now Allen and Hanbury.

But to Bristol business and the duties of his ministry often took him, and it would have been easy to experiment at some of the pottery kilns there with his newly discovered Cornish materials. At Bristol was established for a very short time a "new work from the clay and stone discovered in Cornwall," mentioned by Richard Champion, in 1765, in writing to his brother-in-law, Caleb Lloyd, who had sent him some kaolin (but not petuntse) from America. This was in November, 1765, and Champion tells him a month later that although his kaolin is purer than the Cornish, unless he "sends the Stone which always rises out of the Clay, you cannot have any China made out of the latter."²

It is evident from this letter that Champion knew the right composition of porcelain, and the knowledge was probably acquired from Cookworthy, whose acquaintance his devoted sister had made for the first time in the previous year, when Sarah Champion (4 January, 1764), after recording the fact, speaks of William Cookworthy as "the first inventor of the Bristol China." Cookworthy, in his petition for a patent in 1768, says, "the materials at this time" are "applied to none of the uses of Pottery but by him and those under his direction." This new work was very soon given up. In February, 1766, Champion writes that this was owing to difficulties with the glaze ; he also speaks of "the proprietors," among whom he was not included.

Cookworthy was not baffled by this partial failure ; on the contrary, finding by experiments that the stone from St. Stephens was more free from impurities, he, probably at the suggestion of Mr. Thomas Pitt of Boconnoc, took out a patent, 17 March, 1768, for a "kind of Porcelain newly invented by me, composed of moor stone, or Growan,

¹ *History of the Staffordshire Potteries.* By Simeon Shaw, 1829, p. 121.

² Given by H. Owen, p. 11, and kindly verified by the present owner of the letter.

and Growan Clay." The petition states "that the ware wh. he hath prepared from these materials hath all the characters of the true Porcelain in regard to grain, transparency, colour, and infusibility, in a degree equal to the best Chinese or Dresden ware, whereas all the manufactures of porcelain hitherto carried on in Gt. Britain have only been imitations of the genuine kind, wanting the Beauty of Colour, the Smoothness and Lustre of Grain and the great characteristick of genuine porcelain, sustaining the most extreme Degree of Fire without melting. That this discovery had been attended with great labour and expense, and to the best of his knowledge and belief, in regard to this kingdom, is new, and his own, the materials being even at this time, applied to none of the uses of Pottery but by him and those under his Direction."

The materials were to be obtained from Mr. Pitt, a lease being granted for 99 years on a royalty. At this time Thomas Pitt, nephew of the great William Pitt, 1st Lord Chatham, was M.P. for Old Sarum, subsequently for Okehampton, both of which boroughs he owned. He was quite a young man (b. 1737) very interested in art, whose father, Thomas Pitt, Lord Warden of the Stannaries, had died in 1761, leaving him Boconnoc and much other property.

Cookworthy certainly made porcelain at Plymouth at the date of the patent and previously. The late Mr. R. N. Worth¹ first drew attention to the fact that he rented at this time a bakehouse in the High Street, and suggested that the china factory was carried on there. From the town rentals it is evident that William Cookworthy had this house from 1761, but it would have required considerable alterations, for it is of course quite impossible to get the heat required for porcelain as hard as that made at Plymouth in a baker's oven. "The necessary temperature could not have been reached without entirely destroying the oven."²

The kiln or oven actually used by Cookworthy and described by him in his Memorandum,³ already quoted, was drawn by Richard Champion at a much later period. Among the careful measurements written against this sketch or plan is the date "Oct. 16, 1770," perhaps the day when Champion visited the Plymouth manufactory and

¹ In Devonshire Association *Transactions* for 1876, p. 494.

² Letter from Mr. Wm. Burton, F.C.S., etc., to the writer.

³ Page 206.

sketched the kiln, though this is mere conjecture. Mr. Hugh Owen reproduces this drawing¹ "under the misleading designation of an enamel kiln."²

In a letter written by Mr. William Burt, Secretary to the Chamber of Commerce in Plymouth, on "Manufactures formerly carried on in the Port" (of Plymouth), dated 1 December, 1814,³ he speaks of the "extinct manufactory of the finer china founded by Cookworthy," and gives information "furnished by a person employed in it during his youthful days." Fifty or sixty persons were so employed, and the manufactory buildings were at Coxside.

It does not seem possible to disregard this evidence taken from an actual worker, who had nothing to gain by false statements. It has on the face of it much in its favour, for though it is extremely probable that, while experiments were being carried on by two or three workmen under William Cookworthy's immediate supervision, premises near to his house and place of business would be chosen (High Street being near to Notte Street), there were other considerations. The material had to be brought to Plymouth and then prepared. The china clay and stone (kaolin and petuntse) must have been brought to Plymouth by sea, and for this Coxside, just by the water's edge in the harbour, was most suitable and convenient, no expense of land carriage being incurred. Then mills were necessary to grind the stone. It is perfectly clear from Cookworthy's own statement that all these processes had been carried out before he took out the patent.

The probability is, on the evidence at present available, that when the patent was taken out in 1768, two or three people joined Cookworthy in establishing the works on a larger scale, these being Mr. Thomas Pitt and probably three Bristol merchants, George Bush, Abraham Clibborn, and Richard Summers, who certainly had some financial interest in Cookworthy's work.

Then it was that fifty or sixty people were employed, and the demand was so great "at home and abroad, particularly in America, for its articles, which consisted of enamelled and blue and white china, of all descriptions, both ornamental and useful, that they could hardly be

¹ Page 19, *Two Centuries of Ceramic Art in Bristol*. By Hugh Owen, F.S.A., 1873.

² *History of English Porcelain*. By Wm. Burton, p. 125.

³ Published under title of *Review of the Trade . . . of Plymouth*, 1816.

made fast enough.”¹ To support this it may be mentioned that Plymouth and Bow china are still found in old houses in America, and that when Benjamin Franklin was in England he sent home to his wife, February, 1758, “a large case and a small box containing” “. . . something from all the china workers in England.”²

That the china factory was not very near to Notte Street, Cookworthy’s residence, is to be inferred from the fact that Sarah Champion when in Plymouth early in 1770, although she visited the Cookworthy family several times, left Plymouth without seeing the china works, for which she apologizes very prettily in a letter to her friend (afterwards her sister-in-law) Elizabeth Fox, knowing how greatly Cookworthy was interested in his manufactory. There was a shop for selling the ware in Notte Street, where Cookworthy’s chemist’s shop was also situated.³

It will be seen, if this theory is correct, that Plymouth china naturally falls into two classes, the first made in the experimental stage, and the second when the larger works were carried on and it was desired to make it a commercial success.

And here it should be said that if Plymouth china seems to us rough and badly made, no one in England knew how to make or paint this new porcelain. “To make hard porcelain was quite a new departure in England, the mixture of the raw materials, the fashioning of the ware, the conduct of the firing, all differed materially from the usual routine of the potter’s trade. No workmen could be found to understand such unwonted processes; each had to try and gain experience before he could be of much service.”⁴ This quotation from one of our greatest artist-potters makes us appreciate Cookworthy’s technical difficulties. The spiral ridges, the warping cracks, and distortions in firing, the smoky appearance caused by “those tingeing vapours” that occasioned him so much trouble, all evidence these difficulties.

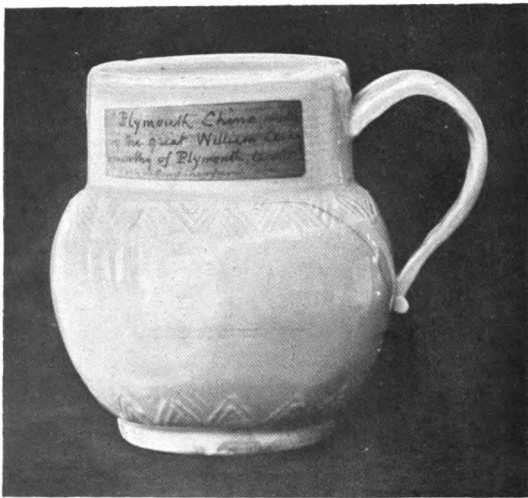
In the first stage a few workmen were employed under Cookworthy’s direct supervision and often with his help. It has always been a family tradition that some of the early painting in blue was actually done by him, and indeed

¹ Burt, p. 174.

² *China Collecting in America*. A. M. Earle, 1892.

³ W. Burt on the worker’s evidence.

⁴ *Old English Porcelain*. By L. M. E. Solon, 1903, p. 169.



Mr. F. L. Rawlins.

Copyright, 1912

he says this in his Memorandum. The designs were generally taken from Chinese models. There is one graceful little design that appears on many early pieces; some very early cups that have never left Kingsbridge, Cookworthy's native place, have this pattern. The cups are so distorted in firing as to be almost oval. These early pieces are usually articles of everyday use, generally cups (the coffee-cup shape), small cream-jugs, and very solid inkstands. The most interesting of these last belongs to Miss Fox, of Plymouth; it is circular in shape, resembling the Bow inkstands, decorated with little panels of Chinese design in grey-blue and discoloured in firing, and was labelled by Miss Lydia Prideaux, "This inkstand used to stand on my Father's Office Desk, he died in the Summer of 1796." Another belonging to the same lady "was obtained when my brother John Prideaux was writing an account of Wm. Cookworthy,¹ in the neighbourhood of the old 'china House,' he bought it from a workman who had been employed in the works," etc. It is very like the other; both bear the Plymouth mark, as do the Kingsbridge cups.

This mark [2-], the alchemical symbol for tin, was no doubt chosen by Cookworthy because his materials came from the tin country. It is generally found on these early blue and white pieces; sometimes, but very rarely, in combination with other characters. The number XII is mentioned by Llewellyn Jewitt and Chaffers, and I have seen it with a crescent and also a $\times$. This last is often called Bristol-Plymouth, but it has the characteristics of Plymouth, and may only have been added by some workman. Another mark, *N*6, is found on an early cup that has been treasured since it was first made, in the Collier family of Plymouth. This is the only example at present known of this mark.

Through the great kindness of a descendant of Richard Champion, I am enabled to illustrate for the first time one of these very early pieces, probably made by Cookworthy himself. It was labelled by Miss Eliza Hester Champion, born 1769, daughter of Richard Champion, the Bristol potter, "Plymouth China made by the great William Cookworthy of Plymouth." The jug measures $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches in height, $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches at its greatest circumference. Its owner

¹ *Relics of William Cookworthy*. Collected by John Prideaux (1787-1859, great-nephew of Wm. C.), published 1853.

describes it as "all white, the design is raised, the clay is not quite white, but the glaze is pure white, it is not marked, the bottom is rough as if it had been resting on sand in the kiln."

In the second period, when more workmen were employed, there being a larger capital to draw upon, larger and more ambitious pieces were made, and both potting and painting improved greatly. Sets of mugs were made, some crudely painted in bright flowers for cottage or ordinary use, and some decorated most exquisitely with birds in a floral setting, drawing and colouring being alike beautiful. Tea-services, too, at this period when tea-drinking was becoming general, had a ready sale at home among the Friends of Plymouth, and in America. William Chapple, of Exeter, a contemporary of Cookworthy's, complains¹ bitterly how tea was ousting beer, and china and earthenware pewter: "the dispiriting Infusion of an Asiatick Shrub" is "preferred to the exhilarating Beverage derived from the red-streak Apple-tree or the Barley Mow, the Capacious Tankard . . . rejected for a Complete Set of Tea-tackle and a Sugar-loaf . . . and the Country Squire to keep a step higher than his neighbouring Farmers, to please his Modish Madam and escape being censured as a tasteless Churl, must prefer the Brittleness and Frailty of Dresden Porcelain to the Solidity and Permanence of Danmonian Pewter."

Besides this useful china, groups and figures were made for ornamenting mantelpieces, graceful birds in colours and white, groups of children and the so-called "Gardiner and his Wife," having a background of raised flowers or boccage, besides small single figures of cows, hares, lions, etc. Also vases and large single figures, of these the best known are the Four Quarters of the Globe. These are 13 inches high, well modelled and graceful, especially Europe and Asia, and the colouring slight and refined; the white figure of Europe, given to the Geological Museum by the wife of General Nelson, R.E. (born in Plymouth, 1803), is particularly charming. The other two figures of the set, America with a prairie cat, and Africa with a crocodile, are less artistic.

The most famous vases are those belonging to Sir John Fry, engraved for the *Art Journal* of 1863 and given by H. Owen (p. 78). These have the Plymouth mark and every

¹ *Review of Risdon's Devon*, pp. 97, 98.

appearance of being made at that factory. In the Trapnell Collection, so recently dispersed, was an interesting pair of vases from the same mould, but with different colouring. One (No. 629) made at Plymouth, the other (No. 416) at Bristol; the Plymouth vase unique in having impressed in the clay before firing, a seal—a classically draped woman's head. This seal may perhaps have belonged to Thomas Pitt, who was so much interested, financially and otherwise, in the china ware. It is possible that it was he who bought some of the Chelsea moulds in 1769, when he was residing at Twickenham. Certainly, some figures made at Chelsea and Plymouth are identical. N. Sprimont, the director at Chelsea, formerly a silversmith, is said to have used models that had served him for silver; he made crayfish salt-cellars, an example of which is in the British Museum. There are in existence two undoubted Plymouth salt-cellars with coloured crayfish. The figure of America is in the Schreiber Collection made in Bow china; this mould may have been bought at the Chelsea sale.

There are some fine white Plymouth pieces, though on this point much misconception has arisen, white Oriental china being formerly described and even illustrated as Plymouth. And early white Bow or Chelsea was also so called. Of this, perhaps the most surprising instance is the bust of George II, long treasured in the family of Benjamin Cookworthy, the youngest brother of William the potter; it figures in the Cookworthy window in Plymouth Guildhall, and even led astray Lady Charlotte Schreiber, that wonderful virtuosa and collector. It is beautifully modelled and finished, being a copy of Rysbrack's statue of the King, and stands 17 inches high on a detached pedestal. It is, on the face of it, extraordinary and unusual that large and expensive portrait models of a king, none too popular in his life, should be made for sale eight years after his death; while it is highly probable that busts of the reigning king would be made at a factory near his capital and under Court patronage. Several of these busts are known: one at the British Museum that has been "improved" with oil colours, one at the Liverpool Museum, one formerly in the Nightingale Collection, and the one at the Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington, whose discovery in Edinburgh in 1869 gave Lady Charlotte Schreiber so much pleasure because it was "exactly like the bust" left by the late Dr. Cookworthy

as an heirloom in his family,¹ but which before 1884, when Lady Charlotte gave her magnificent collection to the nation, she described as white Bow or Chelsea. And the Cookworthy bust of George II turns out to be the same; in colouring and texture and paste it is absolutely unlike Plymouth. No one knowing anything of the subject could fail to be struck with the difference between this bust and some beautiful white figures of the Four Quarters of the Globe that have come down in the same family. Whether the bust ever belonged to William Cookworthy is not known; if so, it may have been bought as a curious specimen at the Chelsea sale, 17 May, 1769, when it is very probable that he acquired some of the models, all of which were advertised to be sold. Wedgwood proposed buying some of the moulds, models, etc.; "there is an immense amount of fine things." (Letter to his partner Bentley.)

The white Sphinx² is interesting because of its large size, 12 inches long by 9 inches high, and as an early piece. Inside, where not covered by the glaze, it looks absolutely like melted stone. And also, because it is precisely the same as an early Sphinx made by Josiah Wedgwood in black basalt, illustrated in Miss Meteyard's *Life of Wedgwood*,³ itself now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington, having been removed from the Geological Museum in Jermyn Street. It is perhaps the only instance of Cookworthy and Wedgwood using the same model, for they were not friendly or even acquainted with each other, as far as is known. The design is very beautiful, and is said to be French, the little saddlecloth with its elegant tracery dating from Louis XIV.

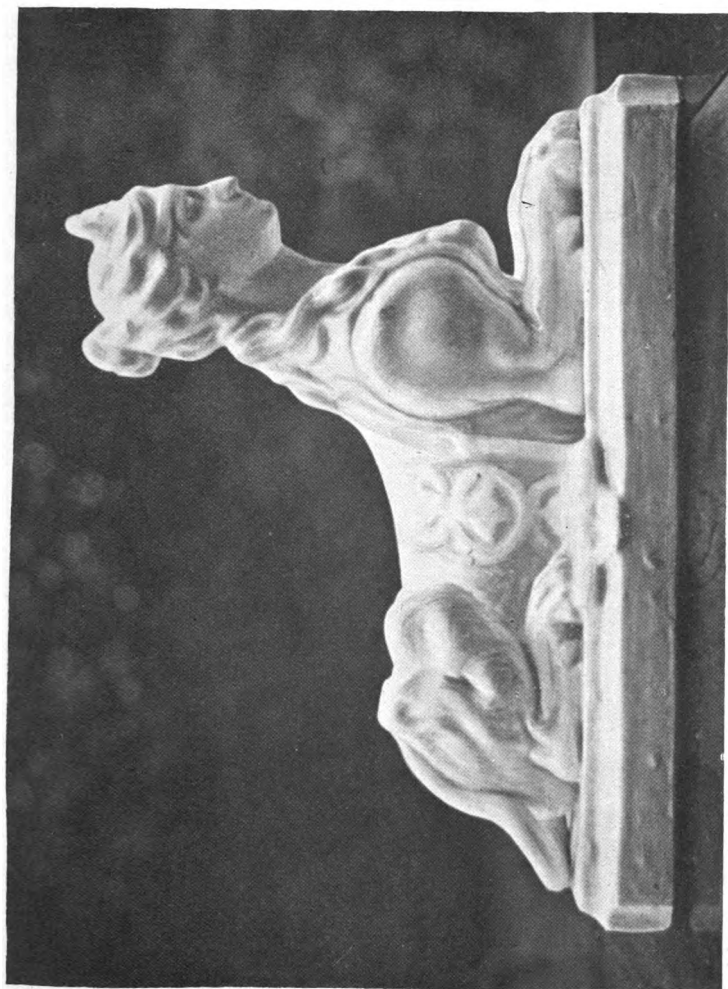
Mr. William Burton thinks that "probably Cookworthy and Wedgwood obtained models in Plaster of Paris from the same source, unknown to each other," which may have been the Chelsea sale, though this model had not been used by the Chelsea factory as far as is known.

The rarest and in some ways the most interesting pieces of Plymouth china are those inscribed and dated underneath. Of these the earliest is the famous cup or mug now in the British Museum, having the arms of Plymouth, painted in blue, and underneath the cup the inscription, "March 14. 1768, C.F." (Cookworthy *fecit*), three days, it

¹ *Journal*, Vol. I, p. 57, published 1911.

² See illustration.

³ Fig. 36, p. 159.



Mrs. G. H. Radford.

Copyright, 1912.



British Museum.

Copyright, 1912.



British Museum.

Copyright, 1912.



Mr. James Doel.

Copyright, 1912.



Mr. James Doel.

Copyright, 1912.

PLYMOUTH CHINA.—To face p. 393.

will be observed, before the patent was taken out. The photograph was taken by kind permission of the Museum Authorities, direct from this unique specimen, which belongs, one is glad to say, to the nation. This is not the only piece of dated Plymouth china. There are two most interesting sauce-boats, kindly lent for exhibition to the Exeter Museum, so that any of the members who care to do so can see for themselves what Plymouth china is like. These very rare specimens are thus described by their owner, Captain Luxmoore: "The butter-boats are white and embossed. On both sides in the centre a small bunch of coloured flowers. Around the spout and rim, also on handle, sprigs of puce-coloured foliage decoration. Inside of rim same decoration. At the bottom of inside, small bunch of flowers coloured. At the bottom is written in vermilion paint, 'Mr. Wm. Cookworthy's factory Plymouth 1770.' "

There is also a beautifully painted teapot with the same inscription (see illustration), which the owner, Mr. Doel of Plymouth, a life-long collector, has kindly given for reproduction. This particular specimen has never been out of Plymouth, having come to the late owner direct from the factory. In the British Museum is a large Plymouth mug, decorated in the rich "Indian" colouring with an inscription, but unfortunately in this case very much rubbed and obliterated. "November ye 27th, 1770" is clear, but the words above are not to be deciphered with certainty. It is curious that the date should be the same given by Richard Champion in his sketch of Cookworthy's kiln as that on which the "Last Burning of Enamel" took place.

It is impossible in the short space at my disposal to speak on the vexed question of the duration of the works at Plymouth—Whether when works at Bristol were opened under the name of W. Cookworthy and Co. in September, 1771, the works at Plymouth were closed, or whether the two factories were carried on simultaneously. It is only certain that in October, 1773, William Cookworthy agreed to transfer his patent to Richard Champion, that this agreement was legally completed in May, 1774, and Plymouth china ceased to be made.

TITHE COMMUTATION IN EXBOURNE IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

BY SIR ROPER LETHBRIDGE, K.C.I.E.

(Read at Exeter, 24th July, 1912.)

THE Tithe Commutation Act of 1836, in substituting a rent-charge (based on certain septennial averages) for the ancient tithe paid in kind, merely completed and gave legislative sanction to a tendency that had long been in active operation in various parts of the country. As tithe itself had originally grown up by custom in the earliest ages, so commutation—obviously convenient and even necessary under modern habits—had gradually grown up by custom in a similar way. I have found an interesting illustration of this in the answers to Interrogatories, taken by a Commission issuing out of the Court of Exchequer in the twenty-seventh year of King Charles II, in an important suit relating to the tithes of my own parish of Exbourne. I am indebted to our Member of Council, Miss Lega-Weekes, for a copy of so much of the record of the case as is to be found in the Public Record Office—and as this record throws much light on the general question, I have much pleasure in submitting it to the Association, with notes to indicate its actual bearing on the history of the tithe.

In or about the year 1675, the Rev. Abraham Franke, clerk in holy orders, and an Exbourne landowner—he was at this time the owner and occupier of an estate in Exbourne now called Buskin, then called Burskin,¹ and was at the same time Rector of Poughill, near Crediton, where his Vicars were successively the Rev. Francis Elston and

¹ It is interesting to note that the ancient name of this estate, Bruskin or Burskin, brings us somewhat nearer to the French etymology, "broussequin," of its modern name Buskin, the old half-boot of tragic actors. It is possible that the name referred to the shape of the estate on the map, like the common name of many fields—"the Lady's Stocking," "the brandize," and so forth.

the Rev. Laurence Braggingston—with some other complainants, brought a suit against the Rev. Samuel Finney, the Rector of Exbourne, about some claims made upon him for tithe. The record is not sufficiently complete to enable us to know the ground of his action or its result. But it seems reasonable to suppose that Mr. Franke found that the customary tithes in Exbourne differed from those in his own rectory of Poughill, and that he brought the suit to ascertain whether the differences were sanctioned by the custom of Exbourne.

Abraham Franke was the head of an old-established family in Exbourne—his ancestor Ricardus Franke having been one of the Trustees of the Church House in that parish, named in the deed of 1507, still existing, wherein the site of that house was granted by the lord of the manor of Exbourne to certain trustees on a yearly rent of 4d., which is still paid every Michaelmas by the Rector and churchwardens at the annual Manor Court. The Rev. Abraham Franke's son Abram, born at Exbourne in 1675 (the year of this suit), appears to have taken holy orders and become Vicar of the neighbouring parish of Burrington, near Chulmleigh; and the son of the latter, also called Abram, matriculated at Exeter College, Oxford, in 1721.

The defendant, the Rev. Samuel Finney—Rector of Exbourne at the date of the suit in 1675—was born at Exbourne in 1637, one of three "conforming" sons of a rather famous divine of those days, the Rev. Thomas Finney, successively Rector of Jacobstowe and Exbourne from 1617 to 1662, who was ejected as a Nonconformist on St. Bartholomew's Day, 1662. He was succeeded as Rector of Exbourne by his son Samuel, and an account of his life, with much praise of his piety and scholarship, is given in Calamy's *Nonconformist's Memorial*. Thomas Finney, while still Rector of the adjoining parish of Jacobstowe, had married in 1620 the widow of Henry Hazell, a former Rector of Exbourne. She died in 1626, and in 1629 he married Jaquet, daughter of John Yeo, of Rede House, in Hatherleigh (and sister of the famous Hatherleigh Nonconformist, Bartholomew Yeo, ejected from the rectory of Merton in 1662—see *Transactions of the Devonshire Association*, Vol. XXXVI, page 289, and Vol. XLIII, page 403), by his wife Rebecka Rolle, daughter of Henry Rolle, of Heanton Sachville and Stevenstone, and sister of Colonel Rolle, the well-known Parliamentary leader.

The defendant's sister, Mary Finney—whose memorial tablet is in Exbourne Church—married first Simon Westlake (whose brother John is mentioned in these proceedings), and secondly Robert Clapp, also mentioned below. And her daughter, Rebecca Westlake, married the Rev. John Lethbridge, Rector of Jacobstowe, son of the Thomas Lethbridge who was one of the Commissioners named below. From this it will be seen that the defendant, Samuel Finney, was closely related by marriage to three (Thomas Lethbridge, John Westlake, and Robert Clapp) out of the eight landowners of Exbourne actually named in these proceedings—and two more, Simon Brock and George Tattershall, subsequently became related to him in the same way.

The Commission runs as follows :—

Carolus II., dei gratia Angliæ &c Rex Dilectis nostris Thome Lethbridge, gen., Johanni Rosyer, gen., Shilston Calmady, arm., et Thome Northmore gen., salutem. Sciatis quod nos de fidelitate industria &c. . . . vobis mandamus quod &c. . . . ipsos testes et eorum quemlibet pro se separatim de et super articulis predictis super sacramenta sua coram vobis . . . diligenter examinetis. . . .

It is dated 12 February, 1675 ; and the returns were to be made on parchment to the Barons of the Exchequer within three weeks after Easter. The four Justices named as Commissioners were all well-known men in their day in Devon. Thomas Lethbridge, of Exbourne Manor, was the first cousin of Christopher Lethbridge, the Mayor of Exeter at the time of the Restoration, whose life is given in Prince's *Worthies of Devon*. John Rosier was the owner of Bydown House in Swymbridge, now the property and residence of Mr. John Pyke-Nott—in Swymbridge parish church there are several memorial tablets of the Rosier family. Shilston Calmady, whose name figures largely in the history of Okehampton, was the son of Sir Shilston Calmady, of Leawood in Bridestowe—being the son of a knight he is here described by the King's Commission as "armiger," while his colleagues are simply "generosi." His son, John Calmady, was M.P. for Okehampton at the Restoration, and voted for the return of Charles II. And finally, Thomas Northmore, of Cleeve in St. Thomas, Exeter, was M.P. for Okehampton in 1695–8, and brother of John Northmore, the first Town Clerk of Okehampton,

whose family house; still known as Northmore House, is now the Town Hall of that ancient borough.

The Interrogatories were as follows :—

INTERROGATORIES

to bee administered to witnesses to bee produced on the pt and behalf of Abraham Franke, Clerke, and others plt^s. and Samuell finney, Clarke, defendt as followeth :—

- (1) *Imprimis.* Doe you know the said Complt Abraham Franke Clarke and doe you know Joane Holmes widdow William Viccary Thomas Lethebridge John Baker Robert Clapp Richd Downe and George Tattershall, owners and possessors of messuages lands and tents within the pise of Exburne . . . etc. and how long have you known them ?
- (2) Doe you knowe believe or have heard that within the sd parish of Exburne there are or have been severall antient and generall customes and usuages from the tyme whereof the memory of man is not to the contrary that there hath been severall certain sums of money paid to the Rector of the said parishe of Exburne aforesaid or to his farmer or other proprietor of the tenth and ecclesiasticall duties of the same for and in lieu of full satisfaccon and discharge of the tithes in kinde ?
Doe you know of the paymt of any tithes (except the tithes of corne and graine) what was itt, and when and how paid and for what and how many of the titheable matters and things hath there been money paid or accustomed to bee paid or used or accustomed to bee paid to the Rector and proprietor of the said titheable matter, how long have you known the same ?
- (3) Doe you know . . . etc . . . that there hath been by all the tyme aforesaid usually and accustomedly paid by the inhabitants of the said parishe to the Rector or his farmer for and in lieu of tithes in kinde of and for their apples groweing upon their respective tenemts within the parishe and titheable places aforesaid and by them made into syder the yearly sume of fower pence for eu'y Hogshead of syder and soe after that rate for a greater or lesser quantity in full discharge of all tithes of the said apples soe made into syder. And have you not heard that some smale peice of money hath been paid for the whord fruite.

- (4) Doe you know . . . etc. that there hath been by all the said tyme usually yearly paid to the said Rector and Proprietor for the tithe milke of eu'y cowe not bringinge forthe a calfe One penny, and yielding milke yearly in full discharge of such tithe milke, and for the tithe milke of eu'y cowe bringinge forth a calfe within the said parishe two pence yearly in full discharge of such tithe milke for that yeare, and for and in discharge of the tithe of eu'y such calfe soe brought forth sixpence and noe more.
- (5) Doe you know . . . etc. that there hath been from the tyme whereof the memory of man is not to the contrary usually paid to the Rector, owner or proprietor of the parishe aforesaid one farthing yearly in lieu of the tithe milke of every ewe milked within the said parishe. And doe you know . . . etc. that by all the same tyme there hath been usually yearly paid to the Rector and proprietor one penny yearly called a *garden penny* in lieu of the tithe of all garden fruits and likewise one penny yearly called a *hearth penny* in lieu of the tithe wood used and spent in or upon every messuage or tenent.
- (6) Doe you know the messuage and tenement wherein the compt. Abraham Franke lives, what is the same called, do you know . . . etc. . . . of any tithe hay paid out of the said tenement, or any sume of money for the same, what is such sume of money and how long have you soe knowne the same paid, is not the same called *Stents of Meadows*. Doe you know any other of the Compts messuages lands and tenemts in their possession or either of them, and which of them pay tithe unto the said Rector and proprietor. Is there not certaine sumes of money paid out of the said severall messuages and tenements? How much is the same severall sumes; declare the same, what is paid out of either of the said messuages and tenements and how long . . . etc.
- (7) Doe you know, . . . etc. . . . that by all the tyme aforesaid there hath been accustomedly paid yearly at the feast of Easter or afterwards on demand unto the Rector of the said parishe one penny for the tithe of every Colt foaled within the said parishe in sattisfaccion of the tithe of such Colt.
- (8) Doe you know . . . etc. . . . that there hath been usually paid to the Rector of the sd. parishe or his farmer yearly at the feast of Easter or afterwards on demand for every lamb fallen in lieu of tithe of such

Lambs . . . and three pence yearly for eu'y fleece of wooll shorne from theire sheepe kept within theire said parishe in full discharge of the said tithe wool.

- (9) What els do you know . . . etc. . . . concerning the customes and manners of tithing within the parishe aforesaid ?

The Depositions were as follows :—

CHRISTIAN SMALE, wife of John Smale of Chawleigh . . . etc. . . . yeoman, aged 75 or thereabouts.

- (to 1st). This deponent saith that she doth know Abraham Franke, clerke, complt. Thomas Lethbridge, John Baker, and Richard Downe, . . . etc., and doth know that John Baker and Richard Downe are owners and possessors of severall messuages lands and tenements in the parishe of Exburne, in . . . etc. . . . and that shee hath knowne the sd John Baker for the space of 6 years last past . . . and the sd Richard Downe fr . . . 60 yrs . . . etc.

- (to 3rd). . . . saith that she doth not remember whether there was ever any tithe Apples paid by the inhabitants and occupiers of estates within the sd parishe of Exburne to the Rector of the sd parishe or his farmer, or anything in lieu of such apples or syder.

- (4th). . . . deposeth not.

- (to 5th) . . . saith that she doth know and remember that about 60 years since dureing the tyme this depont lived in the sd parishe of Exburne, being severall yeares there was usually yearly paid to the sd Rector and propriator of the parishe aforesaid by Symon Brocke deceased this deponents father being an inhabitant of the sd. pishe of Exburne, one penny yearly called a garden penny in lieu of the tithes of all garden hearbs and likewise one penny yearly called a hearth penny in lieu of the tithe of wood used and spent in and upon his said messuage and tenemt in the parish of Exburne aforesaid and more to this Interrogation this deponent deposeth not.

- (to 6th) . . . Saith that she doth know the messuage and tenement in the Interrogatory menconed wherein the Complt. Abraham Franke liveth and that the same is called *Burskin*, and doth alsoe know the messuages and tenements wherein the aforesaid John Baker and Richard Downe doe live but doth not remember whither there hath at any tyme been

any tithe hay paid to the Rector aforesaid out of either of the sd. messuages and tenements or anything in lieu thereof.

(to 7th & 8th). . . . deposeth not.

NICHOLAS SAULE of Hatherleigh . . . husbandman aged 80. . . .

(to 1st) . . . Saith that hee doth know all the compts in the Interrogatory named (except John Baker) and that they are owners and possessors of severall messuages lands and tenemts. in the said pishe of Exburne and that hee hath knowne the said Abraham Franke for about halfe a yeare last past, and the Complt. William Vicary for about 2 years last past. And that he hath known George Tattershall for about 1 yeare and halfe last past and that he hath knowne the complt. Johane Holmes widd. Thomas Lethbridge, Robert Clapp and Richd. Downe for several years last past . . .

(to 2nd) . . . saith that he hath heard and doth verily believe that there have been severall ancient customes and and usuages within the pishe of Exburne, viz., that the Inhabitants of the said pishe have usually yearly paid to the Rector and proprietor of the sd parishe of Exburne in lieu of tithes in kinde of and for any theire apples growing upon theire respective tenemts. within the parishe and titheable places aforesaid and by them made into syder, the sume of fower pence for every Hogshead of Syder by them made in full satisfaction and discharge of the tithe of such apples soe made and converted into syder and this deponent further sayth that hee hath often tyme heard and doth verily believe that the inhabitants of the parishe aforesaid have likewise usually yearly paid unto the Rector or proprietor of the tithes of the saide parish of Exburne 1 penny in lieu of the tithes of all other apples groune upon theire respective tenements. And further saith that for 60 years last past hee hath heard it reputed and doth beleive that there were such customes respectively in the parishe aforesaid, and the reson of this deponents beleife thereof is for that this deponent. liveing as a seruant unto one Mr. John Westlake who was an inhabitant of the said parishe of Exburne did several times pay unto Mr. Thomas Finney deceased, the defts. father being then Rector and proprietor of the tithes of the said parishe of Exburne the sume of fower pence for every

hogshead of syder and one penny yearly for all other apples groune upon his said masters tenement by order of his said master, in full sattisfac and discharge of all the tithe of the said apples soe made into syder and of all his other apples groune upon his said tenement as aforesaid.

(to 5th). . . . saith he hath heard . . . etc. . . . that there hath been a custume in the parishe of Exburne aforesaid that the inhabitants of the said parishe have usually paid yearly unto the Rector and proprietor of the tithes of the parishe aforesaid one penny called a hearth penny.

(to 6th). . . . saith that he doth know the messuage and tenement wherein the Complt Abraham Franke dwells, called Burskin within the parishe of Exburne, and sayth that hee hath not known any tithes paid in kinde for the said tenemt. or any sune or sumes of money in lieu thereof but saith that for about fifty years last past there was 1s. 8d. yearly paid in lieu of the tithe hay groun upon the Barton of Court scituate in the parishe aforesaid to the owners and proprietors of the tithes of the parishe aforesaid by him this deponent for his said master Mr. John Westlake, being then owner of the said Barton of Court.

THOMAS TUCKER of Exburne in the county of Devon, Blacksmith aged 55 years . . . produced on the parte and behalfe of the Complots . . .

(to 1st). . . . saith that he knoweth all the Complots in the interrogatory named and that they are owners and possessors of severall messuages lands and tenemts in the parish aforesaid, and that hee hath knowne them for severall years last past.

(to 6th). . . . that hee doth know the messuages and tenements in the Interr. menconed called Burskin wherein the Complt. Abraham Franke dwells, and that twelve yeares since or thereabouts the deponent being shoeing of a colt in the presents of Mr. Thomas Finney the defendant's father who was then Rector . . . and demanding six pence in beere as a thing usually paid at the shoeing of a colt the said Mr. Thomas Finney asked the deponent whither that were his custome or whither hee had a custome for that and withall said that Burskin meadow (being parte of the aforesaid Tenemt called Burskin) was worth ten pounds per annum, and that hee had but six pence out of the same.

THOMAZIN FROST wife of Nicholas Frost of Exburne, . . . yeoman, aged 40 years.

(To 1). . . doth know . . . and hath known for severall years past . . . all the complts, and that they are owners and possessors of severall messuages lands and tenements in the parish of Exburne.

(to 3rd). . . hath heard and doth believe that there hath been for severall years last past, a custome within the parishe of Exburne that the inhabitants of the sd parishe have paid to the Rector or proprietor of the tithes of the same parishe or his farmer, for and in lieu of tithes in kinde of and for there apples groune upon there respective tenemts within the pshe and titheable places aforesaid and by them made into Syder, the yearly sune of fower pence for every hogshead of Syder, and soe after that rate for a greater or lesser quantity, in full discharge of all tithes of the said apples soe made into Syder, and the reason, to this Deponent's beliefe is for that her husband's landlord called Moses Brocke did in the Deponents presents pay unto the deft. Samuell Finney, being owner and proprietor of the tithe of the sd parishe of Exburne, for and in respect of Moses Brockes tenemt. the sune of 6d. for and in lieu of the tithes of one hogshead and halfe of Syder and that the sd Moses Brocke informed this Deponent and her husband that it had been the custome of the sd parishe for 40 yeares then last past.

and this deponent further saith, that after the death of the sd Moses Brocke (who died about 5 yeares since) this deponents husband hath enjoyed the sd tenement called Moses Brock's tenemt under certaine Annuities yssueing out of the same by virtue of agrt made by the sd Moses Brocke during the life of Mr. John Lethebridge as she believes.

And further this deponent saith that her said husband being poor and unable to vindicate his right in the defence of a law suite wherewith he was threatened by the deft Samuell Finney Clerke, did promise to pay unto him the sd defendt 42 s. per annum for and in lieu of all tithes for Moses Brocke's tenemt. and hath already paid 21 s. in parte thereof.

(to 6th) . . . saith that her sd husband hath usually paid unto the defendt Samuel Finney, some smale sune of money which she believes five pence, in lieu of full satisfaccione of the tithe hay of the tenemt. called Moses Brocke's tenemt.

WILLIAM HOLE of Exburne in the Co. of Devon husbandman, aged 50 produced on behalf of Complt. saith :—

(to 1st) . . . knoweth all the Compls . . . etc and that they are owners and possessors of all the tents named etc.

(to 6th) doth know the mess. & tenmts. called Burskin wherein the Complt Abraham Franke dwells . . . in the parishe of Exburne & that he . . .

Here the record comes to an abrupt conclusion, the remainder being lost.

From the evidence that is here given, several points emerge that are of considerable interest to the student.

In the first place, the form of the interrogatories and of the evidence clearly indicates the "customary" nature of tithe. The evidence is simply as to "the customs and usages from the time whereof the memory of man is not to the contrary"—which here settle the "modus." As we know from Sir Henry Maine's *Early Law and Custom*, from Mr. Seeböhm's *English Village Community*, from Mr. Horace Round's *Feudal England*, and from the works of the late Bishop Stubbs (the father of modern research into ancient British History), Professor Freeman, Professor Maitland, and the other eminent writers of the modern historical school, it has been on such evidence and by a similar procedure that all our chief local institutions have come down to us from the early village community, and the ancient tribal systems, common in many respects alike to our Celtic and our Teutonic ancestors. The boundaries and customs of townships, of manors, of parishes, and of counties—fishing rights, stannary and other mining customs, rights of way and of light and air, tolls and chief-rents of manors and of boroughs—these and many other incidents of our modern civilization have been handed down to us by custom.

One of the ablest and most scholarly of living writers on these subjects, Mr. Horace Round, has well observed, in his *Feudal England*, p. 539, that

"The central idea of that great advance which the present generation has witnessed in the domain of history, has been the rebuilding of the historical fabric on the relatively sure foundation of original and contemporary authorities."

And the greatest of modern historians, the late Bishop

Stubbs, in his preface to *The Chronicle of Roger Hoveden*, said :—

“With the superficial student and the empiric politician, it is too common to relegate the investigation of such changes to the domain of archæology. . . . If such things are archæology, then archæology is history.”

Our Devonshire Association, during its half-century of strenuous life, has done much to aid this “rebuilding of the historical fabric” for the West of England, by the labours of such archæologists as Bowring, Brooking-Rowe, Worth, Reichel, Whale, Chanter, and many others whose names will endure.

The “hearth-penny” mentioned in these proceedings as the tithe for the wood consumed in each one of the tenements of the parish, was the name given to one of the customary services of the *Kote-setlan* (cottier or border) in the tenth century, as set forth in the *Rectitudines Singularum Personarum*, quoted by Seebohm (*English Village Community*, page 129) :—

“Det super heorth-penig in Sancto die Jovis, sicut omnis liber facere debet.”

This payment of the old British cottier (the British or Saxon *bordarius* of *Domesday*) was customarily made on Holy Thursday—and it appears from the same record that his “Church-scot” was payable on the Feast of St. Martin, 11 November (*det suum cyricseatum in festo Sancti Martini*).

From the evidence here given it is evident that in Devonshire in the time of Charles II, and even earlier, the tithe on several titheable products—hay, apples for “whording” (hoarding), cider, garden produce, firewood, and so forth—had been commuted for small money payments from the owners or occupiers of land. The tithe on hay was apparently very light—6d. being the tithe on a large meadow called Burskin meadow, and 1s. 8d. on the “Barton of Court.” These estates, now called Buskin and Court Barton, owned in 1675 by the Rev. Abraham Franke and Mr. John Westlake respectively, were shortly afterwards bought by Mr. George Tattershall, of Exbourne and of Pennycott Manor in Shobrook, mentioned in these proceedings as a landowner in Exbourne—and they are

now the property of his descendant, Mr. John Arnold Tattershall, of Hayes House, Exbourne. The tithe on cider was evidently commuted at 4d. per hogshead ; and on all the other apples gathered for "hoarding," only the very light tithe of 1d. on each tenement. In addition to the "hearth-penny" for the firewood on each farm, there was a "garden-penny" for the produce of each garden.

In the next place, we have in these depositions an interesting confirmation of Hallam's statement that, notwithstanding the abolition of episcopacy under Cromwell and the Commonwealth, and the intrusion of large numbers of Nonconforming ministers into many livings, there was no interference with the ancient custom of tithe. The fact that Mr. Thomas Finney, the Rector of Exbourne during that period, was ejected as a Nonconformist on St. Bartholomew's Day, 1662, may be taken to show that he was largely in sympathy with the views of the Parliamentary authorities—and his remark to the Exbourne blacksmith (quoted by Thomas Tucker above) as to the inadequacy of the sixpenny tithe on Buskin meadow as compared with the sixpenny beer-money to the blacksmith on the shoeing of a colt, show his Puritan principles did not lead him to abate his customary dues. Of course, the incidence of the tithe was entirely altered by the Act of 1836—but it is interesting to note that the custom of paying 6d. as "colt-ale" on the first shoeing of a colt, besides the ordinary fee to the blacksmith, is still in full force at the Exbourne smithy, and I believe at other Devonshire forges.

It is also of interest to note that all the personal names mentioned in these proceedings, except perhaps Franke, are still represented in the parish or its immediate neighbourhood by the lineal descendants of those named herein.

THE KALENDERS AND THE EXETER TRADE- GILDS BEFORE THE REFORMATION.

BY MRS. FRANCES ROSE-TROUP.

(Read at Exeter, 24th July, 1912.)

WITHOUT entering into the origin and history of gilds in general, or the various opinions held upon these points, we may do well to collect such information as we can towards a history of the local associations, Confraternities, Brotherhoods, Gilds, Companies, Corporations, or whatever they may be styled.

This subject was touched upon at the meeting of the Devonshire Association in this city forty years ago, when Sir John Bowring, in his "Ancient Exeter and its Trade," referred to some of the Companies, and Mr. W. Cotton, in "Some Account of the Ancient Gilds of the City of Exeter," dwelt at considerable length upon the history of the Merchant Adventurers,¹ and of the Tailors, with some reference also to the other Companies.

But a great deal more information than was then used is to be found among original documents of the City and Cathedral Archives, as well as elsewhere, and some of this I have collected and now offer to the Association as a contribution towards the early history of the Exeter Gilds.

That gilds existed throughout England at a very early period is well known, but only four copies of ordinances of the ancient brotherhoods which were written in Anglo-Saxon have been discovered, and of these two are Devonian, one of an Exeter, the other of a Woodbury Gild. The former, preserved in the British Museum,² is usually

¹ Afterwards printed with further material in *An Elizabethan Guild of Exeter*.

² Cotton MSS. Tit. B.V. Fol. 76.

assigned to the early part of the eleventh century, and may be translated in these words:—¹

“ This assembly is associated in Exeter, for the love of God and for our Soul’s need, both in regard to our health in life here and to the after days which we desire for ourselves by God’s doom. Now we have agreed that our meeting shall be held thrice in the twelve months, first at St. Michael’s Mass, secondly at St. Mary’s Mass after Midwinter and thirdly at Allhallows Mass after Easter. And let each Gild-brother have two vessels of malt and each ‘ cniht ’ one vessel and a jar of honey : and let the mass-priest at each meeting sing two Masses, one for our living friends, the other for the departed : and let every brother of common condition sing two psalters of psalms,² one for our living friends and one for the departed. And at the death of a brother let each man say six masses or six psalters of psalms and at a ‘ southfaring ’ let each man give five pence. And at a house-burning, each man one penny. And if any man neglect the day of the meeting, on the first occasion he must provide three masses, for the second five, on the third let no man excuse him unless it be that his neglect arose from infirmity or his lord’s need. And if any man fail to pay his subscription on the proper day let him pay twofold. And if any man of this brotherhood miscall another let him make boot with thirty pence. Now we pray, for the love of God, that every man hold this meeting in the right spirit, as we have in the right spirit agreed upon it. May God help us thereunto.”

Such, then, was the agreement—charter we might almost call it—of the earliest known gild in our city, for religious observances and mutual aid. Although the Gild of Woodbury cannot strictly be included as an Exeter Gild, yet, because of its connection with the bishop and

¹ For a transcript of the Anglo-Saxon text see Thorpe’s *Diplomaticum Anglicum*, p. 613, with a translation in parallel columns. Kemble gives a translation in *Saxons in England* (i. 512) ; Coote, in *Romans in Britain* (p. 408), gives a free rendering, which is by no means accurate. The translation here given is based on Kemble with such variations as serve to convey a clearer meaning, and which have been approved or suggested by Prof. Skeat. The word *Cniht* has been left, as it is difficult to find an English equivalent upon which all authorities are agreed. Suthfore, Prof. Skeat points out, means “ South faring ” or a journey south. It may well mean a pilgrimage to Rome. That is south enough. He calls attention to the fact that everyone contributes to this five times as much as to a house-burning. I am greatly indebted to Prof. Skeat for his assistance in this translation.

² Prof. Skeat says : “ A psalter of psalms meant the whole set of one hundred and fifty, but was also used, as here, for the portion of psalms usually said at once, just as we often have four or five together.”

canons, and for reasons hereafter given, it is inserted here :—

“ In the name of Christ and St. Peter the apostle, a guildship is gathered at Woodbury land ; and the bishop Osbern and the canons within St. Peter’s monastery at Exeter have adopted the same society in fellowship along with the other brethren. They will now, as an acknowledgment, pay to the canons yearly, for every hearth, one penny at Easter ; and also for every departed guild-brother, for every hearth, one penny as soul-shot, be it a man be it a woman, who belongs to the guildship.

“ Brihtwi, Wilnoth, Ealdwine, Leofric, Brihtmær, Alfric, Eadmær, Edwine, Algar, Edwi, Wlword, Alword, Edwine, Godwi, Osgod, Atheleoue, Brihtmær, Godric.

“ In Woodbury land there is also another guildship gathered to Christ and St. Peter ; and they pay at Martinmas, from every hearth, one penny to St. Peter’s monastery, for the canons, and also every soul-shot, for every hearth one penny. And these are the names of the men : Kytel, Theodric, etc.

“ From Cliston guildship, Isaac priest, Ælmær, Godric, etc.

“ From Collaton guildship, Ordric pr., Almer, Ailwine, etc.

“ From Alwine’s guildship at Woodbury, Alstan, Leawine, Ailwine, etc.

“ From Bridford guildship, Edwine, Wulfric, Sæwine, etc.

“ From Clistwick, Walter pr., Eadmær, Leowine, etc.

“ From the guildship at Lege, Ailwi pr., Tyrri pr., William, etc.

“ From Nutwell, Godric, Alwine, Edwine, etc.

“ From Colyton, Alwine Tredda’s son, Godric, Ailric, etc.

“ From Sidmouth, Algar, Wulwine, etc.

“ From Halsford, Ilberd pr., Edwine, Alwine, etc.

“ From Whitston, Edzi, Godric, Edwine, etc.

“ From Exmouth, Godgith, Esgar, Edrid, etc.” ¹

It will be observed that there was a gild in existence which was joined by Bishop Osbern and the Canons of St. Peter, and as Osbern was bishop from 1073 to 1102, the date of this document can be assigned to the last quarter of the eleventh century. We find that, a little more than a century later, in 1205, the then bishop of Exeter acquired from Abbot Jordan and the Convent of Mont S. Michel the Church of St. Swithin, in Woodbury, with all its appurtenances, and bestowed it upon the Vicars Choral.² It seems possible that there was a close connection, therefore, between the early gild

¹ Thorpe, p. 608.

² *Documents of France*, p. 279 ; and Chapter Doc. No. 1129.

of that place and the Vicars Choral. But there was another brotherhood in Exeter whose early history eludes us, but it is quite possible that it was the successor of one of these early gilds, that is, the company known as the Brothers and Sisters of the Kalender, who are chiefly familiar to the students of Exeter history as having given a name to the Great and Little Kalenderhay. The former of these became the site of the residences of the Vicars Choral, and lay to the south of St. Mary Major's Church, while the smaller enclosure was in St. Martin's Lane. Very little has been written about the Kalenders of Exeter. Oliver, in his *Monasticon*,¹ gives only a few lines to the *Fratres Calendarum*, and adds but little further information in his *Lives of the Bishops*.² Their history remains to be written.³

"From the first foundation of ecclesiastical revenues under the Christian Emperors," writes Oliver,⁴ "it was customary for the bishops to provide and maintain an hospital or almshouse, which was usually in the vicinity of the principal church. Fronting the west end of our Cathedral was a similar institution."⁵

It may not be wide of the mark to guess that the brotherhood first occupied the place in St. Martin's Lane, and afterwards moved to more spacious quarters in the Great Kalenderhay. But when they were first established, or when they were transferred from one place to the other, is unknown. Even the origin of the name of Kalenders has been shrouded in doubt, the usually accepted derivation being that from the Kalends of the month, at which time they are supposed to have held their chief meeting. Possibly so, but to judge from evidence mentioned below, it is apparent that the name eventually seemed appropriate to the lay mind because they com-

¹ p. 401.

² p. 260.

³ I must here acknowledge the kindness and courtesy of Miss Legaweekes, who, on finding that I was at work upon this subject, relinquished her purpose of writing upon it, and kindly placed some of her notes at my disposal, but these I have not been able to use.

⁴ *Bishops*, 260.

⁵ Mr. Foweraker has shown me a cutting from the *Exeter and Plymouth Gazette* of 4 October, 1861 (Oliver dates his dedication of the *Lives of the Bishops* 7 August, 1860), by "W." on *Fratres Calendarum*, wherein the contents of these pages, 260, 261, and 262, are given almost word for word, with a certain amount of additional information. This article reads very much like Oliver's contributions to the newspapers, but its authorship is unknown, I believe.

memorated the departed in each month of the Calendar, praying in the month of their decease for the souls of those who died. Brentano,¹ writing of the early gilds, considers it probable that even before A.D. 858 the clergy formed themselves into societies bound by mutual agreement, such as that of the Anglo-Saxon Gild of Exeter, to pray for each other's salvation and to observe certain rules. He quotes the *Capitularies of Hincmar*, containing ordinances against the extravagances of priests at funeral meals and at the feasts held after their own meetings, especially those of the priests of a deanery (or *diaconasia*) on the first of each month (i.e. the Kalends). No priest was to get drunk then, nor was he to empty goblets to the health of saints or of the souls of the departed; nor was he to force others to drink, nor get drunk himself to please others. The priests were not to burst out into indecent noise or roaring laughter; they were not to sing vain songs nor tell inane jokes; nor were they to allow scandalous performances of bears or female dancers to be made before them, nor delight in other mummeries, "because this was heathenish and forbidden by Canon law." Nor were they on any occasion to provoke each other or anyone else to passion or quarrels, and still less to fighting and murder; nor was the one provoked to assail at once his provoker. On the contrary, the priests were to break their fasts with honesty and the fear of God; sacred legends and admonitions were to be read, and hymns sung, and everyone was to retire early from the feast.

It may have been in pursuance of such laudable instructions that the Gild of Kalenders arose, and that a branch of them was established in Exeter.²

¹ *English Gilds*, lxxxviii.

² There was a Gild of Kalenders at Bristol which continued to a comparatively late period, but which, in its after years, developed into a society for preserving ancient records (see *Ricart's Kalenders*, by Lucy Toulmin Smith, Camden Soc., 1872). Miss Smith quotes William of Worcester as an authority for the statement that the Bristol Gild was founded about A.D. 700, and she describes it as "a brotherhood of the clergy and laity, men and women, of Bristol, who in very early times used to meet in the Church of Holy Trinity." Their ordinances, of which I have obtained a copy through the kindness of Mr. J. S. Young, resemble those of the Exeter Gild, but are more elaborate, and were compiled in the early part of the thirteenth century. On the first Monday of each month the Brethren were to assemble in the Church of All Saints to sing Mass for the faithful dead in the Lord, and to pray for any infirm members of the Fraternity. At the death of a member they attended his

But this gild, like one of the same kind at Bristol, consisted of both clergy and laity, men and women.¹ Their ordinances are recorded briefly in the Obit Book of the Fraternity, still preserved in Exeter, of which a free translation is here given :—

“ Our Lord Jesus Christ is firmly and without doubt held by the faithful to be the Creator of all creatures and therefore it is fitting, most dear Brethren, that prayer be made to Him with all devotion. With heart and soul spiritually let us serve Him ; for He in the agony of the Cross, by tasting death, delivered us from the power of the devil and on the third day, by rising, having paid our sorrows, restored us to Paradise. Wherefore then it is to be considered by the sons of the most holy Church of God that they should deserve to have the friendship of so great a Redeemer. For He Himself has said ‘ Ye are my friends, if ye do whatsoever I command you.’ Let us prepare therefore to maintain this friendship and let us cogitate how we may please Him who redeemed us by His most holy Body and most precious Blood. Therefore the Brethren enrolled, for the remedy of their souls and the health of all Christian people, have founded this Fraternity in honour of the Lord and St. Mary His mother and the Twelve Apostles.

“ The order of this Fraternity is thus to be followed : at the kalends throughout the year, at the place appointed, they ought to assemble the vicars and if any one owes forfeit against another let him do right and make agreement. And if any of them through necessity can not come at the kalends let him find another in his stead. Afterwards the vicars ought to enter into the church and, the accustomed prayers having been said, let the vicar proceed to the appointed place to pray for all the faithful living and dead and especially for the Brothers and Sisters by name. And the vicar whose office it shall be to

exequies, elaborate instructions being given for the ceremonies in different cases. If between the Brothers and Sisters there arose discord, peace was sought by arbitration ; but if the discordant ones refused to accept the arbitration, they were expelled. When members of the confraternity were ill and in poverty, they were supported by the society for a year, or placed in a hospital. Fines were inflicted if a priest was absent from Mass or a funeral, or on the first or second day of the month when the deceased were prayed for ; if absent from ordinary services, they were required to repeat several prayers and psalms. No member of the confraternity should run about the church while Mass was being sung, but let all stand in the chancel or kneel, so as to provoke the laity to do the same by their example. None but those of honest conversation and of good fame were to be admitted, and these were to take an oath to uphold the interests of the Fraternity on the Evangels. If they failed in their duty their names were to be deleted from the Kalender.

¹ This is evident from the references to the “ Brothers and Sisters of the Kalender,” and that some are styled “ presbiters,” distinguishing them from lay-members.

commence the commendation of souls shall then chant mass and after the Epistle two of the vicars shall sing the Gradale, two and two verse by verse. And thus the said service should be celebrated on the first Thursday in every month of the year."¹

The earliest reference to the Kalenders which we have found is in a document in the Dean and Chapter Archives (No. 2078). Though undated, we know from the names of the witnesses that it was written about 1200; many of the same names occur in deed No. 1129, which is dated 1204.

By this deed they relinquish their rights in the chapels of St. Peter the Less and of St. Paul. In compensation they received an annual rent of eight shillings and another of two shillings, and moreover were granted the right to hold their "servitium kalende" in the chapel of St. Mary Major.²

The next reference is in a deed among the Municipal Archives (No. DCLV), dated St. Matthias's Day, 38 Henry III (24 February, 1253-4), whereby Walter Test granted to Reginald le Fussere the moiety of a piece of land at the back of St. Paul's Church, towards the east, rendering by the hands of him and his successors to the Brothers of the Kalender the moiety of fourpence, and to him and his successors one penny. From this it would seem that the whole portion of land had, at a previous date, been charged with a rent of fourpence, payable to the Brothers.³ Oliver mentions, both in his *Monasticon* (p. 401) and his *Bishops* (p. 260) the seal of the Fraternity attached to a deed of 1260, but this I have not been able to trace. He describes it as a small oval, representing a tower with a high spire flanked with two small turrets. Below the tower is a cross. The legend is s FRATRV D' KALEND' EXONIE.

We learn from a list of Concealed Lands that John, Canon of Exeter, on St. Edmund's Day, 1271, gave to

¹ I am deeply indebted to Mr. E. Salisbury, of the Public Record Office, for elucidating the many difficulties of this page of the precious Obit Book now in the custody of the Dean and Chapter of Exeter.

² See R. L. Poole, *Rep. on record of the Bishop and Dean and Chapter of Exeter*, p. 58.

³ Mr. D. T. B. Wood, of the Manuscript Room of the British Museum, has called my attention to Add. Charter 27,523—the will of John de Douleys, 1267, in which he leaves a tenement by the East Gate to the Brothers of the Kalender of Exeter.

the Brothers and Sisters of the Kalenderhaye in Exeter certain tenements, late of Alured his father, lying between Smythen Street and Prustes Street, to maintain a chaplain to pray for his soul and for the souls of Alured his father and of his mother.¹

So far this is the latest deed in which we have found the Brothers of the Kalender mentioned. But Leland, writing in the early part of the sixteenth century, informs us that Bishop Grandisson "turned an old almshouse of xij poore men, and as many women, to whom nomination was given 'fratres Calendarum,' to the use of the logging of the Vicars Choral in the Cathedral Church of Excester."²

Exactly what Grandisson did and when he did it we cannot discover, as in all his wonderful registers there is no reference to the Kalenders, but that the community ceased to exist about this time is almost certain. Oliver asserts, without quoting any authority, that when Grandisson enlarged and refounded the Hospital of St. John, near Eastgate, he removed these brethren into that establishment, intending to appropriate the site to the purpose of a college for the Priest Vicars of the Cathedral, who had hitherto resided in the smaller Kalenderhaye, but it was reserved for his successor, Bishop Brantyngham, to complete the residences for them, which were ready on 5 November, 1388.³

If we are to accept these authorities it would appear that the once important Confraternity of the Kalenders had degenerated into an almshouse of poor men and women at some date between 1271 and 1368, and was then completely lost, being absorbed into St. John's Hospital. But is this a fact? Future investigation may produce positive proof of this theory which I now propound, i.e. that Grandisson proposed to combine, and Brantyngham concluded the arrangement, two existing fraternities, which, to some extent, existed for kindred purposes.

¹ Oliver, *Bishops*, p. 260, in a note mentions a deed of these tenements, but gives no reference.

² Leland's *Itinerary* (Toulmin Smith ed.), Part I, p. 236.

³ I have been unable to trace the early history of the Annivellors. Oliver gives some notes on them on page 264 of his *Bishops*. There was a college for them, with an entrance from Katherine Street and another nearly opposite the north door of the Cathedral not far from the Little Kalenderhaye. Bishop Grandisson mentions twenty-one of these chantry priests on 26 November, 1337 (there were twenty Kalenders mentioned in the early deed), and Bishop Lacy speaks of the "Ordinatio Annivellorum" of the eighteen Chantries of the Cathedral.

The Kalenders—from a time to which the mind of man runs not to the contrary—were in duty bound to pray for the souls of their members and benefactors; the Priest Vicars had to assist at Masses for their benefactors, and in some cases the same persons gave to the two companies of orators, so that their services overlapped, as it were, and it was deemed advisable to combine the two, the college buildings of the Vicars Choral being erected upon the site of the ancient home of the Kalenders. In support of this suggestion I would call attention to two facts: (1) that at the confiscation of Chantry property, in the reign of Edward VI, certain lands were concealed from the Commissioners. In Elizabeth's reign among those reported as concealed belonging to the Vicars Choral were the tenements given by John, Canon of Exeter, in 1271, to the Brothers and Sisters of the Kalender; (2) that the prayers for the departed benefactors of the Kalenders were, apparently, continued by the Vicars Choral. This is a legitimate inference from the present condition of their Obit Book, which contains not only the Ordinances quoted, the order for receiving a Brother or Sister and their Bidding Prayer, but also, under the heading of each month, the names of their deceased members and their benefactors. This volume passed into the hands of the Vicars Choral, and was used by them to record the "ordering" of the obits of their benefactors, many of whose names are inserted at the end of the monthly register of their predecessors, as if they had placed them thus in order that they might the more readily read the names consecutively.¹ Not only so, but in one of the "Ordinations" the Vicars Choral refer to Constance Serell, lately admitted as a sister, and they expressly undertake that she and others named should participate in "*fraternitate Misse Kalendar*" and all other Masses, showing that in some way they were able to confer this special privilege as late as 1438.

¹ They also added a Kalender of their own, the writing of which may be assigned to the late fifteenth or sixteenth century. This volume is full of interest, and I hope to obtain leave to transcribe and print its contents. The frequent occurrence of Saxon names suggests that the Kalenders counted many pre-Conquest benefactors among their number, including "Almer, pater Ste. Sativole." The latest entry by the Kalenders which I have been able to trace appears to have been added just after the list was written, and before the rubricated name of the month was added, and is that of William Weston, Canon of Exeter, who is mentioned in Grandisson's *Registers* as late as 1354. The name of Bishop Grandisson himself is added in a later hand.

But as it has yet to be proved that the Kalenders were merged into the Vicars Choral, it is as well not to consider the later body the true successors of the Anglo-Saxon Gild, and therefore to leave their history, for which much material exists, for a future occasion.

Turning now to the Trade or Craft Gilds of Exeter, we are faced with a difficulty in trying to place them according to their "auncientie," to use Hoker's phrase. If we follow the order of precedence given by him in one place, we find a doubt cast upon the list by a statement made by him elsewhere. As a matter of fact, the Exeter Municipal Records are crowded with entries of the "incorporation" of the several companies. They are seldom styled re-incorporations, or renewals of incorporation. They occur so frequently in regard to particular companies that one is tempted to conclude that the authorities forced them to obtain new grants of incorporation, either to show their dependence on the civic authority, or to punish them for a misdemeanour, or in order to fill the city coffers with the fines. Seligman writes :—¹

"The towns often assumed the right to recognize the formation of guilds, which was regarded as a perfectly legitimate exercise of municipal power. But this authorization was in general of no avail without an express charter from the monarch."

But in Exeter, on the contrary, the one Royal Charter granted in pre-Reformation days was considered an infringement of the city's rights, and was eventually so recognized, and, what is more, there are indications that the Exeter Gilds were associations of members of the same or kindred trades banded together at their own instance, and that they only sought incorporation as a means of legalizing their possession of property, or for establishing their control over other craftsmen who had not joined their company. Hoker, in his *History of Exeter*,² heads his account of the companies thus :—

"The whole Citie according to their Artes and occupacions be all reduced in to severall Companyes, every one of theym haue their particular governors to directe them and governe theym in their severall Artes w^{ch} is a greate ease unto the Mayo^r of the Citie he being therby not troubled with their causes. Of theise some be incorporate by the prince and some by the mayo^r of this Citie."

¹ *Amer. Economic Ass.*, II, p. 65.

² Fol. 424b.

This was written after the incorporation of the Merchant Adventurers by letters patent of Queen Elizabeth. He then proceeds to describe the Taylors' Company as the first and most ancient. This, of course, may be correct, as we know that the company existed prior to 1466, when Edward IV granted them letters patent, but the actual date of their formation we do not know. From Hoker's *Common Place Book*¹ we learn that as early as 1458 there was a dispute as to the "auncientie" of foundation, and consequent precedence, between the Cordwayners and the Tuckers, which was wisely compromised by the Mayor's decision that the members of the two companies should march in the Midsummer procession hand in hand.²

Cordwayners. Under the year 1387 Hoker enters: ³ "M^d that this year the Cordwayners and Curryers of this Citie were first incorporated," and again under 1481 he enters: ⁴ "M^d this yere the Cordwayners of this Citie were incorporated or reduced yn to one felowship or company vnder the common seal of the Citie but sithens [he was writing after the middle of the sixteenth century] altdred and newlye made accordinge to the statute of the lord Chancellor and the Justices of England." In his *History of Exeter*⁵ he states that this new incorporation was due to some imperfection in their earlier charter, which failed to comply with a statute of 19 Henry VII (1504-5), so that they were reincorporated in 1572. The ordinances of the Gild are recorded on the Mayor's Court Roll of 21 & 22 Edw. IV (1482), where they style themselves Master and Wardens of "the crafte of cordinerez, of the fraternyte of the blyssed Trinyte," and therein may be read their duties and the penalties inflicted for neglect of them.⁶

Their arms he gives as "Azure, a chevron or, between three goats' heads argent attired." Their company was known as the Fraternity of the Blessed Trinity. They obtained the use of the Chapel of the Holy Trinity, which belonged to, but stood a short distance from, the Church

¹ Fol. 312b.

² In the Chapter Act Book, under 1563, is a list of companies in their order of precedence, viz. "Tuckers and Weavers; Bakers; Cappers; Skynners; Smyths." The Cordwayners are not mentioned.

³ *Common Place Book*, f. 290.

⁴ *Ibid.*, fol. 321.

⁵ Fol. 425a.

⁶ See *English Gilda*, 331.

of St. Laurence.¹ This chapel they rented from the Dean and Chapter, and here they held their services, having their own chaplain, and, at the time of the confiscation, possessing jewels and plate valued at £4 10s. 7d., and "two lyttle bells hanging on ye south syde of ye sayd chappell."²

The following inventory of their possessions at that period is here copied from Chantry Certificate No. 15 :—

"THE PARYSHE OF SAYNT LAWRENCE.

"The fraternyte called the Shomakers fraternyte.

"(Not contained in the book of tenths.)

"founded by the Shomakers of the Cytte of Exetor being incorporate by the Mayre & comonaltie of the sayd Cytte who have allways syns the ffirst incorporacon of the sayd fraternyte, wythe the Issues of the Revenues of the landes belonging to that their sayd fraternyte ffounde A pryste to praye for the Brethern of the same fraternyte & other the benefactors of the same in A chapell called Trynnye Chapell being in distance from the paryshe church of Saynt lavrence aforsayd . . . rodde or theraboutes w^{ch} Chapell thabovenamyd Shomakers do hyer of the Dean & Chapter of the Cathedrall church of Exeter for that use & purpose.

The yerely value of al the landes
& possessions belonging to the
sayd fraternyte founded by } vi^{li} xix^s iiij^d
the Shomakers aforsayd

Wherof

Defalked { ffor rent resolute yerelye going
owt of the sayd landes to dyuers
& sondrye Parsons as by par-
ticular book therof more playn-
lye apperyth } xx^s

And so Remayn clere to the vse
of . . . the now Incumbent there
paying to the Kings highnes
the xth whiche is not here re-
prysed } cxix^s iiij^d

The value of ornaments Jewells { iiij^{li} x^s vij^d ouer &
plate goodes & Catalles belonging
or apperteyning to the sayd }
ffraternyte } y^e Southe syde of
y^e sayd Chappell.

The lands held by the Fraternity, the purposes for which they were given, and the names of their occupants,

¹ The ancient doorway, which opened into Musgrave's Alley, formerly Trinity Lane, is, I am told, in the possession of Mr. Harry Hems.

² See below.

are to be found in the list of the possessions of the Devon Chantryes, a translation of which is given below :—

Fraternity of the Cordwayners.

Sold to N. Prediaux	Agnes Hole, widow, holds within the manor of Hayes a close of land & renders annually	xxvjs viij ^d
	From this in rent resolute to the Prebend of Hayes	x ^s
	The same Agnes holds of the same another close of land and renders therefor p.a.	ix ^s iiij ^d
	John Bery holds in the parish of S. Paul of the same ij stables & renders	vjs viij ^d
	Robert Bealde holds in the parish of S. Paul a garden & renders p.a.	ijs

These premises were given to maintain a Chaplain in perpetuity, celebrating in the Chapel of the Fraternity called "the Trinitee Chapell."

Obit	John Riche holds a tenement with appurtenances called Westcliffe & Palmers in Sourton & renders therfor p.a.	xxijs
	John Blancheford & John Estlake hold a close of land in Sourton cold "Colfyre Parke" & renders therfor p.a.	vjs viij ^d
	From these in rent resolute to the Lord of Sourton	iijs iiij ^d

These premises were given for the maintenance of a priest to celebrate in the chapel aforesaid, and to pray for the souls of the said Fraternity.

Sum :	lxxiijs iiij ^d	
Walter Gaydon holds within the parish of S. Mary Arches two tenements with their appurtenances which were given for the sustentation of an obit in the Chapel of the Holy Trinity aforesaid, that the donor of the tenement aforesaid should be prayed for on "the bedde roll" and renders p.a.	xviij ^s	beside what is paid for rent to the Chapter

	And the annual rent of $\text{iii}^{\text{s}} \text{ix}^{\text{d}}$	} $\text{iii}^{\text{s}} \text{ix}^{\text{d}}$	
	going out of a tenement in the		
	parish of S. David's now in the		
	tenure of John Brogan which		
	was given for the sustentation		
	of a cleric in the said chapel in		
	perpetuity		
			
Holy Trinity	{	The parishioners of the same	} xx^{d}
		hold a house called "the	
		Church . . ." that was given	
		for saying prayers upon the	
		bedde roll and renders p.a.	

With the exception of Walter Gaydon's tenement these were all sold to Nicholas Prideaux, while his a little later passed into the hands of the Wardens.¹

Tuckers. As the Tuckers disputed with the Cordwayners for precedence, it is as well to place them next, although we have no record of them earlier than the year of the dispute. Hoker (*Common Place Book*, f. 71) states that the incorporation of the "Wevers Tuckers and Sheremen" was dated "yn November A° xvij Edwardi quarto 1480, and allowed under the hand and subscription of Humfrey Browne, one of the Justyces of the Assyses 7̄ August A° Philippis & Maria quinto & sexto, 1556."²

Mr. Cotton³ quotes at some length from their minute book, which begins 12 August, 1565, and also refers to a letter preserved at the Guildhall, asking the Mayor and Bailiffs to confirm certain ordinances, and to allow them the use of the Chapel of the Assumption of Our Blessed Lady for the election of their master and wardens, and for other privileges, but this undated document and another must be assigned to a post-Reformation date.⁴

¹ To show how different branches of trades were kept distinct, Seligman (p. 72) quotes the difference between cordwayners and cobblers. "If any one has to do with old shoes he shall not meddle with (?) new shoes among the old in deceit of the common people and to the scandal of the trade."

² A similar statement is to be found in his *History*, fol. 425, while in fol. 483b is an incomplete entry, "The Tookers were incorporated by the mayer ano xiiij."

³ *Trans. D.A.*, XII, p. 134.

⁴ The former Mr. Stuart Moore has dated 1602 (?) and the latter 1490 (?), both being doubtful. On examining the two documents together, I found that they were the same *verbatim et literatim*, and not only so, but in the very strokes of the letters, for the handwriting is identical, as well as line for line, so they cannot be correctly assigned

Mr. Elijah Chick has collected in pamphlet form a good deal of information about this company, and gives a full account of the Tuckers' Hall, which is still used as a meeting-place for the company.

We find the following entry concerning their chapel in Chantry Certificate No. 15 :—

“ Parish of S. Mary Arches.

“ A fraternity called y^e Weuers & tuckers fraternyte.

“ (Not conteyned in the book of tenths.)

“ Founded by the Weuers & Tuckers of the Citie of Exeter being incorporated by the Mayor and Comynalte of the sayd Citie who have allways w^t the issues & profyttes of the landes belonging to that their sayd fraternyte of o^r ladye, found a pryste to praye for the Brethern of the sayd ffraternyte and other the benefactors of the same wⁱⁿ the parishe churche of Saynt Marye Arches aforsayd.

	Yerelye value of all the landes & possessions belonging to the sayd fraternyte ffounded by the Weuers & Tuckers aforsaid	v ⁱⁱ vjd
Defalked	{ for rent resolute going owt of the sayd landes & possessyons to dyuerse and sundrye parsons	xv ^s vjd
	And so Remayn clere to the use of . . . now Incumbent there the x th in this value not reprysed	cv ^s
	The value of the Ornaments Jewells plate goodes & Catalles belonging or apper- taynyng to the sayd frater- nyte	xl ^s viij ^d ouer & besyde one lyttle bell waying by est . . .

There is no reference in the Book of Chantry Land to any property belonging to them.

Their patron saint was Our Blessed Lady of the Assumption.

Bakers. Although we have followed Hoker's lead so far as to the “ auncientie ” of the companies, it would seem that

to dates one hundred and twelve years apart. Turning over a Chamber Act Book while these documents were on the table before me, I came upon an entry dated 1563 interpolated in exactly the same hand between entries made at the same date by a hand which wrote most of the entries at that period, so there is no reason to suppose that the two Tuckers' and Weavers' documents are of a much earlier date.

the bakers had some claim to be among the earliest companies, on his own showing. Under 1428, in his *Common Place Book*,¹ he writes :—

“M^d that the M^r and company of the bakers had made an order emonge theym selves that none of theym thensforthe shold geve any advantage breade or l^d vpon the dossen. And also dyd refuse for certeyn days to bake any breade at all to thende that the citesens shold yeld to theire order as also that the mayer shold wekely geve them suche an assysse as they shold lyke of. But the mayer beinge a very wyse man & lerned yn the Lawes after that matter was well abated and consydered dyd committe the M^r and wardens and the cheffest of the offenders to warde where they were kept and remayned untill they had revoked theire former decree and payed the fynes assessed upon theym.”

On looking up his reference to the Mayor's Court Roll, we find this confirmed by an account of the trial of one Richard Woodward, who on the Sunday next after the feast of Saint Dennis, 7 Henry VI, of malice aforethought assembled a conventicle of many bakers of the “Arte de Bakers crafte,” and acted as is above said.

From this it is evident that the “Bakers crafte” had formed itself into a company at a date prior to 1428, but the record of their incorporation under the common seal of the city in 1482 is usually taken as the date of the establishment of this company. At that time their request for incorporation and their ordinances were entered upon the rolls of the Mayor's Court.² It should, however, be mentioned that Hoker, who leaves a blank for their date in his *History*,³ has on 482*b* these entries :—

“The Bakers were incorporated 3 November, A^o 2 Ed. 4. Rich. Druell,”

and Richard Druel is given as Mayor in 1463 in Oliver, all of whose dates in this list must be taken with a year's latitude, which would be 2-3 Ed. IV.

“The Bakers to be incorporated vnd^r the comō seale A^o 3^o H 7^o,”

that is, in 1487-8.

Skinnners. Following Hoker's *Common Place Book*, we

¹ Fol. 303. ² See Toulmin Smith's *English Gilds*, p. 334. ³ Fol. 425*a*.

should place the Skinners next in order of seniority. Under 1462 :—

“ ij Ed. iiij^{to} Hew Germyn Mayer. M^d that this yere the Skynners were first incorporated by the Mayor & common counsell and the first master was named John Maeyr and the wardens were John Hackworthie & Jaymes Jarvis. And then it was ordered by the saide Master Wardens and companye that no person being of that company shold sell or vtter any wares perteyninge to that arte & mystere being a foryners gooddes and not of the goodds of some freeman of that company vpon payne to pay for every offence xx^s. ”

In 1482 the charter of the Glovers and Skinners was renewed. In some entries the company is styled that of “ White tawers, glovers, Skynners, grey tawers, poynters, and parchment makers,” and again to these is added “ Furriers.” On fol. 482*b* of his *History*, Hoker notes :—

“ The Skynners to have a corporaçon authorysed vnder the Mayers seale payenge yerely the rent of iiij^d 3 Augusti A^o xxij Ed 4 Roger Worthe mayor,”

that is in 1483.

Tailors. Hoker, in his *History*,¹ writing of the Corporations, has, “ The first and most ancient ar the Taylors, who were incorporated by King Edward the fourthe.” Letters patent for this purpose were not issued until 17 November, 1466, but it is quite evident that they had formed themselves into a company before that date ; in a cloth-producing district like Exeter the tailors would naturally have been an important body of men, likely to have been associated together for their mutual benefit, and Hoker would hardly have styled them the most ancient company if this was really their earliest foundation. When they took the unusual step of seeking a royal charter, there can be little doubt that they were already a power in the city, and one which, for some reason, declined to accept a subordinate position under the civic authorities. Even if there was no friction between the tailors and the City Fathers before the charter was granted, there certainly was soon after ; such friction that matters were taken into the courts of law, with the result that there is plenty of material for the history

¹ Fol. 424*b*.

of the conflict. Leadam, in dealing with this and another case of the period, considers that the trouble was to a large extent due to politics, one party siding with the Yorkists and the other with the Lancastrians.

The Mayor and his brethren keenly resented the action of the tailors in obtaining the King's charter, considering its grant as an unwarrantable interference with the rights and privileges of the city, which had heretofore incorporated different companies. They therefore endeavoured to force the tailors to relinquish their charter, and, failing that, sought to induce the King to withdraw it. The result was that the tailors came into open conflict with the authorities, and tried to force all "non-union" tailors to join their association, and to this end used very modern methods of "peaceful picketing."

The royal charter, dated 17 November, 6 Ed. IV (1466), authorized the tailors to establish a gild, elect officers, wear a livery, hold feasts, make ordinances, be a body corporate, and have a common seal. The Master and Wardens were to have supervision of all tailors and others of the gild—for other craftsmen joined their powerful corporation¹—and they might "with the consent of the Mayor . . . amend all defaults found."

How soon after the charter was obtained action was taken against the tailors is not known, but proceedings were in progress before 1475, when John Attwyll had his expenses in London paid in connection with the case.² At the same date Hoker notes:—³

"15 Edw. IV. M^d that this yere, there was a greate controversy betwene the Mayor and Citesens of the one partie and the companye of the Taylors of the other partie, for and concernynge a new incorporacion w^{ch} the saide company of Taylors had procured from the kinge, whereof ensued greate trobles, longe and chardgeble suetes."

As far as we can elucidate the story from a variety of documents, the matter was brought to a head in this wise; or rather, this is the version given by the opponents of the tailors. On 20 December, 1476, and at divers other times, the tailors assembled of malice aforethought

¹ It is possible that it was an inherited membership, whereby a tailor's son became a member, though he exercised another trade.

² Receiver's Account Book, 1415, Ed. IV, quoted in *English Gilda*, p. 308.

³ *Common Place Book*, fol. 319.

and, after exclamations and proclamations, declared that all tailors within the city having tables¹ or shops must become members of their company, paying a certain sum for their privileges, and that those who refused so to do must leave the city. After this, armed with bows, glaves, swords, and daggers, they went to the houses of Thomas Davy and Richard Long, freemen of the city, and of Robert Harris, apparently not a freeman, but an inhabitant of the city. There they used such menaces, even threatening to mutilate their limbs if they joined not the Tailors' Company, that the victims went in fear of their lives. On another occasion—Mr. Leadam makes it Saturday, 29 April, 1475, but this is not quite certain—they appeared at the houses of Davy and Long “in maner of werre arrayed with force, that is to say, jakkes, doubtles of defence, swerdes, Bokelers, Gleyves, and staves, and other weapons defensible,” and in riotous wise assaulted Davy and “hym bete wounded and evill entreated,” so that he was in despair and jeopardy of his life, and he dared not remain in the city. They also threatened and evil-entreated Long. These non-unionists were, in consequence of this terrorism, they declared, driven from the city, which they left on 10 August.

But the story told by the Master and Wardens of the craft was a different one. Under royal letters patent it was their duty to see to the “governance, keeping and regiment” of the Gild, and to correct and amend all defaults of those of their company who exercised the mystery of tailoring. But the Mayor and Bailiffs, in spite of their charter, refused to let them in their corporate capacity “plede or implede” defaulters in the courts of the city. And it coming to the ears of the Master and Wardens that Thomas Davy and Richard Long, who “occupied the said mistere were not of connyng nor able” to use it, and even did misuse it, to the great hurt of the King's liege peoples, they, by right of their letters patent, paid them a domiciliary visit in peaceable wise, to see in what manner they exercised the mystery, and on the King's behalf urged them to use it truly. Whereupon, at the instance of Davy and Long, the Mayor and Bailiffs appeared on the scene with a multitude, and in riotous wise assaulted the Master and Wardens, so that they were

¹ Mensa=table for displaying goods.

in great fear of their lives, and because of the malice evinced they dared not remain in the city.

The Mayor and Bailiffs insisted that they alone had the right of scrutiny and correction within the city, even in the fees of the Bishop and the Dean and Chapter, and that any contravention of their privileges, even by letters patent, was contrary to the customs, liberties, and usages of the city. They even proceeded to disfranchise several of the tailors, and issued an order that "non inhabitant shall, from hensforth, make no garments w^t ony taylor underneth written and disfranchised, ne wyth no noder of there opinion uppon payne for the fyrste gylte xl^d and for the second gylt vi^s viij^d and the iij gylte to lese his franchises." Moreover, certain tailors, members of the city council, were refused their Christmas gifts of wine and canon bread. As Hoker puts it, sundry of the Common Council, men of good wealth and countenance, "standinge upon their reputation and myndyng not to take the foyle," maintained their cause; some tailors were disfranchised, some had their shop windows shut down, and some were excluded from the Common Council. The matter lingered in the courts, but after two years of litigation the King, on 6 February, 1476-7, gave his award, which, briefly stated, allowed the Master and Wardens to be chosen only from among the members of the tailors' craft, that they were to make no order prejudicial to the liberties of the Bishop, the Church, or the Mayor and city, they were to have jurisdiction in the city only, to reform faults of their own mystery, while no tailor was to be admitted to the freedom of the city unless the Master and Wardens testified that he was fit. This award appears to have been read out at a gathering in the Cathedral by the King's Commissioners, after which ceremony the Mayor and Common Council held a wine-party at Matthew Chubb's house to celebrate their victory. But they were called upon by the King to show their magnanimity by agreeing to reinstate the "discomened" and disfranchised tailors.

In spite of all this troubles did not cease. The tailors evidently carried out all the privileges left to them under their charter in a manner not calculated to make peace, while the Mayor and his party sought to undermine the authority of the Tailors' Company and to draw away their followers. To this end they persuaded certain

tailors, in order to retain their franchises, to renounce the charter, purchased by the tailors contrary to the liberties of the city, and the use of it, by their oath made upon the crucifix and the Holy Evangelists. Among these renegades was "one John Tregasco," who thus renounced his oath as a member of the Fraternity. In consequence he was sued for perjury by the Master and Wardens, but by the persuasions of "some gentyl-men and money," he was readmitted and resworn, but on his refusal to attend dirges, Masses, and other duties according to his oath without reasonable excuse, the Master and Wardens "fett him oute of his house, and broft him to Tayleur Hall and there put hym in a pere of stockys: and kepte hym by the space of a day and a nyghte," releasing him only on his finding sureties for £20 that he would be of good bearing from 17 October, 1481, thenceforth.

At last matters reached such a pitch that the city authorities petitioned Parliament that the tailors' charter should be annulled, which petition was the source of considerable expense to the city. In it, after reciting their privileges and the disturbances caused by the tailors' charter, they requested that the letters patent, and everything pertaining to the same, as well as the Gild and Fraternity, should be "irrite, erased, annulled, voide, and of noo force nor effect." This was passed, and the King endorsed it, "Soit fait comme il est desire," and the dispute at last was ended.¹

Among the documents relating to the Tailors' Gild which are now preserved at the Guildhall are many of deep interest, but from these only brief selections can be made. To show how large a portion of their thoughts was occupied by the religious side of the Gild, it may be noted that on 20 Septembor, 1479, while the dispute mentioned was still at its height, new ordinances were made, calling upon the members to contribute toward finding a priest. Many pledged themselves to pay sums ranging from 6s. 8d. down to 3s. 4d., for seven years, while it was agreed that the Master was to "ffynde the preste ys tabell"! ²

¹ The balance of the sum allowed for expenses in connection with the petition to Parliament, amounting to 8s. 2d., "was given by the grace of the city to the Gild of Corpus Christi, to lighten their charges this year" (*English Gilds*, 308). I have not been able to trace this Gild. It may have been a religious or charitable gild, or one which superintended the annual pageants.

² *English Gilds*, 324.

As early as 1472 they had already proposed to have a priest of their own, as in the will of Richard Geffrey, dated 6 April, 1472,¹ a tenement outside the Eastgate, which had been given and enfeoffed to the testator's wife, with remainder to the brothers of the Fraternity of Tailors, was bequeathed to that Fraternity for establishing a chaplain to pray for the benefactors of the Fraternity.

While on 20 June, 1480, Richaurd Renell, who had already contributed 6^s 8^d to the above, gave a house and chamber in the tower of the Eastgate to the Fraternity, if they would write the names of her relatives and others on their special table of good doers to be prayed for; one priest to pray by name three days every week for the good estate and prosperity of Master Good and herself during their life, and for their souls after death.² Their Bidding Prayer, which was to be read on the four quarter days, included the Brothers and Sisters of the Fraternity, Edward IV, "furst sovereign of this Gild & Fraternity, the Queen, the Prince, & all the King's progeny, the Lords of the Council, the soul of Dame Elizabeth Courtenay, and for her progeny, for the souls of Richard Orenge, first Master of the Fraternity, of Rich. Geffrey & John Hamlyn, Walter Genys & Thomas Rowse."

The documents relating to the Gild passed into private hands about the middle of the nineteenth century, and afterwards came into the custody of the city, while their seal was bought by Mr. Walrond shortly before 1854. This is described as the silver matrix of the Fraternity of Tailors at Exeter, of circular form and elaborate workmanship. It represents St. John the Baptist clad in camel's skin, and holding the Agnus Dei. The figure is placed in a quatrefoil panel with an escutcheon at each side, each charged with a pair of shears. The legend is "*Sigillum comūne fraternitatis sissorum ciuitas exonie.*" The handle is attached by a hinge so as to fall flat on the reverse of the seal, which is of circular form.³

¹ See Mayor's Court Roll, 16 and 17 Ed. IV.

² I have not been able to discover where this chaplain celebrated Mass.

³ *Archæological Journal*, XI, p. 182. In the list of goods given to the Gild, quoted by Toulmin Smith, is the entry, "Cristoffer Cressch hafe y^e cloth over y^e hye bench paynted." One of the earliest entries in the oldest book of the Gild is dated 2 October, 1478, when Cristoffer Cressha, executor of the testament of Robert Cressha (who had joined the Gild in January, 1477-8) gave half the "hole cloth painted on the hye benche in recompense of his brother his dewtes and allsoe the sayde Cristof' promised to be a Brother."

Beside the Companies already mentioned, only two more can be traced as established prior to the Reformation, i.e. the Barber-Surgeons, first incorporated under the Common Seal of the city, according to Hoker,¹ in 1487, and the Cappers, who under 1493, Hoker states, were granted to be incorporated in the previous year, and were in the beginning of this year fully incorporated. Elsewhere they are styled "Cappers, Haberdashers, and Feltmakers."

Such, then, were the Companies existing up to the Reformation, whose priests, chantries, bederolls, and other "superstitious uses," with the property given to support them, were swept away by Edward VI. But almost immediately, i.e. in Queen Mary's reign, a charter was obtained for the Company of Merchant Adventurers, whose history, as we have said, has been written by the late Mr. Cotton.²

For the rest we have found no record of incorporation of other Companies prior to Elizabeth's reign, though in all probability some of these existed in earlier days. We can only add the names of the later Companies, with their date of incorporation: Smiths and Cutlers, 1560; Coopers and Hellyers, 1566; Butchers, 1566; Brewers, 1578; Carpenters and Masons, 1586; Glaziers, 1602.

Reference has been made to a dispute as to precedence in 1458, on the occasion of the annual Midsummer Eve Procession or Watch, as it has been called. This custom of the Midsummer Watch had come down from a very early date, and the assembly at it served several purposes, as it mustered all the able-bodied men, gave the authorities the opportunity of inspecting the condition of their armour, for any defects in which fines were inflicted, and also gave occasion for display and junketing to the delight of all citizens.

The custom, shorn of much of its glory it is true, continued to a comparatively late date, but after Elizabeth's charter to the Merchant Adventurers, in reward for the

¹ *Common Place Book*, fol. 323d.

² A curious statement concerning this Company escaped his notice, which Lambert gives in his *Two Thousand Years of Gild Life*. He quotes from Anderson a document relating to the Company of Merchant Adventurers of London, which was called upon in 1661 to defend itself in Parliament against the merchants of Exeter. "Exeter had once one of the most considerable courts [of Merchant Adventurers] in it, though there be only one member there" (see p. 153). Hoker states that a charter was obtained in Mary's reign.

citizens' faithful service in the siege of Exeter in 1549, the celebration may have been combined with the anniversary services held on 6 August—the day on which the siege was raised—and this continued down to the middle of the nineteenth century. On that day the Mayor and Corporate Trades marched in procession to hear a sermon in the Cathedral.¹

But the display of earlier days must have been sumptuous. It would be difficult for us now to imagine the scene on St. John's Eve, when the narrow streets of the city would have been full of bustle and confusion before the Companies fell into line in the procession. First came the City Waits, perhaps members of some Minstrel Gild, then followed the Mayor, accompanied by the Aldermen and Common Council in their robes and armour, with the sergeants-at-mace and other officers, all mounted on horseback, and bearing the emblems of office—maces, cap of maintenance and sword—for if the Mayor chose to go on horseback the other members of the municipal body had to do the same, and the Sheriff would probably have a henchman behind him and the important officers their menial attendants. Then came the members of the various Companies, clad in their harness and liveries, arranged in groups according to their "auncientie," and distinguished by their devices, i.e. statues as large as life, finely painted and gilt, representing their tutelar saint—among whom we would have seen St. Mary, St. John the Baptist, St. Clement, and the emblems of the Trinity, of the Blessed Virgin of the Assumption, and of All Saints.

Nor was the scene lacking in illuminations, probably—as at Canterbury—the Mayor provided two cressets or six or more torches at his pleasure, each alderman two cressets, and each councillor and constable and the town clerk one cresset. Beside each image would be four large tapers decorated with flowers of wax, shields and parchment streamers, called "pencils," borne by men hired for the purpose, and every member of the Gilds carried his own lighted taper.

Thus arranged they proceeded to go round the city walls, to see whether any repairs were required, and then marched slowly through the streets, while their wives

¹ Jenkins' *Exeter*, p. 118, note.

and sweethearts looked down from the overhanging windows. Each individual of each Company endeavoured to outshine his neighbour in the brilliance of his accoutrements and the sumptuousness of his apparel.

After the parade followed a banquet. Perhaps all assembled together at the Guildhall, or they may have gone each to the hall of his own Company; but if all united at one feast they may have rivalled their Bristol brethren, who are reported to have consumed on one such occasion ninety-four gallons of wine.

Nor were their religious duties forgotten. Masses for the souls of the departed, whose names were enumerated in their Bidding Prayer, would have been offered in each Company's special chapel, which would have been a blaze of light with a multitude of tapers kept burning throughout the night.

And in such manner on Midsummer's Eve would the Companies have displayed their readiness to defend their city, their hospitality, and their charity towards their neighbours, while they also called to mind their benefactors in the way in which they themselves desired to be remembered.

I have to acknowledge with grateful thanks the assistance rendered by the Rev. E. T. Foweraker, Librarian of the Cathedral, Mr. Lloyd-Parry, Town Clerk, Mr. Tapley Soper, and Mr. Bowers. My work would have indeed been inefficient if I had not had such ready access to documents in the custody of these gentlemen, as well as the assistance of Mr. Gay and Mr. Chick.

CORPORATION OF EXETER ESTATE IN IRELAND.

1654-6.

BY THE REV. JOHN B. PEARSON, D.D.

(Read at Exeter, 24th July, 1912.)

THE late Mr. William Cotton, F.S.A., was an early member of the Devonshire Association, having been elected in 1866. In 1888 he published in *Notes and Gleanings*, a magazine for Devon and Cornwall, some account of the dealings of the Corporation of Exeter in reference to an estate awarded to them in 1654 in compensation for moneys advanced by them and others on the outbreak in Ireland in October, 1641. I hope I shall not be thought a plagiarist if I give in some detail an account of this estate, prefaced by a short abstract of the information derived by Mr. Cotton from the archives at Exeter.

Notes and Gleanings, pp. 5-7. By a certificate dated Guildhall, London, 25 April, 1646, the Commonwealth admits itself to be indebted to the citizens of Exeter and others for £15,728 10s., and by a deed enrolled in Chancery of 21 March, 1654, 4185 acres of meadow, arable land and profitable pasture, English measure, are awarded to the said citizens, as Adventurers, in satisfaction, not in any sense for the whole debt, but for the amount of £1883 6s. 8d.

N. and G., p. 25. An agreement is given at length between one Abraham Boon, of Coundon, Warwickshire, and the citizens of Exeter, giving terms on which Boon is to survey the land as awarded.

After three more articles, pp. 42, 55, 92, Mr. Cotton gives at p. 112 an account of the estate as surveyed by Boon with the approval of the Commissioners sitting at Clonmel, about twelve miles distant. As this is the estate

of which I propose to give an account, I transcribe it here.

7 September, 1655. "This day, God willing, your lot for Exeter will be set out, which contains :—

"Mortall's town and castell, Kilbred, Coliah, St. John's town and castell, Peppardstown, Ballyhiggen, Lismanan, Kilkenny-beg (in those times much destroyed). The plott is past expectation, and such a one that the city I am confident will give you thanks for it."

By a deed of 19 March, 1655-6, the city sold the estate to Colonel Hierome Sankey, with two others, for £1500, payable 20 March, 1659. Mr. Cotton concludes his last article with the list of subscribers to the original loan, in which the City of Exeter figures for £9890 10s., Borough of Dartmouth, £2397 15s., Charles Vaughan of Devon, £1000. Who was he? John Rolle and Sir John Northcott, each £450. Sir John Poole, of Shute, £103. The names of Acland or Courtenay are not in the list; perhaps they were Home Rulers, and there is no sign that the Bishop or Chapter contributed anything. Very likely in 1642 there was more hard cash in the city than in the county at large; but the reverses of 1643, and again of 1646, must have affected their finances severely, and in 1656 £1500 in ready money may well have been more serviceable than a distant estate, however otherwise eligible, which they would have had to improve and develop, even if their agents "escaped the wrath of an infuriated peasantry," a contingency Mr. Cotton thinks not improbable.

I had hoped last summer, and again this year, to be able to cross over to Ireland, via Bristol and Fishguard, and inspect the estate, easily verified from various statistical sources within my reach, especially as I have friends in the South of Ireland, one of whom has given much attention to Irish history; but for various reasons I have found myself unable to go so far: age, among other things, makes travelling irksome. Still, I think I have a right to speak on this question. In 1852 and in 1860 I travelled long distances one year in the South, the other in the North of Ireland, and in 1886 and 1894 I saw a good deal of the district of which Clonmel may be called the centre. So, with your permission, I will give a somewhat more extended account than Mr. Cotton has done how the idea

of this land compensation came about, and then state exactly what the City of Exeter received. We must remember that from 1641 to 1649 Ireland, with the exception of Dublin and the best parts of Ulster, was in the hands of the Catholics, under the control of a Papal legate, Rinuccini, Bishop of Fermo near Ancona, a thorough Italian but a man quite incompetent to adapt himself to the times. In September, 1649, Cromwell began the recovery of the island by the siege of Drogheda, and by 1651 the country was entirely in his hands. Fleetwood, and after him Henry Cromwell, both men of tact and power, took the situation in hand and, under instructions from the authorities in London, entered on a policy which will be thought inhuman or unavoidable, according to the views which my hearers entertain on those times. A transatlantic saying, "The spoils to the victors," seems to represent the principle which actuated the Council of State at Westminster and their representatives in Dublin. We can easily understand that sound land in Ireland would seem to the Protestant English a desirable acquisition, apart from the moral considerations involved in the affair. On this side of the matter I owe much to the *Life of Sir William Petty*, published by Lord Fitzmaurice in 1895. Sir William, the direct ancestor of the Marquis of Lansdowne, was a medical practitioner in London during the Civil War, who, after holding for a short time the Professorship of Anatomy at Oxford, was selected by Fleetwood, then Lord Deputy, to survey the lands in Ireland available for the remuneration of the army and other creditors of the State. It was a method of payment in kind which had already presented itself to the angry minds of the English Parliament. By an Act of 1642, one of the last that received the assent of Charles I, 2,500,000 acres in the sister island were declared forfeited for the benefit of those who devoted their energies to its recovery, one-eighth of its entire area, as nearly as may be. In 1654, after the pacification of the country, it was estimated that £1,500,000 were due to the soldiers who had served under Cromwell and Fairfax, £360,000 to the old regiments serving in Ireland who adhered to the cause of the Parliament, and beyond these debts much was due to the subscribers to the original loans; among others, the City of Exeter. The estate awarded to the city in which we

are assembled is the subject of my memoir. I have already given its description, as taken from the Commissioners' award, 21 March, 1656, a description which may serve as evidence of the continuity of well-organized life; for the Grocers' Company, in whose hall the Land Commissioners sat, have an annual income of £38,000, while I have found without difficulty the names of the town lands awarded by them in the census returns of 1861 and 1911.

Now as to the actual situation of the estate of which the citizens of Exeter so promptly divested themselves. Some of my hearers may be aware that the ancient division of England into counties, hundreds, parishes, and manors, is represented in Ireland by counties, baronies, parishes, and townlands, the last being a subdivision varying, roughly speaking, from 100 to 1000 acres, some, however, much smaller; their origin is certainly old but, I think, unknown. I have noticed above that Clonmel, on the River Suir, is the chief town in that district, the Suir dividing Tipperary from the county of Waterford. North of the Suir lies the barony of Iffa and Offa, many miles in length from east to west, but hardly ten miles broad; and north of this is the barony of Middlethird, in which the Exonians found an indemnity for the loan they had advanced fifteen years previously. I am pleased to be able to exhibit the map of this barony, as drafted by Sir William Petty and his surveyors in 1654, and with it the six and one-inch maps of the locality from the Ordnance Survey. The estate lies north-east from the town of Fethard, which is twelve miles due north from Clonmel. I presume a tidy place, for a service gentleman, R.A., now living in my vicinity, informed me that he had been quartered there with his battery, and that he resided with the rector, who had a comfortable house. A few years ago I might have visited the estate, but my sight is too feeble for me to enjoy or appreciate a landscape, and I fear that the corn and potato lands of fifty years ago are now laid down for the most part in grass, to my mind a regrettable, though, economics considered, perhaps an unavoidable change, for I much prefer men, women, and children to a mere ranch.

The estate is thus set out by townlands in the census returns for 1861, supplemented by those for 1911. The enumeration in 1861 is given under the names of the

ancient parishes : in 1911, by the electoral divisions, a new method introduced with the new Poor Law, about 1840, for the election of guardians. It has now superseded the older divisions for administrative purposes.

Townland.	Area.			Population.		
	A.	R.	P.	1841.	1861.	1911.
Mortlestown and Castle	754	3	2	155	82	46
Kilbreedy	174	3	13	47	34	7
Coliah (Cooleagh)	221	1	23	100	36	15
St. John's Town and Castell	818	1	21	352	182	73
Peppardstown	201	1	11	25	31	16
Ballyhiggen (Higginstown)	294	2	8	12	8	4
Lismanan	463	1	29	208	93	40
Kilkenny-beg	898	2	1	301	102	52
Add. Coolmore	474	3	12	76	55	27
	4302	0	0	1276	623	280

I have included the townland of Coolmore, though not enumerated in the letter of September, 1655, because it was the residence of Sir Hierome Sankey's family from the time of his purchasing the Exeter estate in 1656 till towards the end of the last century. In Burke's *Landed Gentry* for 1877 I find their pedigree set out at length, though I am informed that they have now parted with the estate; on what grounds I do not know. In 1659 Sir Hierome sat in the Commons at Westminster, and is returned as Sir Jerome Sankey, for the united counties of Tipperary and Waterford. The form Hierome seems borrowed by his godparents from the Sixth Article of the Church of England.

As I have already observed, the survey of the counties in which the lands were to be allotted, always called in history the Down Survey, was carried out by Sir William Petty in about thirteen months, employing soldiers from the regular army. The results were recorded in manuscript books, and from them maps of the baronies in the several counties were constructed. The books have been preserved in the Record Office at Dublin, though partially destroyed in a fire in 1711. Of the maps there are copies, perhaps more or less imperfect, in Dublin, and in Lord Ashburnham's collection, but the most authentic collection is that in the National Library at Paris. It was on its

way from Dublin to England in 1710, was captured by a French privateer, and has been reproduced and is sold by the Ordnance Office at Southampton.

I have also had copies made for me in Dublin of the survey book for the parishes in which the Exeter estate was situated. It gives the names of, *first*, the former owners; *second*, the owners in 1654, a little modified under the Irish Acts of Settlement under the Restoration, as I see there the name of the Duke of York (James II) in connection with the *Hollow-blades Association*, a predecessor *in title* of the well-known *Small Arms Company* at Birmingham, and Lord Massereene, whose peerage dates from 1660. The former owners of the property in this part were Robert and John St. John (I feel sure members of the noble family of St. John of Bletsoe, in Bedfordshire; their peerage dates from 13 January, 1559), and one Nicholas Everard, of whom I know nothing. The present owners have all absolutely English names. Sankey is not among them; but an owner in those days was probably a tenant-at-law or lessee. I need not enumerate them; but there is one genuine surviving name among them, Thomas Osborne, directly represented, through his wife, by the late Mr. Bernal Osborne, of Newton Anner, near Fethard, a well-known M.P. for many years, whom a few of my hearers may remember. His father, Mr. Bernal, M.P. for West Kent, and an expert in blue china, was in the Chair when I found my way in my teens into the Strangers' Gallery of the House of Commons. There are no Irish names whatever in the list. By the Statute of Kilkenny, about 1360, the mere Irish were prohibited from holding any position of importance in Church or State, and I should doubt if they were allowed to have their names recognized in the legal ownership of land. Like copyholders in England in the feudal times, they would only have been permitted to occupy and cultivate it, an object-lesson in the power and influence of race and nationality which we may safely bear in mind when considering the political exigencies of modern times.

The diminution of the population in seventy years from 1246 to 280 on about 4000 acres of useful land is at first sight a very melancholy result of "law and order," maintained by the authorities "without fear or favour," but there is no disputing the hard results of the economic

conditions of life. Butter and beef, largely consumed in England, have replaced the potatoes and oats on which before the famine of 1845-7 the native Irish eked out a precarious existence.

From the elevations given on the one-inch map the district is hilly and undulating, ranging from 200 to 600 feet above sea-level. E.S.E. from Fethard, about six miles distant, there is a steep eminence rising to 2364 feet named Slieve-na-man, considerably higher than Dartmoor; otherwise the settlers of the sixteenth century would have found no difficulty in making themselves homes as comfortable as in England, and that I believe was the case for many years after, and would have continued so longer than it did if it had not been embarrassed by the Catholic Irish, who were ever increasing and multiplying around them; tenants at will, in the most unlimited sense of those well-known words.

THE EXETER GOLDSMITHS' GUILD.

BY THE REV. J. F. CHANTER, M.A.

(Read at Exeter, 24th July, 1912.)

EXETER may well be described as having been a city of guilds, for nearly every trade, calling, and craft in it was organized and incorporated into guilds, each with their wardens, hall, common seal, and arms. Hooker, its great historian, writing of "trybes and corporations," says,¹ "The whole city according to their duties and occupations be all reduced into several companies, every one of these have their particular governors to direct them and govern them in their several duties which is a great ease to the mayor of the city, he being thereby not troubled with their causes. Of these some being incorporated by the prince and some by the mayor of this city." So the cordwainers were incorporated in 1387, the glovers and skinners in 1462, the tailors in 1466, the bakers in 1482, the barber-surgeons in 1487, the weavers and tuckers in 1490, the haberdashers in 1494, the merchant adventurers in 1556, the butchers in 1575, the brewers in 1578, the carpenters, masons, joiners, and glaziers in 1586, and the painters in 1602.

But it is a curious yet striking fact that the goldsmiths, who were the oldest, for their connection with the city goes back to its earliest days as an English town, as is witnessed by its long line of moneyers from the days of King Athelstan, and one of the most important, combining as they often did the business of banking with their craft, do not appear to have been legally incorporated till the end of the seventeenth century.

It was not because they were few in number, for even in the thirteenth century they were sufficiently numerous to give their name to a quarter of the city, as the title given to the Chapel of All Hallows, "in Aurifabria," bears record, and the name of "Goldsmith Street" survives to the

¹ Hooker MSS., fol. 424.

present day, yet in the great mass of civil and ecclesiastical records that the city still possesses there is no mention of this most important craft, except brief references to a few individuals who exercised it till the eighteenth century, and even the existence and whereabouts of these later records I found were unknown to the present goldsmiths and authorities of the city in the spring of this year.

Yet the existence of such a guild is witnessed to by the city mark affixed to gold and silver vessels and articles that for workmanship and design will bear favourable comparison with those of any English goldsmiths, though it should be noted that Thomas Mathew, perhaps the greatest of the Devonshire goldsmiths, was not an Exeter craftsman, but worked at Barnstaple from 1563 to 1611, being buried there 29 December, 1611, although both Cripps and Jackson, the two standard authorities on English goldsmiths, record his mark as an Exeter one.

And, first of all, I would give one reason why we do not meet with any record of the incorporation of the Exeter goldsmiths before 1700, and it is this: that the London Goldsmiths' Company, under their charters, had a right of jurisdiction over all workers of gold and silver within the Kingdom of England; no other of the London companies, as far as I am aware, had this wide jurisdiction, and so while in all the great provinces other crafts could be, and were, legally incorporated, yet this jurisdiction of Goldsmiths' Hall of London was a bar to the legal incorporation of the goldsmiths till the Act 12 and 13 William III, c. 4.

It would appear that the London Goldsmiths' Guild only exercised their authority at infrequent intervals—but still, it was exercised; the records of the London goldsmiths have not as yet been published, and without these it is impossible to say how far and how frequently it was exercised in Exeter, but during the sixteenth century, which is the earliest period of which we have any real information of Exeter goldsmiths and their work, beyond the mere mention of a few names, it is certain that the London Goldsmiths' Guild made several inquiries into the names, status, and work of the Exeter craftsmen, and continued doing so till their jurisdiction was brought to an end by the Act of Parliament of A.D. 1700.

Of the moneyers, who may be described as the earliest Exeter goldsmiths, we know little more than their names; these may be read in the papers of Messrs. H. S. Gill and

A. J. V. Radford, and I will not refer to them any further.

During the fourteenth century we come across the name of a goldsmith named John Wewlingworth, who flourished in the city of Exeter. In the fifteenth century the accounts of St. Petrock mention a John the Goldsmith, who was warden in 1424; a Thomas Colyne, goldsmith, against whom a suit was entered at the Guildhall in 1474; and a Thomas White, goldsmith, and Isabella, his wife, formerly wife of John Turner, barber, who were both deceased in 1478, and had occupied a tenement in North Street. But as soon as the sixteenth century begins, the local records, wills and plate still existing, enable us to give further particulars, and it is with this century that I would commence the story of the Exeter Goldsmiths' Guild, and endeavour to carry it down to its close in 1883.

Its early history, as far as I can unravel it, is mainly the history of the individuals who composed it, for of its constitution, rules, and regulations I have been unable to discover any records. The first member of any note is

William Cotton (1512-1560). There are several references to him in the Churchwardens' Accounts of the parish of St. Petrock; sometimes he is called William Cotyn; he was churchwarden in 1512 and again in 1513. In the accounts for the latter year there is a payment to Richard Duke of 20s. for a pair of indentures between William Cotton and the churchwardens; this pair of indentures was a lease of a barn and a close on St. David's Mount within the Manor of Duryard. In 1521 among the payments are "for 20 ozs. of broken silver for making of a silver chrismatory parcel-gilt for the use of the church £3. 6. 8 and for a piece of silver weighing $11\frac{1}{2}$ oz. for the same handed over by William Cotyn altogether $31\frac{1}{2}$ oz. and paid the same Cotyn for making the same 3ls." ; and among the city records there is a counterpart lease dated December, 1556, from the Corporation to William Cotton, of Exeter, goldsmith, of a shop on the north side of High Street in the parish of St. Pancras; the dimensions of the shop are given as being in length 21 feet, in breadth 6 feet, in height 9 feet from the floor—an interesting note as showing the very small size of the shops in those days. William Cotton was a Bailiff of the city in 1517. The last mention I find of him is in 1561, when he is mentioned as late tenant of a meadow beyond the Eastgate.

Henry the Goldsmith is mentioned in 1518 as repairing the ship or incense boat of St. Petrock's, but I have not come across any other reference to him.

William Smith (1528–1556) was the most prominent of the goldsmiths of Exeter during the first half of the sixteenth century; he was son of Richard Smith, of Exeter, and grandson of William Smith, Alderman in 1494.

He resided next to the Broadgate; among the Corporation muniments is a lease dated 15 June, 1528, to William Smith, goldsmith, and Agnes, his wife, of a house next to the Broadgate for a term of fifty-eight years at a rent of 5 marks. Smith's seal, which is still attached to the deed, shows armorial bearings, but too indistinct to describe.

He was Warden of St. Petrock's in 1531, 1537, and 1549; a Bailiff of the city in 1537, Sheriff in 1550, and Mayor in 1553. In the Churchwardens' Accounts of All Hallows, Goldsmith Street, he is mentioned as having purchased from them a silver cross and chalice in 1540. He died in 1556: in the register of St. Petrock's for that year is the following entry:—

“Mr. W^m Smyth alderman of the Cittie of Excester and of the p'ish of St^t Petrox dep'ted unto Almightye God in the p'sonage of Denbery and was buried in the chauncell before the high alter in the p'ish church of the said Denbery.”

William Pynnefolde, goldsmith, appears in the Exeter Act Book of 1559,¹ but I have no other record of him; he was probably an Oxford craftsman settled at Exeter.

James Walker (1550–1562) was the founder of one of Exeter's most famous families, his descendants for many generations occupying prominent positions in both Church and State; the family, according to tradition, came originally from Lancashire. James Walker, goldsmith, of Exeter, married Grace, daughter of William Tothill, Alderman and Mayor of Exeter; the only civic office he appears to have held was that of Bailiff in 1559. In 1562 he had two apprentices to the trade of a goldsmith, viz. Gawen Furney and Roger Wodes, but nothing of them is known, and they do not appear to have ever worked in Exeter on their own account. Walker made his will 2 March, 1562, which was proved 7 April, 1563, so he must have died somewhere between these dates; in it he desires that the legacies to his children be employed according to the most “goodly ordre of the Charter of Orphans of the city of Exeter.” The

¹ Act Book of the Chamber, 1 March, 1559.

witnesses were all famous Exeter citizens : John Vowell *alias* Hooker, Richard Hilliard, goldsmith, and William Lante. Walker's son Thomas was Mayor of Exeter in 1601, 1614, and 1625 ; his daughters married Sir George Smyth and John Howel, M.P. for Exeter. In the Church of St. Mary Arches there may still be seen many of the monuments of the Walker family.

William Nicholls (1565). Among the city muniments is an indenture dated 10 October, 1565, in which Jone Tuckfeeld conveys to William Nicholls, goldsmith, of Exeter, and Grace, his wife, a tenement in the Broadgate—this is the only mention I have of him, but he was no doubt the father of another William Nicholls who, in 1571, was an apprentice to an Exeter goldsmith named John Averie. Of none of these goldsmiths so far mentioned are there any examples of their workmanship preserved, or any marks used by them known.

And at this point it would be well to turn aside from a record of individual goldsmiths and see what indications there are of the customs, numbers, and marks used by Exeter goldsmiths in the sixteenth century. The first half of that century had been a period of destruction and consequently a general decay in arts and crafts, but with the feeling of settlement and stability after the first years of Queen Elizabeth's reign there came a general revival in trade, and in all branches of arts and crafts, in which the goldsmiths shared. And it is fortunate that just at this period we have a record which gives us a complete list of all goldsmiths working in the western counties. In the county of Devon there were two towns in which goldsmiths were working—Exeter and Barnstaple. In the year 1571 the following is the list of those working at Exeter :—

Richard Hilliard,
John Averie and his apprentice, William Nicholls,
John North and his apprentice, George Lyddon,
John Jones and his apprentice, Nicholas Reeve,
Richard Osborne,
Steven More,
Richard Bullyn,
Philip Dryver,
Henry Hardwicke.

This list gives a total of nine goldsmiths and three working apprentices ; at the same time there were at Barn-

staple, the only other town in Devon at which goldsmiths were found :—

John Cotton and his apprentice, Peter Quick,
Thomas Mathew and his apprentice, Robert Diamond,
Symon Hill.

I have inserted this latter list, though nothing to do with Exeter, as both Cotton and Mathew have, in all the standard works on English Plate and Goldsmiths, been included among the Exeter goldsmiths. Both of them lived, worked, and died at Barnstaple, and so cannot possibly be classed as Exeter.

At this period there does not appear to have been any combined action for assaying or marking plate in the city ; no town-mark appears on any piece of plate made at Exeter before 1570, but simply the individual mark of the craftsman, or in many cases no mark at all. In the West of England the marks were either the maker's initials, interlinked, or more often the initial of his Christian name on one punch and the full surname with letters interlinked in an oblong on a second punch.

The Exeter town-mark first appears about 1575 ; in no dated piece of plate before that year is there any mark except that of the maker. Thus the St. Sidwell's and St. Edmund's chalices have the letters RH interlinked, the initials of Richard Hilliard ; the St. John chalice has the letters HD interlinked in a D-shaped shield ; the St. David's chalice, dated 1571, IN for John North, the St. Petrock's chalice, dated 1572, I IOWS for John Jones ; the same mark appears on the Trevalga chalice, also dated 1572. But directly after we find the addition of another mark to nearly every piece, what is generally called the town-mark, which was the Roman capital **X**, usually with a crown over it, and often with the addition of pellets in the angles in a circular stamp, with or without surrounding dots. The earliest example of this is the St. Mary Arches' chalice, which is dated 1573. This addition, I can scarcely doubt, was the result of a visit of inspection by the officers of the London Goldsmiths' Company, who insisted that the plate made in Exeter should not only bear the maker's mark, but also evidence that it had been proved to be of standard purity. This carried with it the co-operation of the goldsmiths and the formation of a guild, if one had not existed before, and the appointment of an assayer duly sworn into

his office before the Mayor. In some of the town-marks at a later period we find a letter in the side angles of the X, or below it, probably the initials of the assayer.

In 1575 a third mark appears, the letter A. For example, the chalices of Holy Trinity Exeter, Lymptstone, and Duloe—which seems to show that following the London custom a cycle of date-letters was also adopted: the letter B found on chalices dated 1576 at Instow, Tamerton, and St. Perran, and C on a seal-top spoon is confirmatory evidence. The letters G, N, P on chalices of 1582, 1590, and a spoon, all of Exeter make, have also been noted, and as all the Church plate of the county is catalogued it may be that evidences of a complete cycle of date-letters will be forthcoming. In 1600 and 1601 the letters *a* and *b* have also been noted on spoons by William Bartlett, of Exeter, which suggests that a second cycle of date-letters commenced in 1600.

The use of date-letters and the town-mark is, however, by no means universal after 1575, which would suggest that the organism of the Exeter Goldsmiths' Guild was very incomplete; the real authority was not at Exeter, but at London, a long way off, and so we find a great deal of the Church plate of Elizabethan times, which is undoubtedly of Exeter or West-country make, bears no marks at all.

Of the goldsmiths who appear in the 1571 list some particulars may be of interest, as several of them were working long before or long after that date.

Richard Hilliard (1548–1594). The first notice I have of him is a reference in Hooker, where he is mentioned at the time of the siege of Exeter in Edward VI's reign. He was a Bailiff of the city in 1556, and Sheriff in 1568. He resided in the parish of St. George. From his will, which was dated 2 November, 1586, and proved 9 August, 1594, some particulars of his family may be gathered. He had three sons. Nicholas Hilliard, the eldest, to whom he left his lands in St. Pancras, Exeter, together with the patronage of the Church of St. Pancras, does not appear to have held any public position in the city. Jeremy Hilliard, the second, succeeded his father in the business of a goldsmith, and will be mentioned later on. Ezekiel Hilliard, the third, took orders, was Rector of Stokeclimsland, and died in 1614. The goldsmith's widow, Laurence Hilliard, who was his executor, died in 1604. There were also four daughters. Anne, married—Averie; Mary, married—Beane; Frances, and Parnell. Richard Hilliard is interesting as being the

earliest Exeter goldsmith any example of whose work still survives. In the churches of St. Sidwell and St. Edmund on the Bridge there are chalices with covers that bear his mark, R H, in a circle, with a concentric ring of dots, and which may be dated as 1571.

John Averie (1570-1622) resided in the parish of All Hallows, Goldsmith Street; he married, 27 October, 1570, Grace Norbrook, and was buried 24 February, 1622. No example of his work or mark is known.

William Nicholls, mentioned in 1571 as apprentice of John Avery, was probably son of William Nicholls, goldsmith, and Grace his wife, mentioned before.

John North (1568-1574). At St. David's there is an early Elizabethan chalice which has the mark **IN**, which is probably John North's. And at Curry Mallet, Somerset, there is an Exeter-pattern chalice dated 1573, with the marks I. NORTH, undoubtedly the work of J. North, of Exeter; his apprentice in 1571 was George Lyddon.

George Lyddon (1570-1598) resided in the parish of All Hallows, Goldsmith Street, where he married, 20 July, 1570, Margaret Harries; he was apprentice to John North. Lyddon died, and was buried 19 May, 1598. No work or marks of his are known.

John Jones (1558-1583) is the best known of all the Exeter goldsmiths of the sixteenth century, as more examples of his work and marks survive than of all the other Exeter goldsmiths of the period put together, and they may be found in all parts of the county of Devon and also in the neighbouring counties of Somerset and Cornwall. He resided in the parish of St. Petrock, of which he was Warden in 1570; he was Bailiff of the city in 1567, and in 1576 he presented to the Mayor of Exeter a basin and ewer of silver, parcel-gilt, for the use of the Mayor and his successors for ever. Two of Jones' apprentices are known by name: Nicholas Reeve, apprentice in 1571, and Edmund Harman, apprentice in 1583. His son Zackary Jones, brought up to be a lawyer, was rather a scapegrace and left no issue; his daughters Agnes and Alice married Henry Every and Thomas Bridgeman, respectively members of well-known Exeter families; his godson and grandson, John Bridgeman, was afterwards the well-known Bishop of Chester and father of Sir Orlando Bridgeman and ancestor of the Earl of Bradford. John Jones died in January, 1583, and in his will desired to be buried in the Cathedral Church

of St. Peter, near his wife's grave. He appears to have been a man of considerable property, making up his daughters' portions to £500 each, and in addition bequeathing to them a tenement at Alphington, two freehold houses in Exeter, tenements without the Southgate, and at the Bakehouse in St. Mary the More; to his grandson, the future Bishop of Chester, he bequeathed his tenement at the corner of High Street, near the "great conduit of the cittie of Exeter." There are also bequests of his "great costed salte," his new round salt of the weight of 28 oz. and £20 to the poor of Exeter. The witnesses of the will were Robert Hooker, Jasper Bridgeman, public notary, William Greenwood, and John Watkyns.

John Jones' mark on plate was I and IOWS in an oblong, in addition to town-mark.

Nicholas Reeve, } apprentices to John Jones; nothing
Edmunde Harman, } further is known of either.

Richard Osborn (1569–1607) was a resident in the parish of All Hallows, Goldsmith Street; he probably belonged to the family of Henry Osborn, of Berrynarbor, Registrar of Barnstaple Archdeaconry, and Hugh Osborn, of Iddesleigh, afterwards of Clyst St. George. The goldsmith had a son Hugh Osborn, who also resided in All Hallows parish, and a grandson, Richard Osborn, baptized 17 November, 1610, who was probably also a goldsmith. Richard Osborn, senior, goldsmith, was buried at All Hallows, 30 May, 1607. A spoon of his make which I have seen has the Exeter town-mark and OSBORN in an oblong, the R and N interlinked.

Steven More (circa 1570–1600), though recorded as being an Exeter goldsmith, probably worked more in the South Hams; there are chalices of his at Halwell and Slapton, and as the plate of that neighbourhood is examined there may be additions to the number. The shape of the Slapton chalice is very peculiar: the bowl, very conical, is 4 in. deep and 6½ in. diameter; the stem trumpet shape, while the cover is a usual Elizabethan type. The marks used by More were S in pointed shield, and MORE in an oblong, and a mark of quatrefoil shape, charged with a roundel in each foil and in the centre. On the Slapton chalice there is the letter T in a circle. On a spoon of More's work I have seen there is a gateway with three towers instead of the quatrefoil. May this be meant for the Exeter town seal?

Richard Bullyn } (1571). I can find no further mention
Philip Dryver } or particulars of either of these.

Henry Hardwicke (1570–1571) resided in the parish of All Hallows, Goldsmith Street, where, on 1 July, 1570, he married Elizabeth Jermyn. I have no record of any marks of his or any further particulars.

Thomas Bridgeman (1577–1620), son of Jasper Bridgeman, Registrar of the Archdeaconry of Exeter; he married, at St. Petrock's, 5 February, 1577, Alice, daughter of John Jones, of Exeter, goldsmith. He was Bailiff in 1584, and Churchwarden of St. Petrock's in 1588; his children were: John, afterwards Bishop of Chester, Humphrey, Agnes, and Joan. I have classed him with the Exeter goldsmiths owing to his father-in-law, John Jones, having in his will left a bequest to his apprentice, Edmund Harman "provided he served out his apprenticeship with my son-in-law, Thomas Bridgeman." But there is nothing else to connect him with the craft of a goldsmith, though he probably carried on Jones' business for a time.

John Eydes (1583–1630). Among the city records is a counterpart lease, dated 2 October, 1590, of a tenement in St. Sidwell's, on the road to St. Anne's Chapel, to John Edes, goldsmith. The spelling I have adopted is that of the signature to the deed. John Eydes had a son, John Eydes, born *circa* 1583, who was Vicar of Colyton in 1608, Rector of Clyst St. Lawrence 1611, and Rector of Honiton 1614. His daughter Elizabeth married Hugh Cholmeley, sub-dean of Exeter and Rector of Clare Portion. John Eydes, goldsmith, was Bailiff in 1595; the marks I and YEDS in an oblong found on a seal-top spoon, *circa* 1583, with the Exeter town-mark, may be ascribed to him.

Jeremy Hilliard (1586–1631) was second son of Richard Hilliard, of Exeter, goldsmith, and carried on his father's business. He resided in the parish of St. George, and was Bailiff in 1591. In his will, dated 20 November, 1631, he mentions his sons, Jeremy, William, and John; his daughters, Grace Hilliard and Mary Passmore; his wife Alice, and his brother Mr. William Martin. No work or marks of his are known.

William Horwood (1598–1613) resided in the parish of St. George. His mark, HORWOOD, with Exeter town-mark, is found on mounts of a stone-ware jug. His will, which was proved in the Mayor's Court, is especially interesting, because attached to it there is an inventory which gives us a vivid picture of an Exeter tradesman of that period, his stock-in-trade, value of his goods, furniture, and

expenses of his funeral. The goods were priced by another goldsmith, Mr. William Bartlett, with others. It was made on 20 March, 1613-4; it is as follows:—

Imprimis ffyve silver bolles, one silver salt, 15 silver spoones all weighing 49 oz. quarter and halfe a quarter at 5s. 2d. the oz.	xij ^{li} xv ^s
Item ffyve guilt bolles, two double salts guylt & three guylt spoones all wayeng 55 oz., half and half a quarter at 6s. 6d. the oz.	xvij ^{li} 1 ^s vj ^d
Item a p'cell guilt stope and one p'cell guilt beakere both wayenge 22 oz. and quarter and half a quarter all at 5 ^s the oz.	v ^{li} vj ^d ij ^d
Item in English Money	iiij ^{li} xiiij ^s
Item in broken silver & spoones one hundred and fyve oz. at 4 ^s 4 ^d p'ounce	xxij ^{li} xv ^s
Item in olde silver lace ix. oz. & halfe at ij ^s p' oz.	xix ^s
Item in olde guilte plate 15 oz. & halfe at v ^s p' oz.	iiij ^{li} xvij ^s vj ^d
Item in burnt silver xvij oz. at 4 ^s 2 ^d	iiij ^{li} x ^s x ^d
Item in Spanish Money 64 oz. at 4 ^s 11 ^d p. oz.	xv ^{li} xiiij ^s xiiij ^d
Item in garnished correll and other small ware 7 oz. at 5 ^s p. oz.	xxxv ^s
Item in guylte ringes 7 oz. 3 qter at 5 p oz.	xxxvij ^s vj ^d
Item Four bunches of rownd correll	xlviij ^s vj ^d
Item Two silver handels	ij ^s vj ^d
Item Silver lemell (?) 4 oz. 3 quart at 4 ^s p' oz.	xix ^s
Item Stones for rynges and pearls	iiij ^s iiij ^d
Item In goulde rynges and jewells 4 oz. and quarter at 50s. p. oz.	v ^{li} xij ^s v ^d
Item for a barrell of shop ayshes	liij ^s iiij ^d
Item for a paier of ballances & wayghts	x ^s
Item all the tooles in the shoppe the deshes and all that belongs to the forge w th a washing platter	xl ^s
Item a parcell of bookes w th a bible, pictures and ij settles in the shoppe	vj ^s viij ^d

The remaining articles in the inventory were in the living-rooms and are of no particular interest, but on the back of the inventory are the widow's accounts of the expenses of the funeral and winding up his affairs, which contain several points of interest.

Expenses of my husbands buryall	iiij ^s
Mr. Richards his factor in London	xxi ^s
George Townsend goldsmith in Totnes	xx ^s
Pd. to the nurse for my boy for ij months	vj ^d
Due to my lady Prideaux rent of my house Midsummer quarter	xxx ^s

Laid out for a black apron & black scissors	—
Mr. Goldinge for wine	iijs ^s
Drashers wife for drink	xxvj ^s
John Whitrowe, cook for dressing of the meat	iijs ^s
Mr. James Collyns & Mr. Thomas Baskerville apothecaries	x ^s
Altering a gown for myself against my husbands funeral	xijj ^d
Paid Mr. Wilkie for two silver spoons	xij

From these accounts we can gather that William Horwood kept a shop and was also himself a working goldsmith, and was in a good way of business.

C(?) Easton (1576–1592). After John Jones there is no other Exeter goldsmith of whose work so many examples have survived as of that of C. Easton, and it is therefore especially regrettable that after search at many sources I have as yet been unable to obtain any information whatever as to him. There is a chalice dated 1576 of his at Stockleigh Pomeroy; a chalice dated 1582 at Cadbury; another dated also 1582, formerly at Fen Ottery; a cylindrical salt, repoussé and chased with marks and foliage; a chalice dated 1590 at St. Andrew's, Plymouth; also spoons and a jug mount. His work is specially interesting, as the marks used by him are very varied; in addition to the Exeter town-mark, EASTON and ESTON in oblongs, and the letters C, G, N & P. With the exception of the first, all of these seem probably to be date-letters. I should be glad if any members of the Association who have noted any of his marks would send me particulars of them. The name Easton also being somewhat common in the county, makes it more difficult to identify him in wills.

William Bartlett (1600–1646) was one of the most prominent citizens of Exeter in the first half of the seventeenth century and, like several of the Exeter goldsmiths of that century, a strong partisan. His eldest son, John Bartlett (Vicar of St. Thomas in 1628, and ejected from St. Mary Major in 1662), by his wife, Joan, daughter of Alexander Horwood, of Barnstaple, merchant, was father of a numerous family. Another son of the goldsmith was William Bartlett, curate of Bideford, and later an intruder there, father of John Bartlett, intruder at Fremington; and of Mary Bartlett, who married Oliver Peard, the Nonconformist minister of Barnstaple. Another son was Bernard Bartlett, merchant, of Exeter, buried at St. Kerrian's in 1669. In Haynes' Diary (*T.D.A.*, 1902, pp. 235, 236) will be found an account of tankards, bowls, dishes, saltsellers,

spoons, gold rings, etc., purchased by Haynes from Mr. Bartlett, "ye goldsmith," the transactions running from 1635-1640. Haynes mentions that the plate he exchanged bore London marks, but unfortunately he does not give any account of the marks on the new plate purchased from the Exeter goldsmith. William Bartlett, goldsmith, was Bailiff in 1615, and was buried at St. Mary Major, 10 November, 1646. The marks used by him $\frac{B}{W}$ in a shield, with the Exeter town-mark; they are found on a chalice at Crewkerne, Somerset, dated 1607, and on spoons. In the latter case *a* and *b* are also found, probably date-letters.

Ralph Herman (1610-1661). There may possibly have been more than one goldsmith of this name, as the period is a long one; and probably Mr. Garret, the goldsmith (who is mentioned in the will of Elizabeth Trosse as having sold a silver bowl to her husband, John Trosse, who died in 1617), was the same as Ralph Herman, as in the register of All Hallows, Goldsmith Street, there are many entries of a family called Garret als. Herman. Haynes, in his Diary, mentions purchases of rings and a thimble from Mr. Herman and "Harman, ye goldsmith," which seems to link the name with Harman, the apprentice of John Jones; and Ralph Herman, the goldsmith, lived in John Jones' old house near the Broadgate, which he had purchased from Jones' grandson and great-grandson, the Bishop of Chester and Sir Orlando Bridgeman. Herman was Bailiff in 1632, Sheriff in 1646, Mayor in 1652, and at his death, in 1662, one of the Aldermen of the city of Exeter. In his will, dated 25 July, 1661, and proved 25 April, 1662, he desired to be buried in St. Peter's Church, in the grave where his daughter Margaret was of late interred; there is, however, no record of either burial in the Cathedral registers. There are numerous bequests: "To the poor of Exeter and St. Sidwell's prisoners, Hospital of St. John, £400 to the Mayor, Bayliffes, and Commonaltie of the Cittie of Exeter, for the poor of St. Sidwells, to be used in the same way as the money given by Mr. John Periam and Mr. Thomas Walker"; £1600 to his now wife, Jane Herman; £2000 to his granddaughters, Jane and Sarah Hutchings; £500 to his granddaughter, Julian Pitt; his lands to his grandsons, John Hutchins and Herman Pitt; legacies to the Puritan Ministers at Exeter, and various kinsfolk. It appears that he left an only daughter Alice, who had married, first, John, son of John Hutchins, of Petrockstowe and the Middle

Temple, by Anne, eldest daughter of Roger Fortescue, of Buckland Filleigh, Esq., who died in 1647; and secondly, Pitt. There were a succession of Herman Pitts, of Thorverton and Exeter, up to 1786.

Ralph Herman had an apprentice, Nicholas Tripe, afterwards a goldsmith at Exeter. The marks used by him were (i) RH interlinked, (ii) HERMAN in an oblong, (iii) Exeter town-mark. They are found on some seal-topped spoons.

Edward Anthony (1612–1667) was son of John Anthony, of Exeter, merchant, by Edith Bastaple (married St. Mary Major, 5 November, 1581); he was baptized 1 April, 1591, at St. Petrock's. He resided for many years in the parish of St. Martin. There are entries in the registers of that parish of the baptisms and burials of his children from 1624 to 1638. Afterwards he appears to have lived in his native parish of St. Petrock; his first wife, Dorothy, was buried there 24 April, 1655. And there also he married his second wife, Mrs. Elizabeth Bennett, on 27 October, 1659. He was Churchwarden of St. Petrock's in 1648, a Bailiff of the city in 1633. His will is dated 3 January, 1666–7, and was proved 13 August, 1667. In Haynes' Diary will be found accounts of purchases of saltsellers, bowls, a sugar dish and spoons from Mr. Edward Anthony, goldsmith. A large number of spoons of his make still exist and may frequently be met with; the mark used by him was E over an A, with the letter T interlinked, sometimes in a circle, sometimes in a shield with the Exeter town-mark.

Jasper Radcliffe (1624–1675) resided for over half a century in the parish of St. Petrock; the arms he used were those of the Radcliffes, Earls of Derwentwater, so he was in all probability a cadet of that family. He married (M.L. 12 April, 1624) Mary, daughter of William Francklyn; several of his children were baptized at St. Petrock's. He was Churchwarden of St. Petrock's in 1645, but does not appear to have held any municipal offices. Among the city records is a counterpart lease from the Corporation to Jasper Radcliffe, dated 22 January, 1646, of the fishing in the river of Exe within the manor of Exe Island, with liberty to dry nets and moor boats on the Bonhay. He was buried at St. Petrock's, 20 January, 1625. The tombs of his descendants may still be seen at St. Thomas', on which they are described as of Franklin, merchants and esquires. In Haynes' Diary there are accounts of purchases from Jasper Radcliffe of spoons in 1636; they are described as 12 new

spoons of his making without heads ; they weighed 19 oz. 1 dwt., so were about 1 oz. 12 dwt. apiece ; 12 old spoons with gilt heads and £1 4 0 were given in exchange ; there are also in Haynes' Diary accounts of a purchase from Radcliffe of a diamond ring, and a payment for filing and bringing into fashion "six plaine silver spoons." Of Radcliffe's work and marks we have fortunately still some examples. One of the chalices at St. Petrock's is his work ; it is dated 1640, but is quite Elizabethan in style. The marks are JR in monogram, RADCLIFFE in an oblong, and the Exeter town-mark. A spoon by him has a variant of the first mark IR with crossed trefoils between in a square, and the town-mark in a shield shaped to the letter X ; it is pricked 1635.

George Barnes (1640–1648) is mentioned in the will of Henry Trosse, 1641, as residing in a tenement in the parish of St. Martin's, belonging to the said Henry Trosse. In his will, which is dated 8 January, 1648, and was proved 12 August, 1648, he mentions his children, John, Susanna, and Hester, all under twenty-one years of age, his mother Margaret Barnes, and his wife Susanna. Also his lands, now in the tenure of the "Smyths, cutlers or sadlers or which belongeth to their hall." In his will he describes himself as George Barnes, of Exeter, goldsmith ; there are bequests to the poor of Axminster and Exeter. I have not come across any plate or marks that can be ascribed to him.

George Knowling (1658–1676). The only reference I have to him is in the will of Ralph Herman, where he speaks of "my loving friend George Knowling of Exeter, goldsmith." William Wotton, of Exeter, goldsmith, was also a nephew of George Knowling ; he had a wife, Joan Knowling, and a son, Robert, who matriculated at Exeter College, Oxford, 19 June, 1675, *æt.* 15, who was a barrister of the Inner Temple in 1683, and was buried, 14 June, 1694, at the Inner Temple. George Knowling appears to have been dead in 1680.

Nicholas Tripe (1662–1685) was son of Nicholas Tripe, of Kingsbridge and Charleton, mercer. He was apprenticed to Ralph Herman, of Exeter, goldsmith, and probably his successor. He married Jane, daughter of Anthony Salter, of Exeter, physician, and sister of John Prince's wife. Nicholas Tripe resided in the parish of St. Martin, of which he was Warden in 1675 ; he was a Bailiff of the city

in 1674. His eldest son, Nicholas, baptized at St. Martin's, 1 May, 1672, was in Holy Orders, and was buried at St. Martin's, 3 September, 1698. His second son, Anthony Tripe, was a goldsmith at Exeter. Nicholas Tripe died and was buried at St. Martin's, 26 September, 1685. In his will he states that his house cost him £600, but if any of his sons should become a tradesman in the city of Exeter he should have the said house for £500, paying his two brothers their parts out of it. I do not know of any marks that can be ascribed to Nicholas Tripe.

Samuel Calle (1665–1685). The only note I have of him as a goldsmith is a token issued by him, the inscription on which is: "O. Samuel Calle R. Gouldsmith in Exon." He was Bailiff of the city in 1667.

William Reed (1664–1680) resided in the parish of All Hallows, Goldsmith Street. He was son of William Reed of that parish. A stone on the floor of the church recorded the deaths of William Reed, 9 April, 1659; and of his son, William Reed, goldsmith, 27 March, 1680. Neither of these burials is entered in the registers, which are, however, very defective.

William Wotton (1662–1690). He resided in the parish of St. Mary Arches; a slab on the floor, now somewhat decayed, records his death, 29 August, 1690. Miss Cresswell, in her *Exeter Churches*, does not give the year; I have supplied it from other sources. He came from the neighbourhood of Collumpton and was apprenticed to his uncle, George Knowling, of Exeter, goldsmith; he carried on at Exeter not only the trade of a goldsmith, but also that of a tobacco merchant, a curious combination. His first apprentice to the goldsmith's trade was his brother-in-law, John Ridler, who afterwards became his partner. A later apprentice was George Edwards. In his will, which is dated 22 August, 1689, a very lengthy document, he leaves £1200 to his wife, also his house and garden near the Snaile Tower in the city of Exeter for life, also two tenements called fford and Wayhouse in Holcombe Burnell for life and half his household goods; legacies to various relatives, to all those servants that shall work for him in the tobacco trade, to no less than eleven clergy at Exeter, and many charities, some of which are still enjoyed by the parish of St. Mary Arches. In a codicil he says, "Whereas John Ridler of the Citty of Exon, goldsmith, and myself are equal partners in trade, he is to have three periods of six

months for paying in my share of the stock between us, the said John Ridler to have my house for three years at rent of £36; in case George Edwards my present apprentice is not willing to serve out his time with the said John Ridler, my partner, I give him half the money I had from his trustees when he was bound apprentice to me." He mentions also his cousin William Ekins, afterwards a goldsmith at Exeter, and Mr. Joseph Wilcox, goldsmith at Plymouth. William Drake, another Exeter goldsmith, was one of the witnesses of the will.

John Ridler (1668–1700). As mentioned above, he was brother-in-law of William Wotton, goldsmith, of Exeter, to whom he was first of all apprentice and afterwards partner. He resided in the parish of St. Thomas. On the floor of that church is a slab with inscription, "John Ridler of this parish, goldsmith, died 5 June, 1700; also his first wife and seven of his children; also Sarah, his second wife, who died 1723, aged 65." Miss Cresswell found this stone illegible. I have supplied the inscription from other sources.

James Tucker (1678–1708), son of Richard Tucker, of Exeter, merchant. He resided in the parish of St. Mary Arches, where there is a slab with the inscription, "James Tucker of this Citty, goldsmith, who departed this life ye 25th day of December, 1708."

Thomas Salter (1679–1723). A member of a well-known Exeter family and a prominent citizen. He resided in the parish of St. Olave's; he was a Bailiff in 1687, Receiver in 1706, Mayor in 1710 and 1722. He married, at St. Mary Major, 6 January, 1679–80, Mrs. Thomazine Wise, of Holy Trinity. I have not come across any marks of his before 1701, but after that there are **SA** on a porringer, and TS, 1720, and TS 1723, on a spoon. He was Warden of the Goldsmiths' Guild in 1702; his history belongs more properly, as does that of all the succeeding goldsmiths, to the second period of the Exeter goldsmiths, of which I shall treat later.

Anthony Tripe (1695–1755) was born 5 May, 1674, and was son of Nicholas Tripe, goldsmith, of Exeter, by Jane, daughter of Anthony Salter, M.D. By his wife Dorothy he had a son, Rev. Anthony Tripe, Rector of Exbourne, 1758–1777, and Elizabeth married Rev. Tilleman Hodgekinson, of Exeter, schoolmaster, and eight others who died young. He resided in the parish of St. Martin's. He was Warden of

the Goldsmiths' Guild in 1703, a Bailiff of the city in 1710, Receiver 1719, Mayor 1725. His will is dated 20 March, 1755, and was proved 12 September, 1757, by his son, Anthony Tripe. There are only marks of his after 1700, NS, Tr and OS, AT.

John Mortimer (1684–1716). Marks of his are found on spoons at the end of the seventeenth century. JM inter-linked, and ^{EX}ON. He resided in the parish of All Hallows on the Wall, and married a Mary Hutchins of that parish. He was Warden of the Goldsmiths' Guild in 1702. After 1701 the mark he used was *Mo*.

William Bryant (1685–1706) was son of Richard Bryant, Rector of Silverton (1656–1688), by Grace, daughter of Silvanus Wrayford, of Silverton. No marks of his are known before 1701, after that it was Br. ; it is on a spoon at St. Petrock's.

Edward Spicer (1685–1713), a member of a well-known Exeter family. He was a Bailiff of the city in 1695 and 1703, Mayor in 1708, and Warden of the Goldsmiths' Guild in 1704. I can find no record of any marks of his till 1706, when he entered a mark SP in an oblong.

Nicholas Browne (1694–1728). I have no particulars of him personally, but his mark is found on spoons, *circa* 1694, NB interlinked in a shield with EX over and ON under his initials. His mark, after 1701, is probably one of the missing ones referred to later. He was Warden of the Goldsmiths' Guild in 1704.

William Drake (1690–1725). The first note I have of him is as a witness of the will of William Wotton, in 1690, but no marks of his are to be found before 1701, when the goldsmiths of Exeter were incorporated by an Act of Parliament. He was Warden of the Goldsmiths' Guild in 1706, and Bailiff of the city in 1709. No marks of his are to be found before 1701, or after.

Daniel Slade (1690–1717) was a Bailiff of the city in 1695, and one of the first Wardens of the Goldsmiths' Guild in 1701. His marks are DS linked and SL on spoons of 1693 and 1713.

William Ekins (1690–1712) is first mentioned in 1690 in the will of his cousin, William Wotton. Izaacke, in his *Antiquities of the City of Exeter*, speaks of him as an eminent, pious, and charitable person. He was, with Slade, one of the first Wardens of the Goldsmiths' Guild at its reconstruction

in 1701. By his will he left £50 per annum to Exeter School for the instruction of boys in mathematics, and especially in navigation. His mark WE is on a spoon of 1696.

The above are all the names of Exeter goldsmiths before 1700 that I have been able to recover, and though a fairly long list, is, I feel, most incomplete, for there are several others of whom the initials are known from Exeter marks, but I have been unable to identify them. Among these are:—

MH. These letters, linked in a circle with an X uncrowned, are found on several Somerset chalices of 1574.

HD. These letters, interlinked in a D-shaped shield, are found on an Elizabethan chalice at St. John's, Exeter, which may be dated *circa* 1575.

HP. These letters, interlinked, are found with the Exeter town-mark in a shield shaped to form of letter X on an apostle spoon, in possession of Messrs. Bruford, *circa* 1646.

IL. With similar town-mark on apostle spoon, *circa* 1646. I believe this to be the mark of James Lillington, of All Hallows (1629–1676).

TB. In monogram, with Exeter mark in circle on apostle spoon of about same date.

IV. These letters are found on a paten at Kingsnympton. In a shield over it is XON, with usual Exeter mark; may possibly be John Vincombe, of Exeter (1641–1674).

I MOV. Found on one of William Bartlett's chalices at Chittlehampton. May be an assayer's name.

IP. Found on several pieces end of seventeenth century; may be John Palmer, of Exeter (1677–1698).

MW. Found on spoon, pricked 1676. Letters each side of X in town-mark.

IS. Found on spoon, *circa* 1690, with Exeter marks.

A further study of Exeter registers and wills of the seventeenth century will probably lead to the identification of most of them. There are also a few other goldsmiths of the end of this century, such as John Elston, whom it will be more convenient to speak of among the eighteenth-century goldsmiths. And with that century a new epoch in the history of the Exeter Goldsmiths' Guild commences. Up to the year 1700 their history is that of individuals rather than of a guild; but from that year it will be rather of the Guild, its rules, regulations, and officials, that I would treat than of the individuals who were its members. Also with the eighteenth century the area must be extended.

Up till 1700, in treating of the Exeter goldsmiths, we are confined to those who were residents in Exeter and its suburbs ; after that date the story of the Exeter goldsmiths must necessarily include not merely those who were members of the "corporation," to use a word applied to them frequently in the minutes of the society, which was limited to freemen of and living in the city of Exeter, but also all goldsmiths in the counties of Devon, Somerset, and Cornwall who registered their marks at the Exeter Goldsmiths' Hall, whose plate was assayed there and bears, therefore, the Exeter town-mark.

In the year 1696 an Act of Parliament was passed setting up a new standard for gold and silver plate. The omission (probably unintentional) of any mention of the provincial assay offices in this Act had practically deprived them of all their business, everything would have to go to London. Under these circumstances combined action was taken by the goldsmiths of Exeter, Chester, and Norwich. Petitions were sent to Parliament setting forth their grievances and the disabilities they had been placed under by the Act of 1696, and resulted in the statute 12 & 13 William III, cap. 4, being passed. This Act of Parliament recites that the goldsmiths and plate-workers remote from London were under great difficulties and hardships for want of assayers in convenient places to assay and touch their wrought plate, and for a remedy of their grievance it enacted :—

(Sect. i.) That York, Exeter, Bristol, Chester, and Norwich be cities for assaying and marking wrought plate and for exercising other powers of the act.

(Sect. ii.) That the goldsmiths and plate-workers, freemen of and living in any of the said cities and having served an apprenticeship to the said trade be incorporated as the Company of Goldsmiths of the said citties respectively, and enabled them annually to choose two wardens to continue for one year and no longer unless re-elected.

By this Act the goldsmiths of the city of Exeter, on fulfilling the conditions laid down in it, would become a legally incorporated body, with powers of assaying and marking plate with their own distinctive marks, which were (i) the maker's mark, the first two letters of the surname ; (ii) the town-mark—instead of the old crowned X the arms of the city were adopted, Per pale gules and sable, a triple-towered castle, turreted or ; (iii) a lion's head erased ; (iv) the figure of Britannia ; (v) the date-letter.

The story of the proceedings by which the Act, as far as it regarded Exeter, was put into operation, will best be told by the entries in the minute book of the new Corporation, and as these minutes give us the rules, regulations, and customs of the Exeter Goldsmiths' Guild it will be best, especially as the minutes are brief, to give them in full for the first year.

"By virtue of an Act of Parliament made in the 12th year of our Sovereign Lord William ye 3rd King of England, &c. the Company of Goldsmiths met at Taylors Hall in ye Cittie of Exeter on Thursday 7th August 1701 present Daniel Slade, Nicholas Browne, John Elston, John Avery, Thomas Salter, Thomas Foote, John Mortimer, Edmond Richards, Joseph Lee, Anthony Tripe, Philip Jerman.

And then proceeded to elect Wardens & ye majoritie fell on Mr. William Ekins & Mr. Daniel Slade and they are hereby declared to be ye wardens for ye ensuing year and Joseph Lee Beedle to ye company—adjourned sine die.

(signed) John Avery."

"At a Court held the 17 Sep. 1701 at Males Coffee house in this city resolved that we will with all convenient speed and safety put the Goldsmiths' Act into execution or the act for appointing Essayers and wardens in the country present William Ekins, Dan. Slade, John Elston, John Avery, Nic. Browne, W^m Bryant, Anthony Tripe. Adjourned. Ordered that Mr. John Elston, Mr. John Avery and Mr. Nich. Browne do treat and conclude a bargain with Mr. Benj. Hawkins for a house for the company to meet in and a convenience for an assay office."

At a court held the 14th day of October, 1701, at Hawkins' Coffee House, the aforesaid order was given to the above committee to agree with Mr. Hawkins. The Committee reported that they had not agreed with the said Hawkins, the house being not convenient.

Resolved That from henceforth nine freemen of this incorporated body shall make a court.

Resolved That what members so ever that be absent or be wanting at the limited time of adjournment or summons without shewing cause to either of ye wardens before the time limited for meeting, then every such member shall forfeit one shilling provided he be summoned the day before the court is to be held in person.

Resolved That whosoever is Essay Master to this Corporation shall give security to save harmless and indemnify the Corporation and every person member thereof in the sum of twenty pounds and not to exceed that sum.

Present William Ekins, Dan. Slade, Edward Spicer, Thomas Salter, J. Mortimer, J. Elston, N. Browne, Jno. Audry, Edmond Richards. witness Benjamin Browne.

Adj. to Weds. 22nd inst. 3 o'clock afternoon.

At a court held 22 October, 1701, at Hawkins' Coffee House, the committee appointed to find out a proper place for the service of the corporation reported that they had viewed several places, one of which they thought convenient. Ordered that Mr. T. Salter, Mr. Tripe, and Mr. Richards be a committee to make further inquiries for a convenient place for the service of the corporation and to make a report at the next sitting of the said court. Ordered that henceforth any member of the corporation that shall offer to make any motion, stand up and address his speech to the Warden and not be interrupted. (There were ten present.)

At a court held 6 October, 1701. at Hawkins' Coffee House :—

Resolved That the Assay Master provide convenient room for Assay Office and all other conveniences at his own proper cost, that two days in the week be appointed for assaying, that Mondays and Thursdays be the two days, that no plate be taken in after 10 a.m. (adjourned).

That they subject themselves to the same 6d. as act provides.

At a court held on 8 October, 1701 :—

Resolved That the sixpence continue for 3 years, that the Assay Master do not keep open shop after Lady Day 1702 neither take any apprentice while Assay Master, nor buy or sell any gold or silver wares with any person during his being an Assay Master, except with the goldsmiths of the city of Exeter, neither shall he work or cause to be wrought any vessell or plate which shall afterwards be touched or marked at his office. That every member shall give an authentic note under his hand for the sum of £3 to indemnify every member. Any fine levied by reason of any defect in our dyett and the assay master be bound for £17.

Resolved That Mr. Edmond Richards be Assay Master. There were ten present at this meeting.

At the foot of Minutes is this note :—

“ I, Daniel Slade, protest against Edmond Richards as not qualified according to the Act of Parliament.”

At a court held on 22 November, 1701 (nine present):—

Resolved That John Mortimer make and prepare the diet and punches.

Memorandum. Mr. Edmond Richards was on Weds. 19th inst sworn in as assayer before John Cholwell, Esq., Mayor.

(signed) W^m Ekins, warden, John Mortimer, Anth. Tripe, John Elston.

At a court held on 19 January, 1701, at Hawkins' Coffee House, articles with Mr. John Elston were agreed on and signed. Ordered that the articles between Mr. Elston and 'ye goldsmiths be entered on our book and signed there.'

Articles and agreements made this 19th day of Jan. 1701 between John Elston of ye citty of Exeter, goldsmith of ye one party and W^m Ekins & Dan^l Slade, Wardens of ye Goldsmiths company of ye said citty on the behalfe of all the goldsmiths as are or shall be freemen within the space of one yeare and one month after the date of this agreement and y^t shall signe ye same—

Imprimis the above John Elston doth covenant and promise for himself and servants that from and after the 19th day of February next ensuing that he nor they will nor shall not during the space of one whole year barter or exchange any gold or silver of or to any person whatsoever except such as shall or doe actually keep the trade of a goldsmith or silver-smith for ye space of one year to commence from Feb. 19th next ensuing.

2^d The said John Elston doth covenant and agree to and with all those respective goldsmiths who shall subscribe their names to this agreement that he will from time to time furnish and supply y^m wth these p^{ses} of plate underwritten at ye rates following.

That is to say all manner of plaine Tankards	} at 5 ^s p oz. fashion.
all sorts of belly porringers	
plaine upright cuppes w th two handles	
Upright mugges	
Communion flaggons and pattens	

3 rd And all those p ^{ses} of plate above men-	} 7 ^d p oz. fashion.
tioned shall be nureld for	
And for all trensher saltes nureld	} 18 ^s per doz. fashion 8 ^s ye doz.
And for all swage spoones from 1 oz. and	
upward as far as 2 oz. 5 dwt. for	} fashion

And forkes at	14 ^s ye doz. fashion.
For all sucking bottles	7 each fashion.
The beste sort of Castors	1 ^s ye oz. fashion.
Salvers at	7 ^d ye oz. fashion.

And this ye s^d John Elston doth promise to deliver well put out of hand.

4th We whose names are hereunto subscribed Goldsmiths of the city of Exon doe covenant and promise y^t from hereafter ye 19th day of Feb^{ry} next ensuing yt we will not send to London for any of these p^{ees} of plate before mentioned neither will we employ any workmen to make them here provided the s^d John Elston will promise to furnish us in 21 days from ye time of its bespeaking.

5th We the s^d goldsmiths subscribing hereunto doe promise yt we will not send any silver to London except forraigne coine till such time as they have first enquired of ye above John Elston whether he wantes any silver.

6th And the s^d John Elston doth covenant to give and allow for all silver at ye rate of 5^s 2^d p oz. old standard.

7th Provided always if Mr. Avery Mr. Foot either of them or any other will conforme to ye above articles and subscribe to them within ye space of one month from ye date hereof they shall have ye same prices and ye same advantages as Mr. Elston hath or is to have.

8th That the s^d John Elston doth covenant to make all other peeses of plate not mentioned in ye above articles and to be concluded by the London prices as they are now.

W ^m Elkins,	Thomas Salter,	John Elston.
Dan ^l Slade,	John Mortimer,	
Ed ^w Spicer,	Anthony Tripe,	
Nicholas Browne,		

William Drake was also present at this court, but did not sign the agreement.

The above-mentioned agreement is of great interest, not merely for the full particulars it gives us as to cost price of silver articles at that period, and the cost of making various articles beyond the cost of the metal used in their manufacture, but because it explains why more silver plate of John Elston's work and bearing his mark is found than that of any other Exeter goldsmith. Indeed, it might be said that there is more Elston plate existing than that of all the other Exeter goldsmiths of the period put together. If you go to any Devonshire church and notice a piece of plate of the early eighteenth century, it is ten chances to one that it will bear Elston's mark. And it is the same with secular plate of the period. After 1701 John Elston made all the plate for the seven principal goldsmiths of Exeter, and all articles supplied by them bear Elston's mark, not theirs. Elston was a working platemaker as distinct from a trader.

From the seventh clause in the agreement we see also that John Avery and Thomas Foot were also plateworkers rather than traders, as it states that if they would "conforme to the articles and subscribe to them" they were to have the same prices and advantages as Elston was to have. Drake's failure to sign the agreement seems to suggest that he too was a working platemaker.

At a court "held ye 21 March, 1701, at Hawkins' Coffee House. Ordered that the assay master doe forthwith write letters to those goldsmiths of the County of Devon, Cornwall, Somersett, and Dorsett that have not yet entered their marks, and to signify that we are ready to receive them and to assay and marke plate according to the Act of Parliament."

This was the last court for 1701, and from them we gather that in Exeter there were then sixteen or seventeen goldsmiths, viz. William Ekins, Daniel Slade, Edward Spicer, John Mortimer, Thomas Salter, Nicholas Browne, Anthony Tripe, Benjamin Browne, Joseph Leigh, Edmond Richards, William Drake, John Elston, John Avery, Thomas Foote, Philip Jerman, William Bryant, John Audry. It is possible that John Avery and John Audry may be the same, as both names never appear at any meeting, and Avery's name is often spelt Auery. Of these John Elston, John Avery, Thomas Foote, and Edmond Richards were certainly working goldsmiths. Most of the others were probably not plateworkers, though the marks of several of them are found on existing plate. It is unfortunate that the first page of the minute book on which the marks are entered is missing, and the first three names now existing are numbered 24, 25, and 29, so at least twenty-three marks are missing. How many of them were Exeter residents it is impossible to say. Marks found on plate now existing, but not now in the minute book, are SL, Daniel Slade; Ri, Edmund Richards; **Br**, with mullet over, William Bryant; **SA**, Thomas Salter; Mo, John Mortimer; **El**, with crown over, John Elston; **Av**, John Avery; Fo, Thomas Foote, all of Exeter. Several of the other missing marks can also be supplied, e.g. Mu, Henry Muston; FR, Richard Freeman, of Plymouth; RE, Thomas Reynolds. Others of which I have seen no example were certainly those of Nicholas Browne and Anthony Tripe. This will account for thirteen of the twenty-three missing marks. With regard to later marks entered at Exeter the records are not very satisfactory, some are found at the beginning of

the minute, others at the end. From these a good list can be made up to the year 1729; after that there is no record in the minute book of any. In a notebook of one of the assayers are found the marks entered by a few from 1788 to 1792. The only record of the other marks was on copper sheets kept at the assay office, and I have not been able to get a view of any of these but the very latest. In 1886 they were in the custody of a Mr. Jerman, but I am not aware where they are at present; all other existing records are in the custody of F. Thomas, Esq., of the firm of Jerman and Thomas, solicitors, Exeter, to whose courtesy and kindly assistance, which I wish to acknowledge here, I am indebted for use of records and materials for the latter part of this paper.

After 1701 the minutes of the goldsmiths are very brief, except in a few instances recording only the date and place of meeting, the names of those present and the names of the wardens elected, and the date-letter for the year. The meeting-place was at Hawkins' Coffee House till 1703, after that date it was in most cases at a tavern. "The Phoenix," "The Fountain," "The Globe," "The Vine," "Barlow's," and "The Swan" are the names that appear oftenest. Particulars of the sites of these places can be read in Dymond's *Exeter Taverns*. Richards' Coffee House was used from 1714 to 1718; the number present at the meetings was on the average seven or eight till 1730, when the numbers begin to decline till 1744, when only three were present. After this date the meetings become little more than formal courts to elect wardens, and the introduction of the duty on plate in 1784 tended to keep the freemen of the corporation at the smallest possible number, for while it largely increased the revenues of the guild, as a poundage on the duty collected was allowed to be retained by the company, the custom of dividing this money every year among the members made them anxious to keep their numbers down, till in 1835 there were only two members, George Ferris, senior, and George Ferris, junior. No register of admissions to the guild seems ever to have been kept—it is not till 1767 that mention of a new member appears and from then only occasionally—it is only by noting when a new name appears at a court that the date of their admission to the guild can be approximated. The assayer in 1868 stated that there were no books or records belonging to the company other than the minute books on

which admissions were entered, and as admissions till 1857 were very strictly limited to goldsmiths or plateworkers who had served an apprenticeship in Exeter and still resided there, a large number of the goldsmiths who had their marks registered at Exeter Goldsmiths' Hall, and so may, in one sense, be regarded as Exeter goldsmiths, were not members of the guild or corporation.

Beginning with 1702, I shall only note then the names of wardens, and when a new name appears, unless there is any special point of interest in the minutes, and as the date of meeting was always 6 or 7 of August, it will not be necessary to give the day except it was an extra court.

1702. Thomas Salter and John Mortimer. Wardens.

1703. John Elston and Anthony Tripe. Wardens.

At this court it was determined to hold monthly meetings, but the resolution does not appear to have been acted on.

1704. Edward Spicer and Nicholas Browne. Wardens.

The names of Philip Elston and Thomas Reynolds first appear, but as I shall give a full list of marks entered till 1729 it will be unnecessary to give new names till after that date.

1705. Benjamin Browne and Anthony Tripe. Wardens.

1706. William Drake and Thomas Foot. Wardens.

1707. Thomas Foote and Thomas Reynolds. Wardens.

At this court it was agreed that the upper warden preside and summon court each month between 6 and 7 p.m.; that once a quarter a supper be provided—a fine of 6d. to be levied for non-attendance, but sickness or being out of town to be a valid excuse for non-attendance; president to be fined 2s. 6d. if he does not warn members to court.

Court held 5 January, 1707–8. Edward Richards discharged from his office of being assay master. A committee, consisting of A. Tripe, D. Slade, T. Salter, and Benj. Browne, appointed to draw up articles for an assay master and regulating goldsmiths.

Court held 19 January, 1707–8. Nicholas Browne added to above committee.

THE ASSAY MASTER'S ARTICLES.

(i) That to be continued for 7 years from 3rd May 1708 & that he do not exercise trade of a goldsmith in making & selling any goldsmith's wares.

(ii) That he shall have sole profit of office he paying £6 annually to the wardens of the company for the time being.

(iii) To give six months notice if he thinks fit to leave.

- (iv) To furnish himself with all necessities at his own cost.
- (v) To give a bond for £20 to save harmless & idemnify the company for any fine through any defect of the Diott (*sic*).
- (vi) To assay twice a week Mondays & Thursdays except they happen to be Holy Days.
- (vii) He shall not take more than 4^d for an assay from town goldsmiths.

Court held 19 April, 1708.

Edmond Richards elected, by a majority, Warden vice Thomas Foot, deceased. Robert Palmer chosen assay master.

Court held 6 May, 1708.

“To prevent divers scruples about our late choice of an assay master, we do now unanimously release Robert Palmer.” This resolution does not appear to have been acted on, as Palmer was assayer for many years after.

1708. Thomas Reynolds and Edmond Richards.

Wardens.

Agreed to stand by assay master and prosecute all goldsmiths as shall expose for sale any plate not having new standard mark or ye old. Mr. John Elston and Philip Elston to have liberty to work for :—

Mr. Henry Muston, of Plymouth,
Mr. Henry Servante, of Barnstaple,
Mr. Francis Servante, Bideford.

1709. William Ekins and Thomas Sampson. Wardens.

1710. Thomas Sampson and Philip Elston. Wardens.

1711. Philip Elston and Daniel Slade. Wardens.

1712. Thomas Salter and Joseph Cole. Wardens.

1713. Joseph Cole and Edward Spicer. Wardens.

1714. Edward Spicer and John Elston. Wardens.

1715. John Elston and Nicholas Browne. Wardens.

1716. Nicholas Browne and John Brinley. Wardens.

1717. John Brinley and George Trowbridge. Wardens.

Mr. Slade, jr., to give an account of monies due from his late father.

1718. George Trowbridge and Benjamin Browne.

Wardens.

1719. Benjamin Browne and Thomas Salter. Wardens.

1720. Thomas Salter and Philip Elston. Wardens.

1721. Philip Elston and Anthony Tripe. Wardens.

- 1722. Anthony Tripe and John Burdon. Wardens.
- 1723. John Burdon and Thomas Blake. Wardens.
- 1724. Thomas Blake and Thomas Sampson. Wardens.
- 1725. Thomas Sampson and John Babbage. Wardens.
- 1726. John Babbage and Thomas Reed. Wardens.
- 1727. John Reed and Thomas Coffin. Wardens.
- 1728. Thomas Coffin and George Trowbridge. Wardens.

John Leigh's name first appears; agreed that each member pay 1s. for 3 locks and keys and a box for keeping diet and writings.

- Court held March 28, 1728-9. Members' subscriptions received: Anthony Tripe, 1s.; Nicholas Browne, 1s.; P. Elston, 1s.; Ed. Richards, 1s.; Thos. Sampson, 1s.; Thos. Blake, 2s.; Jas. Coles, 2s.; George Trowbridge, 2s.; John Reed, 1s.; James Strang, 1s.; Thos. Coffin, 1s.; John Brinley, 1s.; Sam. Glyde, 1s.; John Burdon, 1s.; John Babbage, 1s.

Pd. to Philip Elston for box for punches, 19s. 6d.; 3 locks to large box, 6s. 1d.; key small box, 9d.; weights, 6d.

- 1729. George Trowbridge and Philip Elston. Wardens.
- 1730. Philip Elston and Moses Pelet. Wardens.

Francis Trowbridge's name first appears.

- 1731. Moses Pelet and Thomas Blake. Wardens.
 - 1732. Thomas Blake and John Babbage. Wardens.
 - 1733. John Babbage and Samuel Glyde. Wardens.
 - 1734. Samuel Glyde and John Burdon. Wardens.
 - 1735. John Burdon and Thomas Coffin. Wardens.
 - 1736. Thomas Coffin and George Trowbridge. Wardens.
- Last mention of Edmond Richards as present at courts.
- 1737. George Trowbridge and Philip Elston. Wardens.
 - 1738. Philip Elston and James Lecompt. Wardens.
 - 1739. James Lecompt and Thomas Blake. Wardens.

Daniel Coleman first appears.

- 1740. Thomas Blake and Daniel Coleman. Wardens.
- 1741. Daniel Coleman and William Browne. Wardens.
- 1742. John Babbage and John Handleigh. Wardens.

Handleigh's name appears only in the year on which he was warden.

- 1743. John Burdon and Thomas Coffin. Wardens.
- 1744. Thomas Coffin and Philip Elston. Wardens.
- 1745. Philip Elston and Samuel Glyde. Wardens.
- 1746. Samuel Glyde and John Babbage. Wardens.

- 1747. John Babbage and Thomas Blake. Wardens.
- 1748. Thomas Blake and Samuel Glyde. Wardens.
- 1749. Samuel Glyde and Joseph Peirce. Wardens.
- 1750. Joseph Peirce and Philip Elston. Wardens.
- 1751. Philip Elston and Thomas Blake. Wardens.
- 1752. Thomas Blake and William Browne. Wardens.
- 1753. William Browne and Daniel Coleman. Wardens.
- 1754. Thomas Blake and Thomas Coffin. Wardens.
- 1755. Thomas Coffin and Thomas Blake. Wardens.
- 1756. Daniel Coleman and Lewis Courtail. Wardens.
- 1757. January 12, Matthew Skinner, jeweller, appointed

assay master.

Richard Sams first appears.

- 1757. Lewis Courtail and William Browne. Wardens.
- 1758. William Browne and Richard Sams. Wardens.
- 1759. Richard Sams and Matthew Skinner. Wardens.
- 1760. Matthew Skinner and Thomas Coffin. Wardens.
- 1761. Thomas Coffin and Thomas Blake. Wardens.
- 1762. Richard Sams and David Jones. Wardens.
- 1763. David Jones and Thomas Coffin. Wardens.
- 1764. Thomas Coffin and Matthew Skinner. Wardens.
- 1765. Matthew Skinner and Richard Sams. Wardens.
- 1766. Richard Sams and David Jones. Wardens.
- 1767. David Jones and Thomas Coffin. Wardens.

At this court Mr. Thomas Haynes and Mr. Richard Freeman appeared, paid their coltage and were duly shod.

- 1768. Richard Sams and Thomas Coffin. Wardens.
- 1769. Thomas Coffin and Richard Jenkins. Wardens.
- 1770 and 1. Richard Jenkins and David Jones.

Wardens.

- 1772. David Jones and Richard Sams. Wardens.

1773. Court held 9 March. Assay master reported having received message requiring his attendance before a committee of House of Commons to lay before committee number of goldsmiths freemen of and inhabiting within the city of Exeter, names and trades of wardens, before whom assayer was sworn in, names and places of abode of all who had entered their marks at assay office, and weight of plate assayed. Matthew Skinner accordingly attended and made his return; the Exeter goldsmiths were Thomas Gilbert, David Jones, Richard Sams, Thomas Coffin, Richard Jenkins. Marks had also been entered by Edward Broadhurst, R. B. Symons, Welch, Jason Holt, James Jenkins,

Thos. Thorne, Benj. Symons Nathan, John Tingcombe, David Hawkins, John Brown, Thomas Strong, William Harvey, Thomas Beer, Richard Bidlake, all of Plymouth or Plymouth Dock, and William Eveleigh, of Dartmouth. Skinner also stated that Richard Jenkins and Thomas Coffin were the only two Exeter goldsmiths who had entered their marks; that two of the members were not freemen of the city of Exeter, but followed the trade of goldsmiths; all were resident within city of Exeter, two had only served part of their apprenticeship. He had taken the oath before Benjamin Heath, the Town Clerk, had never been taught how to assay, but had purchased the implements of assaying from the late master.

In short, it may be gathered from his examination that the conduct of matters by the Exeter Goldsmiths' Guild was at this time in a most unsatisfactory state, and Mr. Skinner himself a most inefficient assay master; though on his return to Exeter a court was held on 10 June and he was unanimously thanked for the faithful discharge of his duties as assay master. The effect is seen, however, at the next court.

1773. Richard Sams and Matthew Skinner. Wardens.

William Coffin appointed assayer in place of Skinner, and Thomas Eustace chosen as a member of the corporation.

1774. Matthew Skinner and Richard Jenkins. Wardens.

1775 and 6. Richard Jenkins and Thomas Coffin. Wardens.

1777. Richard Sams and Thomas Eustace. Wardens.

1778 and 9. Thomas Eustace and David Jones. Wardens.

1780. David Jones and Richard Jenkins. Wardens.

John Adams and John Balle admitted members of corporation.

1781 and 2. Richard Jenkins and John Adams. Wardens.

1783. John Adams and John Balle. Wardens.

1784. John Balle and Richard Sams. Wardens.

Francis Trowbridge admitted a member of corporation.

From the assay master's books, 1780-1784, we can gather some idea of kinds of articles assayed at Exeter, and their makers.

Welch, of Plymouth, sends 166 punch ladles and boat-

swains' calls. John Adams sends 271 wedding and mourning rings. Eustace, spoons and chapes. Hicks, spoons, milk-urns, cream-jugs, and buckles. Ashford and Co. spoons, chapes, buckles and ladles; other articles are officers' belt-plates, tags, skewers, pap-ladles, buttons. The goldsmiths sending them are, besides those named, Trowbridge, Alexander Jenkins, Pearce, Adams, Richard Jenkins, Ezekiel Abraham Ezekiel, Brown, Rd. Crutchett, Balle, Sams, William Upjohn, etc. The weight of silver assayed varied from 1169 lbs. to 1309 lbs.

At the end of 1784 a special court was held to consider the new duty upon plate, which involved the election of a new official, an accountant, whom we find elected annually henceforth at a meeting in December. Richard Jenkins was the first accountant.

1785. Richard Sams and Francis Trowbridge. Wardens.

1786. Francis Trowbridge and Joseph Hicks. Wardens.

1787. Richard Jenkins and Joseph Hicks. Wardens.

1788. Joseph Hicks and John Adams. Wardens.

1789. John Adams and John Balle. Wardens.

Thomas Eustace having become bankrupt is discharged from being a member. On the death of Richard Sams, assay master, Richard Sams, junior, son of deceased Richard Sams, appointed assay master.

1790. John Balle and Francis Trowbridge. Wardens.

1791. Francis Trowbridge and Richard Jenkins.

Wardens.

1792. Richard Jenkins and Joseph Hicks. Wardens.

1793. Joseph Hicks and John Adams. Wardens.

Richard Ferris admitted a member.

1794. John Adams and Francis Trowbridge. Wardens.

1795. John Adams and Richard Ferris. Wardens.

1796. Richard Ferris and Richard Jenkins. Wardens.

1797. Richard Jenkins and Joseph Hicks. Wardens.

1798. Joseph Hicks and Richard Ferris. Wardens.

Decease of John Balle, late accountant, mentioned this year.

1799. Richard Ferris and Richard Jenkins. Wardens.

1800. Richard Jenkins and Joseph Hicks. Wardens.

1801. Joseph Hicks and Richard Ferris. Wardens.

1802. Richard Ferris and Richard Jenkins. Wardens.

1803. Richard Jenkins and Joseph Hicks. Wardens.

1804. Joseph Hicks and Richard Ferris. Wardens.

1805. Richard Ferris and Richard Jenkins. Wardens.

G. Ferris admitted a member 2 April, 1806.

1806. Richard Jenkins and George Ferris. Wardens.

R. Sams, accountant, vice Hicks deceased.

Richard Jenkins died during his year of office. Richard Ferris in his place. Death of John Adams, late accountant, mentioned this year.

1807. George Ferris and Joseph Hicks. Wardens.

1808. Joseph Hicks and Richard Ferris. Wardens.

1809. Richard Ferris and George Ferris. Wardens.

1810. George Ferris and Joseph Hicks. Wardens.

1811. Joseph Hicks and Richard Ferris. Wardens.

1812. George Ferris and Joseph Hicks. Wardens.

George Ferris, jr., and George Turner elected members.

1813. Joseph Hicks and George Ferris, jr. Wardens.

1814. George Ferris, jr., and George Turner. Wardens.

1815. George Turner and Joseph Hicks. Wardens.

1816. Joseph Hicks and George Ferris, sr. Wardens.

The death of Richard Sams, assay master and accountant, is recorded this year. Edward Cross Maynard was elected assay master, and George Ferris, jr., accountant.

1817. George Ferris, sen., and George Turner. Wardens.

1818. George Turner and George Ferris, jr. Wardens.

The court this year was held at the assay office, and from this date continued to be held there.

1819. George Ferris, jr., and Joseph Hicks. Wardens.

1820. Joseph Hicks and George Ferris, sr. Wardens.

1821. George Ferris, sr., and George Ferris, jr. Wardens.

1822. George Ferris, jr., and George Turner. Wardens.

1823. George Turner and Joseph Hicks. Wardens.

1824. Joseph Hicks and George Ferris, sr. Wardens.

1825. George Ferris, sr., and George Turner. Wardens.

Isaac Parkin's mark was entered this year. The amount of plate assayed this year was 3557 li.

1826. George Turner and George Ferris, jr. Wardens.

1827. George Ferris, jr., and Joseph Hicks. Wardens.

1828. Joseph Hicks and George Ferris, sr. Wardens.

1829. George Ferris, sr., and George Turner. Wardens.

With this year commences an annual inspection of books of the guild by a Government official; the first is dated 14 May, 1829.

1830. George Turner and George Ferris, jr. Wardens.

This year a good deal of correspondence with Treasury is entered in minute book, also with regard to new indented trial plates for assaying wrought plate.

1831. George Ferris, jr., and Joseph Hicks. Wardens.

1832. Joseph Hicks and George Ferris, sr. Wardens.

1833. George Ferris, sr., and George Turner. Wardens.

1834. George Turner and George Ferris, jr. Wardens.

At a special court held 27 April, 1835, present George Ferris, sr., and George Ferris, jr., it was reported that owing to the death of George Turner, head warden, and Joseph Hicks there were only two members surviving. George Ferris, sr., was appointed head warden for the rest of the year. It was agreed that an accession of new members was desirable, and resolved that Isaac Parkin, John Osment, and William Rawlins Sobey, all of whom had duly served their apprenticeship to the trade, and were resident in Exeter, be applied to with a view to their becoming members of the company, it being desirable that those manufacturers whose name-punches are or hereafter may be entered with the company should have every reasonable facility afforded them for assaying and marking their plate.

Also, it was resolved that all monies received for duties be paid into an account to be opened with Messrs. Sanders and Co., of the Exeter Bank, in the name of the Wardens.

With this year it may be said that the Exeter Goldsmiths' Guild had reached its lowest ebb, and from this year more business-like methods were introduced, and there was a slight revival. The guild was, however, still kept a very close corporation. The three goldsmiths invited to become members were by no means all that were eligible for membership, and indeed of the three, one, John Osment, was an engraver more than a goldsmith. Amongst other eligible citizens there were William Sobey, of Goldsmith Street, Edward Adams, George Carter, Henry Ellis, William Jenkins, William Maynard, John Upjohn. Of these several had entered their marks with the company.

At a special court held on 28 April, 1835, Isaac Parkin, John Osment, and William Rawlins Sobey, all of Exeter, silversmiths, appeared and were admitted as freemen of

the company, and Isaac Parkin was appointed accountant, vice Hicks deceased.

1835. George Ferris, jr., and Isaac Parkin. Wardens.

1836. Isaac Parkin and John Osment. Wardens.

1837. John Osment and W. R. Sobey. Wardens.

From this year to 1840 it is each year recorded that the new punches not having arrived the old ones were to be used till they do.

1838. W. R. Sobey and G. Ferris, sr. Wardens.

1839. G. Ferris, sr., and Isaac Parkin. Wardens.

G. Ferris, sr., having died 10 February, 1840, George Ferris, jr., was appointed warden in his place at a special court.

1840. Isaac Parkin and W. R. Sobey. Wardens.

1841. W. R. Sobey and John Osment. Wardens.

John Stone appeared and was admitted a freeman of the company in place of G. Ferris, sr., deceased.

1842. John Osment and George Ferris. Wardens.

The meeting is recorded as having been held at Goldsmiths' Hall this year.

1843. George Ferris and Isaac Parkin. Wardens.

1844. George Ferris and Isaac Parkin. Wardens.

1845. John Stone and John Osment. Wardens.

1846. John Osment and W. R. Sobey. Wardens.

The inspector notes that the grounds of the admission of John Stone as a member had not been stated.

1847. W. R. Sobey and Isaac Parkin. Wardens.

1848. John Stone and George Ferris. Wardens.

1849. George Ferris and W. R. Sobey. Wardens.

Amount of plate assayed in last year was 44,451 oz. of silver and 266 oz. of gold.

1850. W. R. Sobey and John Stone. Wardens.

1851. John Stone and George Ferris. Wardens.

1852. George Ferris and W. R. Sobey. Wardens.

1853. John Stone and G. Ferris. Wardens.

1854. George Ferris and John Stone. Wardens.

John Osment was accountant for several years at this time. Amount assayed this year was 66,756 oz. 15 dwt. of silver, and 842 oz. of gold, most of it came from the firm of Messrs. Williams, of Bristol, and small parcels from Bunce, Bristol; Fulton, Bristol; Pope, Plymouth, and a

few Exeter workers. William Thomas Maynard was, at a special court held 25 September, 1854, appointed assay master vice E. C. Maynard, and was the same day sworn in before the Mayor, John Daw, Esq.

1855. George Ferris and Joseph Head. Wardens.

Joseph Head and Thomas Byne were admitted as members in the room of W. R. Sobey and J. Osment, deceased. And Charles Pippet was appointed clerk of the company.

1856. George Ferris and John Stone. Wardens.

This year Messrs. Williams, of Bristol, intimated to the guild that if they continued to send their plate to be assayed at Exeter it was desirable that their firm should be represented on the guild, as they paid no less than £2500 annually to Exeter Goldsmiths' Hall for duty.

Counsel's opinion was taken on the point as to whether the partners in Messrs. Williams' were eligible for election.

It was stated that they had served seven years' apprenticeship with their father, Robert Williams, deceased, and though not at present resident in the city of Exeter, would keep a place of business there to give them the requisite qualification of residence.

Counsel's opinion was that they were not qualified, but added a rider that probably no legal authority would disturb the election. With this loophole and anxious not to lose their shares of the poundage on the duty paid by Messrs. Williams, the guild, on 7 August, 1857, admitted James Williams as a freeman of the guild.

1857. George Ferris and Joseph Head. Wardens.

1858. George Ferris and Thomas Byne. Wardens.

1859. George Ferris and John Stone. Wardens.

George Ferris, the head warden, who had been a member of the guild for forty-eight years, died during this year, and John Stone was elected head warden in his place for the rest of the year.

1860. Joseph Head and John Stone. Wardens.

1861. James Williams and Joseph Head. Wardens.

Thomas Hart Stone was admitted a member of the guild, having served his apprenticeship with his father, John Stone.

- 1862. James Williams and Joseph Head. Wardens.
- 1863. John Stone and Joseph Head. Wardens.
- 1864. John Stone and Thomas Hart Stone. Wardens.
- 1865. John Stone and James Williams. Wardens.
- 1866. John Stone and Joseph Head. Wardens.
- 1867. John Stone and Thomas Hart Stone. Wardens.
- 1868. Thomas Hart Stone and James Williams. Wardens.

Henry Lake was admitted a member of the guild, having served his apprenticeship with John Fowler, deceased. At the court this year W. T. Maynard, assayer, stated there were no books or records belonging to the guild on which admissions were entered, except the minute book.

- 1869. Thomas Hart Stone and Henry Lake. Wardens.

James Croad Ross having served his apprenticeship with George Ferris, deceased, and Josiah Williams, of the firm of J. and J. Williams, Bristol, were admitted as members of the guild.

- 1870. Henry Lake and Josiah Williams. Wardens.
- 1871. Thomas Hart Stone and Henry Lake. Wardens.
- 1872. Thomas Hart Stone and James Croad Ross. Wardens.

Thomas Hart Stone died during his year of office. Henry Lake appointed in his place for rest of year.

- 1873. Henry Lake and Josiah Williams. Wardens.
- 1874. Henry Lake and James Croad Ross. Wardens.

Montgomery Hooper, solicitor, appointed deputy warden and accountant. W. T. Maynard, assayer, reported that new trial plates had been received.

- 1875. Henry Lake and James Croad Ross. Wardens.

James Ellet Lake, having served his apprenticeship with his father, Henry Lake, and William George Caunter, wine and spirit merchant, having served his apprenticeship with William Rawlins Sobey, were admitted as members of the guild.

Percy Hooper appointed to take place of his father.

- 1876. James Croad Ross and Henry Lake. Wardens.
- 1877. W. G. Caunter and J. E. Lake. Wardens.

From this year the work of the assay office decreased rapidly, Messrs. Williams finding it more convenient to send their plate to London. The goldsmiths sending to the

Exeter assay office at this period were Williams, J. Bunce, S. Smith, John Beer, all of Bristol; William Pope, Plymouth; John Stone, Thomas Stone, Francis E. Stone, Henry Lake, S. Sawtell, Exeter; C. Cooper, Devonport; John Goodman, Taunton; J. Lyons, Exeter; Wippel and Co., Exeter; J. C. Yelland, Exeter. A few names also may be given of the period 1836 to 1860, besides those who were members of the guild: E. Sweet, W. Sobey, J. Langdon, H. Norris, W. Woodman, W. Pope, R. Passmore, J. Gregory, T. Byne, E. Ramsay, J. Fulton, E. Millard, R. Williams, Philip Osment, Edward Osment, Eliza Osment, and E. Sobey. Any of the initials of these plateworkers may be found on Exeter plate of this period.

1878. W. G. Caunter and J. E. Lake. Wardens.

1879. J. E. Lake and J. G. Ross. Wardens.

1880. J. E. Lake and Josiah Williams. Wardens.

1881. J. E. Lake and W. G. Caunter. Wardens.

1882. W. G. Caunter and Henry Lake. Wardens.

1883. W. G. Caunter and Henry Lake. Wardens.

On 26 June, 1883, a special court was held to consider the position of the business of the Hall, and the following resolutions were passed :—

(i.) That having to the small amount of work on the past few months it is not considered desirable to incur the expense of new punches.

(ii.) That the punches now in use be returned to the Inland Revenue Office.

(iii.) That the premises now rented be given up.

(iv.) That the books and papers of the Company be placed in an iron chest and deposited with the Solicitor of the Company.

With this court the corporate existence of the Exeter Goldsmiths was brought to an end, and the Exeter hall-marks, which had appeared on plate for over three hundred years, ceased being stamped. Since that date the freemen of the company have also all been removed by death; the last survivor was W. G. Caunter, who died early in 1912.

From the pages of this paper a far fuller list of Exeter goldsmiths than has yet been given can easily be compiled, but as fresh names are continually turning up, I do not propose to incorporate in it the chronological list of Exeter goldsmiths I have been compiling for the last ten years. I feel it is still incomplete, but would append lists of the

assayers and marks recorded in the records of the guild, neither of which has been hitherto recorded. These marks are in some cases roughly drawn, in others the punch is stamped on the paper. They are given in order they appear in the book, which it will be noted is not strictly chronological, some being at one end of book, some at the other.

ASSAYERS.

Edmond Richards	.	.	.	1701-1708
Robert Palmer	.	.	.	1708-1744
Matthew Skinner	.	.	.	1757-1773
William Coffin	.	.	.	1773-
Richard Sams	.	.	.	-1789
Richard Sams, jr.	.	.	.	1789-1816
Edward Cross Maynard	.	.	.	1816-1854
William Thomas Maynard	.	.	.	1854-1883

*Marks recorded in Archives of the Goldsmiths'
Guild of Exeter.*

- No. 24. November 13, 1703, Peter Eliot, Dartmouth. EL.
 No. 25. November 13, 1703, Mary Ashe, Launceston. As.
 No. 29. November 29, 1703, Jacob Tyth, Launceston.
 No mark recorded, but simply statement entered his mark. After this entries are not numbered.
- May 8, 1704. Richard Willson, Plymouth. Wi.
 1704. Richard Holin, Truro. HO, crown over.
 1704. Edward Sweet, Dunster. SW in hexagon.
 1704. Richard Vavasour, Totnes. VA in circle.
 1705. Robert Catkill, Exeter. *Ca*.
 1705. James Strang, Exeter. St.
 1705. John Manby, Dartmouth. MA interlinked in circle.
 1705. Thomas Reynolds, Exeter. RE in circle.
 1705. Richard Plint, Truro. PL, crown over, pellet under in four-lobed shield.
 1706. Thomas Haysham, Bridgewater. *Ha* in circle.
 1706. Peter Jouet, Exeter. *J O* in two-lobed shield.
 1706. Edward Spicer, Exeter. SP in oblong.
 1706. Thomas Sampson, Exeter. Sa, crown over, in circle.

1706. Pentecost Symons, Plymouth. **SY**, crown under in shield.
1708. Samuel Blackford, Plymouth. **BL** in four-lobed shield.
1708. Mr. Freeman, Plymouth. **FR** in shield.
1708. Peter Jouet, Topsham. **JO** in four-lobed shield.
1710. Joseph Bennick, Liscard. **Be** in circle.
1710. John Pike, Plymouth. **PI**, dash over, in circle.
1710. George Trowbridge, Exeter. **TR**, crown over, in three-lobed shield.
1711. William Adams, Falmouth. **AD** in shield.
1711. Mr. Tolcher, Plymouth. **To**.
1712. Anthony Tripe, Exeter. **Tr**, crown over.
1713. Joseph Collier, Plymouth. **Co** in shield.
1714. Andrew Worth, Modbury. **Wo** in circle.
1714. Pentecost Symons, Plymouth. **Sy**, crown and rose over.
1715. Edward Strong, Fowey. **St** in octagon.
1716. John Brinley, Exeter. **Bi** in two-lobed shield.
1716. John Reed, Exeter. **Re** in circle.
1716. Abraham Lovell, Plymouth. **Lo**, mitre over in octagon.
1717. Zachariah Williams, Plymouth. **Wi**, in irregular shield.
1719. John Burdon, Exeter. **Bv**, crown over in octagon.
1720. Micon Melun, Falmouth. **ML** crown over in circle.
1720. Francis Bishop, Bodmyn. **Bi** in circle.
1722. Abraham Lovell, Plymouth. **LO**, mitre over.
1712. John Suger. **Su**.
1714. Adam Hutchings, Totnes. **Hu**.
1716. Peter Arno, Barnstaple. **AR**, in indented oblong.
1721. Sampson Bennett, Falmouth. **Be**.
1720. Pentecost Symons, Plymouth, entered his OS mark.
1720. Mr. Tolcher, Plymouth, entered his OS mark.
1720. Joseph Collier, Plymouth, entered his OS mark.
1720. Abraham Lovell, Plymouth, entered his OS mark.
1720. John Burdon, Exeter, entered his OS mark.
1720. Mr. Elston, Exeter, entered his OS mark **IE**.
1720. Thomas Salter, Exeter, entered his OS mark.
1720. Thomas Sampson, Exeter, entered his OS mark **TS**.
1720. John Reed, Exeter, entered his OS mark **IR**.
1720. John Murch, Tiverton, entered his OS mark **IM**.

- 1720. Richard Freeman, Plymouth. RF in shield, indented at top.
- 1720. John Manby, Dartmouth. JM in shield.
- 1720. Anthony Tripe, Exeter. AT in shield.
- 1720. Zachariah Williams, Plymouth. ZW.
- 1720. Edmond Richards, Exeter. ER in four-lobed shield.
- 1720. Edward Sweet. ES.
- 1720. John Suger. IS in four-lobed shield.
- 1721. Samuel Blachford. SB in shield.
- 1721. Henry Muston. HM.
- 1721. Samuel Blachford. SB.
- 1721. Richard Willcockes, Plymouth. RW in circle.
- 1721. James Stevens entered his OS mark and NS mark.
- 1721. Jane Maryon, Penryn. IM in oblong.
- 1721. John Burdon, Exeter. JB, crown over in circle.
- 1721. Andrew Worth, at ye Dock. AW interlinked.
- 1722. Jane Maryon, Penryn. IM in oblong.
- 1722. John Burdon, Exeter. IB crown over in circle.
- 1722. Adam Hutchings, Totnes. AH in oval.
- 1722. Sampson Bennett, Falmouth. SB in oval.
- 1722. Abraham Lovell, Plymouth. AL, mitre over.
- 1723. Samuel Wilmott, Plymouth. SW, crown over.
- 1723. John Elston, jr., Exeter. JE, label over.
- 1723. Francis Bishop, Bodmin. FB in two-lobed shield.
- 1723. Thomas Salter, Exeter. TS in two-lobed shield.
- 1723. Philip Elston, Exeter. PE in oval.
- 1724. John Webber, Plymouth. IW with indistinct ornaments.
- 1725. Thomas Clarke, Exeter. TC in oblong.
- 1725. Anthony Tripe, Exeter. AT in circle.
- 1725. James Marshall, Exeter. JM in four-lobed shield.
- 1726. John Boutel, Plymouth. BO in two-lobed shield.
- 1726. John Boutel, Plymouth. IB in oblong with curved sides.
- 1727. Richard Torkington, Totnes. TO and IT in oblongs.
- 1727. Micon Melun. MM in octagon.
- 1728. Samuel Blachford, Plymouth. SB in oblong, crown over.

1729. Richard Plint, Truro. RP in oblong.
 1788. Moses Mordecai entered his mark. MM.
 1790. James Traies, Dartmouth, entered his mark. JT.
 1792. William Dunsford, Plymouth, entered his mark.
 WD.

These last three entries are taken from notebooks of the assayers, and are the only ones I could find in them. All the others are from the minute book, the entries being at three separate parts of book, the divisions between them being noted by dotted lines.

A great many other marks may be obtained from the copper plates, but as they are simply the stamps of the punches and have no identifying names against them, it would serve no purpose to record them here.

ADDENDA.

SINCE this paper was written a few additional marks have been brought to my notice by H. D. Ellis, Esq.

George Lyddon (p. 445). The mark GL in monogram, on an Elizabethan chalice and paten which came from the west country and is now in the possession of Mr. Ellis, may very possibly be the mark of George Lyddon, as no other country goldsmith with these initials is known.

Steven More (p. 446). In a paper read before Soc. Antiq. in 1910 the tower found on Steven More's spoon is said by Mr. Ellis to exactly resemble that on a Totnes seal, and the quatrefoil with roundels is considered to be a Dartmouth mark.

William Horwood's inventory. Silver lemeil should probably be silver a l'email, i.e. silver and enamel.

Daniel Slade (p. 455). An earlier mark of his is DS in monogram with a castle and EXON. It is found on a trifold spoon, pounced 1693, in possession of H. D. Ellis, Esq.

William Ekins (p. 455). His mark WE is found on a trifold spoon pounced 1696. It also has the mark XB in monogram with EX over and ON under. The latter is not a maker's mark, but a warden's, and shows there were wardens of the guild before 1700. Or it may be an assayer's mark; in either case, Nicholas Browne's.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE HOSPITIUM DE LE
EGLE, SOME ANCIENT CHAPELS IN THE
CLOSE, AND SOME PERSONS CONNECTED
THEREWITH.

BY MISS ETHEL LEGA-WEEKES.

(Read at Exeter, 24th July, 1912.)

PART I.

ON the first day of January in the fourteenth year of his reign [1286], King Edward I issued a grant,¹ enrolled upon the Patent Roll of that year (m. 24), giving permission to the Bishop and Dean and Chapter to enclose the Cemetery and precincts of St. Peter's Cathedral, Exeter, with a wall of stone, on condition that gates and posterns should be made in necessary places, and that such gates should be kept open every day from dawn till night.

That a complete enclosure was anticipated is indisputable, in view of the word "circumquaque" (=on every side); but to obtain permission is one matter—to carry it out another; and it is at least conceivable that economy might have dictated the retention of any such walls as already effected a partial enclosure, and the supplementing of such with new masonry, rather than the construction *de novo* of an entire cingulum.

In the "grant made to the Mayor and citizens by the Bishop, Dean, and Chapter" (Izacke, ed. 1677, p. 24) it is the barring of access to the Close by the "said streets and lanes" that is insisted on—thus:—

" . . . Concesserunt nobis quod includere possemus

¹ Oliver, in the Appendix to his *History of Exeter* (p. cxxvii.), prints three preliminary deeds, viz. :—

Agreement of the Citizens to the enclosing of the Cemetery.

Agreement of the Citizens to the providing of gates and posterns.

Licence of the Earl of Cornwall for the enclosing of the Cemetery.

See also in the Dean and Chapter's Archives, No. 3530, being Hooker's Transcripts of Acts and Charters, etc. (ff. 42, 42b).

Cœmeterium predictum & præinctum Cœmeterii predicti per vicos & venellas prædictas. Ita tamen quod portas . . ." etc.

And, on studying a "Platt" or bird's-eye view of the Close drawn by or for Hooker, and reproduced in a privately printed copy of an "original MS." ¹ of his, by [the Rev.] Herbert Edward Reynolds (at Brit. Mus.), one finds that by the time of Queen Elizabeth, at any rate, the enclosure was effected for the most part by the rows of houses standing about the Close, and by short lengths of connective or garden walls; the only long stretches of high and solid-looking masonry of this nature being those extending from Katherine Street past Bedford Place to the City wall, and from St. Petrock's Church to "Litel Style."

The perspective is such that no wall could be seen over the fronts and roofs of the houses in the High Street; but, from a deed in the possession of the Dean and Chapter, we learn that more than a score of years before the issue of the above-quoted grants there was already a wall on the north-west side of the Close, screening the Churchyard from the backs of the houses lining the High Street; for, in this deed, the date of which is 12 March, 1262, a tenement is described as lying between a certain shop (whose approximate situation has been ascertained from other evidence) and a *wall of stone by which the Cemetery is enclosed* (i.e. defined, bounded); and this wall is further stated to extend from the Chapel of St. Simon and St. Jude on the west, to the house of John Quinel, near the Chapel of St. Peter the Less, on the east.

But let me quote the text in full:—

"D. and C. Records : Deed No. 49 [1263 A.D.].

"Sciãnt presentes et futuri q'd ego Johannes de Henleg consensu et assensu Lucie uxôr mee quondam filie Ricardi Waleraund Dedi concessi et hac presenti carta mea confirmam Ricardo de Bosco Arso Speciarior, . . .

"*Unam Soldam* in magno vico Exon sitam int' tementū Martin Durling vers' orientē et soldam qm̄ Petrus le Furbur tenuit, et *Totum Tenementū* nrm situm inter predictam soldam et murū de Petra quo clausum est cymiteriū Beati Petri Exon et quod extendit se a *Capella Ap'loz Simon & Jude* ver's occident' usque ad domum Joh'is

¹ D. and C., No. 3530. See also another "Platt" in Hooker's *Hist. Exon.*, ed. by Prof. W. Harte.

Quinel ppe *Capellam Beati Petri*¹ p'ui vers' orientem cum omibus suis ptinent'. Habend' et tenend' dictam soldam et dictum tenementū cum omibus suis ptin' dicto Ricardo et heredibus suis vel assign' de me et heredibus meis libere quite pacifice et Integre ffure hereditar' imppetuum. Reddendo inde annuatim nobis et heredibus nris sexdecim solidos sterlingor ad q̄tuor aīm t'minos princīpales equis portionibus pro omī s'vic's exacōs et demand's sclari Hos vero dicti Johannes et Lucia uxor mea et heredes nostri vel assignati dictam seldam et tenementū predictum cum omibus suis ptin' dicto Ricardo et heredibus suis vel assignat' cont' om's homines et feminas teneū Warantizare acquietare et defendere imppetum pro hac aut nra Donače concessione presentis carte nre confirmače et Warantizacōe dedit nobis (? dēus) Ricardus decem libras sterlingor' premanibus in recognic'em Quod ut ratum et Inōcussum pmaneat Imppetum presentem cartam sigillor' nror.

Impressionibz Co'boravimus Hiis testibus Dno ad Canonico Exon Eccl'ie Dño (? W)ado capllo vicař eiusdem Godefrido de Sowyclico Philippo tinctore tūc maiore Exon Johanne de Okiston Thom de Langedon martino Durling Benedčo de London Ricardo le Poder Henr' de Suthampton cllico et aliis.

Dat Exon' die Sçi Gregorii p̄p anno ř. ř.

"H. Anġl xl^o septimo." [12 March, 1262, E.L.-W.]

[Two seals.]

Certain grants of this period contain the clause that the grantee is to "shut up entrances leading to the cemetery of the Cathedral." These last must have been openings in the wall of the Close, and the fact that they were to be blocked implies that the wall was not to be thrown down, but was to be adapted to the new requirements; e.g. by a Covenant (Dean and Chapter Deed, No. 333) 'between Peter, Bishop of Exeter, and William Dodderidge and Benedicta his wife, the latter agree to block up their doors adjoining St. Peter's Churchyard, and the Bishop and Dean and Chapter release them their rent; 22 September, 1285.

According to the Calendar of the Dean and Chapter's

¹ The text of the above passage, which has been verified from the original, and of which the correct translation is "... the house of John Quinel near the chapel of St. Peter the Less," has been mistakenly rendered in the Hist. MSS. Report, Var. Coll., Vol. IV, p. 69, "... the house of John Quinel, Chaplain of St. Peter the Little."

Deeds printed by the Historical Commissioners (*Various Collections*, Vol. IV, p. 72): "Other deeds relating to the obstruction of doors necessary for the formation of the Close under Bishop Quinel, are Nos. 336, 346, 347, 348, 349" (the last, I note, dated in 1295), but particulars of the situations of these tenements are not given in the Calendar.

Dr. Oliver, in his *History of Exeter* (p. 125), writes:—

"Within this parish (St. Martin) was the ancient Chapel of St. Peter's the Less. The site was granted by Bishop Quivil and the D. and C. to Thomas Fayreman, . . . [7] September, 1285, by the description:—

'Locum ubi aliquando sita fuit capella beati Petri juxta magnum vicum Civitatis Exon, que aliquando appellabatur capella beati Petri Minoris, dudum et a longis retro temporibus deserta, unacum introitu et exitu versus magnum vicum ad eundem locum spectantibz.'

The yearly rent was fixed at one penny at Michaelmas, and double that sum whenever a relief shall happen."

To translate the above:—

The place where was formerly situated the Chapel of St. Peter, near the High Street of Exeter, which was formerly called the Chapel of St. Peter the Less, late and for a long time back deserted, together with an entrance and exit towards the High Street, pertaining to the said place.

By Dean and Chapter Deed, No. 336 (undated), Thomas Fayreman concedes permission to the Bishop, Dean and Chapter, to close, and keep closed in perpetuity, the doorways of every entry and exit in all his tenement towards the cemetery of St. Peter's ("Claudere possunt hostia omes introitus & exitus toti tenementi mei v's cimiteriu . . ." etc.).

The Church or Chapel of "S. Petrus Parvus" (the Little) is included in the list of twenty-eight "kapellis" in Exeter, to which one Peter de Palerna (1209–15) granted a rent of 1d. each per annum. [*Hist. MSS.*, Var. Vol. IV, No. 2513.]

But it is even earlier mentioned in a Notification by the Chapter [*ibid.*, No. 2078, the date of which, given in the Calendar as "c. 1150," has been corrected by the Commissioners' editor to "c. 1200"] that twenty Brothers of the city of Exeter and Kalendar Brothers ("Viginti fratres

civitatis Exonie et fratres kalendarios ")¹ having resigned any rights that they might be found to have in the Chapels of St. Peter the Less and St. Paul, were to be granted certain rents towards their sustentation and augmentation, and to be allowed to perform their service of the Kalend ("servitium Kalendæ suæ") in St. Mary Major's.

The absence of its name from the list in the Taxation of Pope Nicholas, 1288-91, affords negative evidence of its abandonment—if not destruction—before that date.

Among the abstracts in the Dymond Collection,² the second to refer to the site of St. Peter the Less is one of 6 January, 1392—Grant by Dean and Chapter to Robert Wilford, "confirming their former Grant" [apparently that to Fayreman, E.L.-W.], but with liberty to open a door towards the Cemetery and to erect a stone wall, and thereon to raise a chapel.

One of 1437 alludes to Wilford's "dwelling-house in High Street" as being "opposite the Guildhall, and near a vacant spot where a chapel has been *rebuilt*, on the S. part, in the direction of the Cathedral Yard."

But the fullest particulars are yielded by the following abstract :—

"27 July, 1481, Lease by D. & C. to William King and his wife Jane of spot of ground with a chamber or chapel upon it built in the rear of a ten^t once belonging to Robert Wilford sit^d in the High St^t of Exeter opposite the Guildhall and lying towards the Cemetery of St^t Peter, 53^{ft} long, 23^{ft} in breadth to E. and 12 to W. Term 39 years from 6 January, 1492. Rent 3^s 4^d."

In the autumn of 1911 the proprietors of the National Provincial Bank (which has a frontage of 51 ft. on the north-west side of the Close, and another entrance in High Street), having recently acquired by purchase the shop (No. 60) in High Street (Messrs. Applin, Limited) lately owned by T. C. K. Saunders, for the extension of the Bank premises, set about the demolition of the buildings on this site and of their own "strong-room, constructed of brick inside ancient walls," which lay at the rear of this shop and of the Norwich Union Office.

In the course of such demolition and of the necessary

¹ Dr. Oliver, in his *Lives of the Bishops*, etc. (p. 260), misquotes the phrase as "viginti fratres civitatis Exon. Kalendarii."

² Thirteen vols. MS. in Exeter Free Library, including notes by Dr. Oliver and Pitman Jones.

PLAN OF SUPPOSED HISTORIC REMAINS

FOUND ON THE

PREMISES OF THE NATIONAL PROVINCIAL BANK

OF ENGLAND LTD. - HIGH STREET, EXETER. APRIL 1912.

A-A SUPPOSED ANCIENT CLOSE WALL EXTENDING 9 FEET BELOW HIGH STREET LEVEL

B ANCIENT WALL UPON WHICH (ON THE NORTH-EAST SIDE) WAS FOUND AN ANCIENT FRESCO WHICH HAS BEEN REMOVED TO THE MUSEUM. THE HEIGHT FROM GROUND LEVEL TO BOTTOM OF FRESCO WAS ABOUT 15 FEET

C-C ANCIENT WALL AND SUPPOSED ANGLE TURRET, STAIRCASE OR PORCH.

D ANCIENT FOUNDATIONS FOUND UNDER MODERN WALL. IN THE BASEMENT THE WALL WAS THICKER, AND EXTENDS TO DOTTED LINE, AND THERE ARE SIGNS OF AN OPENING HAVING EXISTED WHERE SHOWN AT D₂.

E-E SUPPOSED 15TH CENTURY CHAPEL WALL EXTENDING DOWN TO BASEMENT LEVEL, 9^{FT} BELOW HIGH STREET.

F DITTO DITTO UPPER PART MODERN.

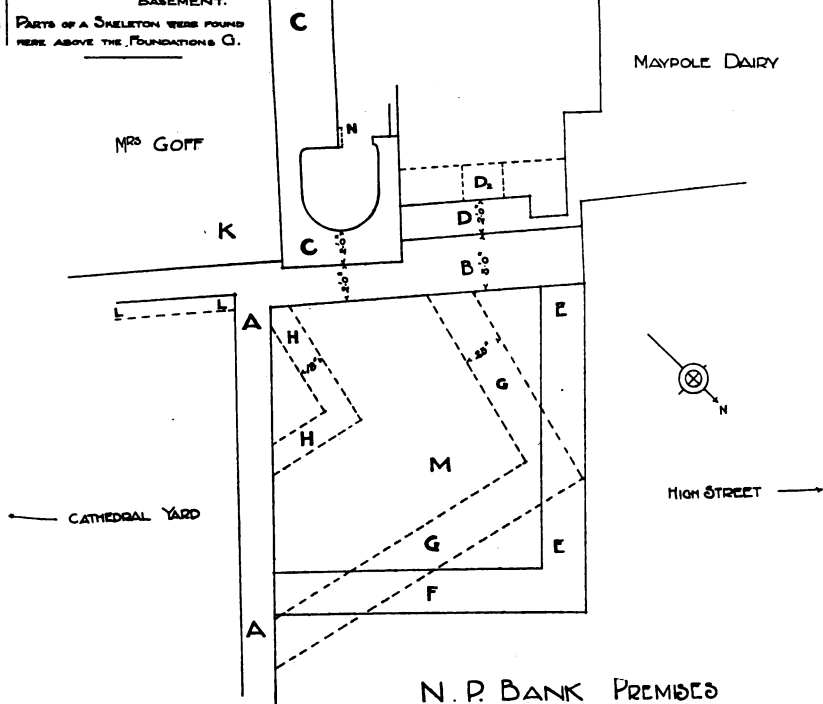
G-G ANCIENT FOUNDATIONS BELOW BASEMENT LEVEL & ABOUT 11^{FT} BELOW HIGH STREET

H-H DITTO DITTO DITTO.

K POSITION OF LETTER A MARKED ON ORDNANCE MAP, 1886 EDITION & SKETCHED IN HIS NOTEBOOK BY ROBERT DYMOND, & DESCRIBED BY HIM AS A "NORMAN PILLAR AND ARCH, PRESUMABLY PART OF LE VAUTED CYLVE", WHICH COLUMN DOES NOT EXIST, & THERE IS NO SIGN OF A PILLAR IN THE BASEMENT UNDER C.C. THERE IS, HOWEVER, A JAMB OR PROJECTION AT THE POINT N. IN BASEMENT, WHICH MAY HAVE BEEN A DOOR JAMB. MR DYMOND MAY HAVE MEANT THE PART AS DESCRIBED UNDER C

L-L LINE OF ANCIENT WALL IN BASEMENT.

M PARTS OF A SKELETON WERE FOUND HERE ABOVE THE FOUNDATIONS G.



NOTE.—This Plan is drawn at the First-Floor level, and the outlines of C, C and shaft (which vary on each floor) here include some lath-and-plaster work.

J.A. DUNSTON P.L.A.
ARCHITECT & SURV.

Digitized by Google

excavations, several lines of ancient foundations were unearthed, and a frescoed wall in a room over the strong-room was exposed to view.

Fortunately Mr. Spencer, the Clerk of the Works, and Mr. J. H. Brewerton, F.R.I.B.A., of Bournemouth, the architect to the Bank, appreciated the antiquarian value of such remains and took careful measurements and notes of them, and I have the pleasure of reproducing a PLAN of the site drawn by Mr. Brewerton, who has very kindly placed it at my disposal, besides assisting me with much detailed information on the subject.

Turning to this plan, the first points to which I would call attention are the lack of continuous alignment in what has been assumed to be the old boundary wall of the Close, and the difference in thickness of its sections A and C.

These considerations alone would militate against the idea that such a wall was built all at one time, and the difference in the material or construction of the oldest parts of each is a further argument against that theory.

The section C may be supposed to follow the original line, since one end abutted on the now-vanished stone gateway, known as *Porta lata*, Broad Gate, or St. Michael's Gate (Jenkins' *Hist. Exon.*, pp. 312, 367).

It is apparently of ancient construction; has been attributed to the Norman period; is 3 ft. 6 in. thick; and has at its near end, in the angle of its return, a circular shaft hollowed out in the midst of very substantial masonry, and carried through basement, ground floor, and upper story, as if to contain a spiral stair.

On a tracing of the 1886 Ordnance Map of Exeter, to be seen at the Library, Mr. Dymond has marked a letter "a" in the external angle of C and B, intended, possibly (though on another property), to indicate the outline of this shaft and its jamb, since no nearer feature appears on the map. It refers to the note, "Norman column and arch, presumably part of the 'Le Vauted Cylere.'"

Mr. Brewerton, however, found no traces of vaulting in the basement of these premises, nor in those of Mrs. Goff.

Mr. Brewerton is inclined to think that this wall "D" is older than the also old, parallel wall B, though both rest on an *apparently* common foundation about 7 ft. wide.

The projection of the wall B, with its older and wider foundation L, towards the Close, so far beyond its junction

with the wall A, is rather puzzling ; it would almost seem to indicate that another wall had turned from it at right angles, bounding or intruding on the Close, considerably in advance of A, which has hitherto been supposed to be the boundary wall.

The wall A, I note, has less substance than one would expect of an early cingulum, being only 21 in. thick ; and, granting that it may replace an earlier one on the same line, I should be inclined to assign it to the fourteenth century, regarding it as coeval with B, E,¹ and F, and assuming these to be the remains of Robert Wilford's Chapel.

These walls all go down to a depth of about 9 ft. below the level of the High Street. The masonry above the ground-level of A and F is modern.

But, deep as their foundations strike, they rest on—or over-ride—others deeper still—to wit, H and G, whose plan, being oblique in relation to the wall A, forms—if I may borrow the terminology of heraldry—two “chevrons,” and would appear to have outlined the north-east corner of a rectangular building set within a larger rectangular enclosure ; or, as Mr. Brewerton suggests, the wall H may have been foundations for an internal columniation.

The material of all the “old” foundations shown on the plan (with the exception of some about the “stair-turret,” whose stones were roughly squared and coursed) was undressed, broken limestone, necessarily intermingled with a good deal of mortar. There were no slates or tiles, no fine-wrought ashlar, no indications whatever of Roman work about the masonry ; but certain differences in the character of C, B and H, G suggested different periods of construction, while the position of H and G, in relation to the others, proved these to have been laid not only before the square chamber ABEF, as I have said, but before the massive Close wall C.

The axis of these deepest and earliest foundations, though not quite true in its orientation, virtually coincides with that of the Cathedral, giving a hint that the super-structure was of a religious character.

One might hastily pronounce them to represent the ancient Chapel of St. Peter the Less, but the objections

¹ Wide and old foundations of E, shown in 1910 plan, might have been original boundary between City and Cathedral land. It lies some distance back from High Street (about 35 ft.), as do remains of massive walls (some faced with large ? Norman ashlar) in cellars of Nos. 40–47 High Street, and under 61.

have to be taken into account : (1) that they refuse to fit in to any such figure as the "spot of ground 53 ft. long by 23 ft. wide at the east, and 12 ft. at the west end, whereon that church 'formerly stood'"; and (2) that the edifice they represent must have been demolished before the construction of the supposed "Norman" wall C, whereas St Peter the Less would appear to have been still in use in 1200-15.

I therefore do not commit myself to this identification, but halt between it and the idea that these foundations may be the traces of some building anterior in date even to St. Peter's the Less—possibly one of the monasteries or nunneries of Anglo-Saxon times.¹

It must be owned, moreover, that there are but slight grounds for assuming the old outer shell of the late strong-rooms to have been once a chapel. Its almost perfectly square form is an unusual one for such a use; it has no *east wall* for an altar to have stood against—its sides making an angle of nearly 45 degrees with the cardinal points; and, as I understand, the only vestige of a religious feature about it was a fresco, or painting in tempera, on the inner surface of its south-west wall, showing Italian influence in its design of quasi-classic pilasters and plinth, arabesques, etc., and having a long label painted with Gothic characters of which the only words now decipherable are: "O Lord suffer thy mercy . . .", on the upper line, and ". . . Elizabeth . . ." on the lower line, preceded by about four illegible words. For the last of these the rendering "Regina" has been suggested, but a mingling of English and Latin in the same text seems unlikely,² and it might prove to refer to Elizabeth Wilford, or some other Elizabeth connected with the property. The label is encroached on by a large claw with three talons, resembling that of an eagle, but the scaly leg is bent at such an angle that no bird's body can have come above it, and from a suggestion of a coiled and scaly tail near it I should guess it to have formed part of the representation of a dragon, a wyvern, or a cockatrice—it is not rightly a griffin, for that monster must have lion's hind-feet.

Perhaps it was the supporter of the Tudor royal arms,

¹ See Hooker's *History of Exeter*, D. and C. Record Society, p. 97, and Holinshed's *Chronicles*.

² For the above decipherment from a photograph, and criticism, I am indebted to Mr. Salisbury, Assistant Keeper, of the Record Office.

for though, curiously enough, on the map of Exeter engraved for Hooker by Remigius Hogenberg in 1587, the sinister supporter of the coat of Queen Elizabeth is given hind-paws instead of claws, it was properly a dragon.

Photographs of this painting were taken while it was in situ by Mr. Rowley, Curator, Royal Albert Memorial Museum, and the plaster bearing it was removed to the Royal Albert Museum, leaving exposed a still earlier coat which, in Mr. Rowley's opinion, had also painted, or stained, through the other. The walling above the fresco was modern. Mr. Brewerton, Mr. T. J. James, foreman, and the workmen all assert that there were no traces of a window in any part of the wall. The bottom of the fresco was cut off by the modern floor over the strong-room, at a height of about 9 ft. above the ground-floor level, but there was no indication in the old masonry (such as putlog holes) that the building had originally been divided into two stories. There was no basement under its ground floor, though the walls, as I have said, went down for 9 ft. ; and the interior was not filled with virgin soil, but mostly with rubble. There were cellars under Mrs. Goff's adjoining premises and under No. 60, but they were not vaulted.

The whole of the "old" walls and foundations shown on the plan have been removed since they were surveyed, with the exception of C, D, and L.

An "Exeter Chapter Terrier"¹ "of the year 1408" [? 1420-31, E. L.-W.] records a receipt of 6d. "From the Chapel of William Wilford's house within the Close."

It is, I suppose, *possible* that the site lay on the Cathedral instead of the city side of the wall A, in which case the projection of the wall B might be explainable ; but, *per contra*, there was ample room for a plot "53 ft. long" on the city side, where I have assumed it to have been.

It cannot have lain between the said corner and Broad Street, the length there being only 33 ft., or from the front of the present Bank, 40 ft.

Oliver, under the citation of the grant to Fayreman of

¹ With other old Exeter MSS. translated by the Rev. O. J. Reichel, aided by the late Mr. W. E. Mugford.

The original MS. volume has been presented by Mr. J. G. Commin, J.P., to the Cathedral Library, where the very courteous librarian, the Rev. E. T. Foweraker, has called my attention to it and to other unique and helpful works.

"the place where *St. Peter's* formerly stood," remarks : "The tenement erected on the spot was subsequently called the 'Eagle,' but a small chapel was built by one Robert Wilford : I conceive the site to be in the rear of the house of Mr Dyer, bookseller."

As a fact, not the house, but only the chapel was "erected on the spot," for we are told in the deeds that this ground lay "at the rear of the dwelling-house called the Eagle," and vice versa, that "the said dwelling-house" was "opposite the Guildhall, and near a vacant spot where a chapel has been rebuilt on the south part, in the direction of the Cathedral."

The premises, occupied fifty and more years ago by Mr. Dyer, bookseller, since burnt down, and now included in Messrs. Wipple's, were probably indicated by Oliver as the site of "Wilford's dwelling-house of the Egle," because of their fulfilling the requirement of standing "opposite the Guildhall."

But this definition may have been a somewhat elastic one, and from particulars yielded by the Civic Rolls, etc., I gather that the Wilfords' property, commencing with a certain "shop on the E. side of the 'Egle'" (which I take to be Messrs. Fox and Fowler's, No. 57), comprised that and the Egle, and the whole row of shops (except, perhaps, 61 and part of 62) extending thence along the High Street as far as—and even beyond—Broad Street.

We hear of "the Gate of the Egle," through which, presumably, was the "*entrance*" to the Chapel site at the rear that the old deeds mention, and my idea is that this passage-way coincided with the present Bank-entrance and its lately existing corridor, and that the Hospice itself stood on the site immediately to westward of this passage, lately occupied by the Norwich Union Office.

Considering that the Egle and surrounding buildings stood on the "lands of the Cittie," and in such close proximity to the Guildhall, I should not be surprised should the whole enclosure prove to have constituted in primitive times some sort of collegiate institution under the immediate patronage of the Corporation.

The early "*Hospitium*," with its accomodation not only for those disabled by age, sickness, or poverty, but for transient remunerative "guests," was in many instances later converted into a "*Hospitium*" devoted to the latter use. Chapels were often attached to both ; and, indeed,

it would seem that drinking-houses as well as chapels were connected with *Hospitalia* in some instances. The entrance to the Hospital of the Parish Clerks of London (and formerly of the Brotherhood of St. Nicholas) was between the taverns of the signs of "The Wrestlers" and "The Angel," in Bishopsgate Street, which were their own property; and the "Statutes of the Vicars Choral of Exeter," in 1663, ordered "... that no Ale house be permitted to be kept in the Kallenderhay, except one only, and that at the present to be kept by David Powell, so long as he shall behave himself orderly and regularly in the place."

The Egle might conceivably have been the quarters, before the transference of their rights in an altar in St. Peter's the Less to one in St. Mary Major's, of the "Kalendar Brethren," or "*Fraternity of the City of Exeter*" (who were perhaps partly engaged here, as in Bristol, by the Corporation, in keeping the annals of the city and other scribal work). It would at least seem natural that they should have had their Hospital or asylum for aged members and other poor or infirm Bedesmen and Bedeswomen as near to their former place of public worship as was the Old Kalendarhay—where we afterwards find them established—to the Church of St. Mary Major, some of its buildings having been, in fact, in direct contact with the west and south sides of that church.¹

The origin of the title "De le EGLE" is an alluring subject for speculation.

A contributor to the *Exeter Express and Echo* (31 October and 14 November), signing himself "Scotus," has suggested that it might be derived from the Latin *Ecclesia* (=church) through—or analogously to—such forms as Egges, Egles, Egglis (found in Scottish monastic charters dating back to the middle of the twelfth century as equivalent to "Kirk" in place-names); Eaglais, Aglish, Eglish² (in Irish place-names); Eccluis (Welsh) [to which

¹ I have long been collecting material towards an account of the origin and spread of the Fraternities of the Calendar on the Continent and in England, for which any contributions from hitherto unprinted records, other than such as I have already drawn on, would be very welcome.—E. L.-W.

² See also Baldwin Brown, *Arts in Early England*, Vol. I, 252, contending that the first element in such place-names as Eccleston, Ecclesfelt, Ægelesthrop, or Ægelesford (Aylesford, near Maidstone), and in the personal names Ægylwig, Ægylsige, Ægelweard, come not from "ecclesia," but from Eigil, a Northern deity.

I may add "Eglysylane" in Hereford: *Parliamentary Surveys*, Lambeth, Vol. XVI, pp. 164, 202] Eglos (Cornish), and Ylis (Armoric).

There is much that is attractive in this proposition, but, apart from the consideration that the "s" persisting in the above and other examples would appear to be indispensable, the Celtic *provenance* of all these forms would oblige us to suppose that the word "Egle" had been first applied to the Exeter site at the period of the British occupation, and had survived there down to 1420, when it has first been found in the City Records.

On the other hand, inn-signs and titles allusive to heraldic charges, religious emblems, etc., have been common enough, since at least the beginning of the fourteenth century, to give one pause before accepting the more recondite derivation.

And an eagle,¹ as the device displayed on the seal—and, it is said, on the shield also—of Richard, Earl of Cornwall and titular King of the Romans, to whom, in 1227, King Henry III gave the city of Exeter,² would have been an appropriate enough sign for the city's own Hospice, as I conjecture this once to have been.

PART II.—GENEALOGICAL.

The tale of the successive owners or holders of the "Tenement of THE EAGLE" is complicated by its subdivision, and by peculiarities in the circumstances of its tenure.

It seems to have been one of the houses in this city pertaining at the time of Domesday to the Crown, and the ground-rents of which were later ultimately payable to the Earl of Cornwall, by grant of the King.³

An instance typical of such a holding may be taken from the Inq. A.Q.D. Chanc., $\frac{1}{2}$ g. dated 8 April, 2 Ed. III (1328 A.D.), and from No. 548 of the Deeds of the Dean and Chapter, 2 April, 1333, from which, by collation, it appears that Thomas de Stapildon or Stapledon, a Canon of Exeter

¹ See J. R. Planche's *Poursuivant of Arms*, p. 84.

² Lysons, p. 192.

³ See the Rev. O. J. Reichel's Introduction to D. Survey, *Vict. Co. Hist. Dev.*, p. 396.

Cathedral, by royal licence gave to the Dean and Chapter for the keeping of the obits of himself and of his brother, Sir Richard de Stapildone, Kt., certain property or rents in Exeter. The Inquisition says, "four shops, and 24^s rent," the deed, "24^s from a tenement in High St. ('in summo vico') and from four shops in Northyetestret fere juxta quadrivium."

According to the Inquisition these shops and the rent were all held of the King as of a certain fee farm of the city of Exeter, payable to the Exchequer of the King by the hands of the Mayor, rendering 4^d ¹ per annum on Michaelmas Day for all service ("iiij^d ad fm s̄ci Mich'i eidem firme soluend', p om̄io s'vicio"), the shops being worth yearly, "in oib̄ exit" 23^s. The Inquisition further states that there remain to the said Thomas and his heirs, over and above the said donation and assignation, 40s. rent coming from the hands of divers tenants in the same city, which said rents he holds of the King as of the farm aforesaid.

Neither of the two documents states that the grant to the Dean and Chapter was in perpetuity, and I would suggest—subject to correction—that it was only for the remainder of the term of a lease; for, on looking through the Account of Receipts and Payments of the Chapter "in 1408" ² [?], I can find no record of the precise sum of 24s., nor of any celebration by the Annuellars for the soul of Richard Stapleton, nor of the receipt of a rent from any house "in the Close," or elsewhere, recognizable as the tenement referred to in the grant.

From later evidence as to the succession of the Eagle property, I am inclined to believe that the above-mentioned tenement in the High Street and those yielding the 40s. rent are identical with the Hospice de le Egle, and some, if not all, of the houses or shops in the same row.

The grantor of the rent, Thomas de Stapledon, Canon of Exeter, was, as the Inquisition proves, brother of Sir Richard de Stapledon, Kt., who was presumably the same as Sir Richard Stapledon, a Puisne Judge of the King's Bench, who resided at Stapledon near Holsworthy, and who (according to the *Dictionary of National Biography*)

¹ The Rev. O. J. Reichel (*Vict. Hist. Dev.*, p. 396) submits that the usual due from each house of the King was 8d.

² Ed. by the Rev. O. J. Reichel, with assistance from the late Mr. W. E. Mugford, and printed in the App. to *D. and C. N. and Q.*, April, 1907.

was the eldest brother of Walter Stapledon, parson of Aveton Giffard before 1294, consecrated Bishop of Exeter 1307, murdered [with his brother Robert; see Lysons, p. 208] in 1326.

But whereas, according to the *Dictionary of National Biography*, Bishop Walter was son of *William* and Mabilla de Stapledon, according to Pole (*Devon*, p. 365) the Sir Richard who left only an heiress, Thomasia, was immediately preceded by three generations of *Richards*.

The Thomas of the grant being a Churchman, Thomasia, the daughter and heir of Sir Richard Stapleton, Kt., was presumably also *his* heir.

In the year 1398 this Thomasia, though a minor, was already married to Richard Hankeford; for on 22 November of that year her guardian, Gilbert Wibbery, brought an action in her name against Walter Cornu and Constance his wife, for having unjustly disseised her and her husband of their free tenement in Tapelegh (Chanc. Misc. Bdle. 55, File 3, Nos. 76, 77).

Richard Hankeford, the husband of Thomasia, was son of Sir William Hankeford (by his wife Christine; see Inq.) the eminent Judge—eventually Chief Justice of the King's Bench.

The Inquisition of the latter (C. File 12, No. 32), of which the first part (as recorded on m. 1) was held at Barnstaple, 19 May, 2 Hen. VI, declares that the said William Hankeford died 12 December last [i.e. December in 1423]. It informs us that he held nothing of the King in County Devon, but held 1 mess. 1 ferl. land, etc., in "Nywelond"¹ of John Hankeford. An Inquisition of "Melius Inquirend" (C. 55) establishes that he also held (of John Kelly) an annual rent of 2s. 2d. issuing out of messuages in Holdsworthy.

In London, according to the Inquisition held at the Guildhall of that city (No. 32, m. 4), he was seised of 1 mess., 4 shops, and 1 garden in Holborn, which were held in free burgage of the King, and which had been granted by Richard Gabriel, Canon of St. Peter's, Exeter, John Hals, and John Osbarn, to him and to John Hanke-

¹ Is this Newlands—a large farm in the parish of North Tawton, where Hankefords held the advowson and some landed property—or is it the village of the same name in the parish of Landkey, near Barnstaple? At Herford, in the same parish, there was a chapel to which Fulk Fitzwarren gave land *tempore* Ed. IV (see the Lysons, p. 309).

ford, Will. Wonard and John Dabernon. Wonard had relinquished his rights to William Hankeford, 18 November, 6 Hen. V [1418], and John Hankeford had afterwards died, after whose death the said William Hankeford, with the said John Dabernon (now surviving), continued all his life so seised.

The above-mentioned John, probably William's brother, was perhaps identical with John Hankeford, "Domicellus," patron of the living of Alwington, 1410-16, etc. (*Episc. Regr.*, Staff. p. 191.)

For particulars of the public career of William Hankeford I may refer my readers to Foss' *Book of Judges* (Vol. IV, p. 323), but both this compilation and the *Dictionary of National Biography*, which closely follows it, besides inaccurately giving the year of William's death as 1422 (as do also the Lysons, pp. 89, 352), fall into several errors as to his family connections. They suppose him to be the younger brother of the Richard (really his own son) who died in 1419, and they make the Richard, whose daughter Anne, as they say, married the Earl of Ormonde, to be the son, whereas he was actually the *grandson* of William; for the above cited Inquisition explicitly states that the nearest relative and heir of William and Christine is Richard, then aged twenty-seven, the son of their son Richard.

The will of William Hankeford, which Foss and the *Dictionary of National Biography* do not include in their category of sources consulted, but which I have found at Lambeth (Chichele, Part I, p. 375b), bears out the testimony of the Inquisition, and as I have not met with it in print I think some particulars from it, though not exhaustive, may be acceptable.

The date at the commencement is 10 December, 1423. but that of the probate is not entered in the register.

The testator makes legacies to the Parish Church of Monkleghe, to the Chapel of Bulkeworthy, to the Vicar of Bokelond to pray for him and Christine his wife, to the Church of East Putteford, to the Abbot and Convent of Hertland, to the Priory of Frithelstoke, to the Rectors of Were and of Yenstowe, for praying for him and Christine; to the Bridges of Bydeford, Toriton, Rothernford, Putteford, and Duppeford, and to John Dab'noun, his servant (xxs & terrar' & ten' limitand' in Com' Devon' p cofoefatos meos); Will Gill is to hold his tenement of Hey for

life free of all rents except certain services to be rendered at Hankford; Henry his servant is to have his tenement of Thorn rent free; several other servants are named. There are also legacies to Walter Clark, Richard Wydeslade, John Wydeslade, Richard Sachev'yll, Thomas Colston, Baldwin Foleford. To each of the Paupers in Devon and in London who pray for him (1d. each), and rent from tenements in Sutton to certain chaplains. Richard, son of Richard Hankeford, to have 100 marks if he will be kind ("*si gratus fuerit*") to his sisters Blanche, Joan, and Christine, and will not hinder his legacies; but if unkind, to have nothing thereof. His chattels live and dead at Hankeford to go to his heirs for keeping his anniversary; to Christine, daughter of Richard Hankeford, he leaves £200 if she do not marry before his decease; to Joan, wife of Thomas Bro(vn?), one of the daughters of Robert Kyr'hm . . . etc.

He refers to all his tenements in the counties of Devon, Cornwall, Somerset, Berkshire, and in the suburbs of London. To the "aforesaid" Richard Hankeford his relation (Consanguineo meo) the plate that he had from Joan Stourton. To Joan, wife of Theobald Gorges, £20; to Richard Gossyn . . . etc. To the Friars, Preachers, and Friars Minor, of Exeter, he makes bequests, and finally he wills that John and Richard, sons of Richard Hankeford by ("*per*") Elizabeth Were,¹ shall be kept at the schools (invenientur ad scholas) for a length of time to be left to the discretion of the executors. John Dabernoun is one of the witnesses.

There is also registered at Lambeth (Chichele, Part II, f. 281a) a "Sequestration" Commission, issued to Sir William Hankeford, Kt., and John Hankeford his brother, in regard to the goods of Richard Hankeford, son of the said Sir William, who had died intestate.

This Richard Hankeford, the Judge's son, died 27 April, 1419. His Inquisition p.m. (File 42, No. 70, 7 Hen. V) tells us that he held nothing of the King in chief, but that he held of the King *in free burgage* 2 messuages, 2 gardens, 4 shops, with appts., in the city of Exeter, worth (p

¹ I do not know whether the surname of Elizabeth "Were" could have been a mistake of the Registrar's for some abbreviation of Fitz Warren; but if Richard and John were the children of Elizabeth Warren, they must have died before 1431. William's granddaughters were not yet born at the date of his will.

annum, in omibꝫ exit') 60s., and that by inheritance of his wife Thomasia, defunct, mother of Richard Hankeford who is her heir, he holds the manors and lands named—a long list—in divers counties, including among those in Devon one messuage one ferling of land in Moulhangre, held in fee tail, by gift of Sir William Hankeford and John Hankeford as by their charter, etc.

Bishop Stafford's *Register* (ed. H.R., p. 191) states that, 29 January, 1397–8, John Boure, priest, was presented to the Rectory of North Tawton, the patron being Richard Hankeford for this turn, in right of his wife Thomasia, daughter and heiress of Sir Richard Stapilton, Kt., Lord of Estington in the said parish.

The next Richard Hankeford (grandson of the Judge) was he who held the office of Sheriff of Devon from 13 November, 1423, to 6 November, 1424.¹ The exact date of his death I have not found stated, but it must have been before Michaelmas, 10 Hen. VI [1431] (*vide post*, p. 499).

A long list of his estates, in divers counties, is furnished by the Inquisition p.m. (Henry VI, $\frac{2}{3}$) of his eldest daughter Elizabeth, of which the first writ is dated 18 October, 12 Hen. VI [1433].

Among the manors specified in the part relating to Co. Devon (m. 15), taken at Exeter 12 October, 13 Hen. VI, are those of Toustoke, Nymettracy, Bannton, Ufcolmp, Holne, and Parva Totton, all held of the King, with half the Hundred and Burgh of Bannton and half the advowson of a free chantry ("de feod' eidem Man'io spectant") and with half the advowsons of Toustok and Nymettracy; and, among less important holdings, half a messuage and caruc. of land in Shillyngford (of the Abbot of Torre, 1 messuage and 3 ferlings in the "villa" of Newelond, and 2 messuages 2 ferlings in Slade, both held of the heirs of Edward de Horton, the combination of which names persuades me that these were in the parish of North Tawton); besides 1 messuage and 9 acres in North Tawton with the advowson of that church, held of the heirs of Otho Chambernon in free socage for the service of one rose, and worth per annum 3s.

Also—the item of most interest in connection with my subject—2 messuages and 2 gardens with appts. in the

¹ Official List, R.O., also L.T.R. Foreign Accts., 2 Hen. VI, No. 58.

city of Exeter, held of the King in free burgage and worth per annum "in oib3 exit'," 3s.

Further particulars of Sir Richard's holdings in Devon and elsewhere may be found in *Feudal Aids*, from which I will content myself with noting, as evidence of the descent, that in 1428 he held, conjointly with three other persons, 2 parts of 1 fee in Westdown that had "*ab antiquo*" been held by Richard de Stapulton (p. 464); and, alone, held 1 fee in Huwyssh which Richard de Stapulton formerly held (p. 496).

Nearly all Sir Richard Hankeford's possessions were held by him as of the inheritance of his [first] wife Elizabeth, who was daughter and heir (Pole, p. 385) of Fulk Fitzwarren, whose estates, through Cogan of Bannton and Paganel, are traceable back to Walter de Douai, the Domesday holder of these estates (*vide* Lysons, p. 28).

This wife was still living, 10 February, 4 Hen. VI [1426]; for an item on m. 8 of the above-cited Inquisition states that the said Richard, and Elizabeth his wife, by charter of that date, granted the manor of Edlyngton in Yorkshire to James Gascoigne for term of his life. The latter name recalls, by the way, the story of the punishment of Prince Henry, the honours of which are divided between Judges Hankeford and Gascoigne.

Elizabeth's possessions passed to her own two daughters, Elizabeth and Thomasine, the latter, aged twelve at her sister's death, on 13 October, 1433 (Inquisition p.m. $\frac{2}{10}$), becoming sole heiress to them, and marrying, later, William Bouchier—to whom, through her mother, she brought the title—Lord Fitzwarren (Pole, p. 385. See also Inquisition p.m., File 84, No. 75, 15 Hen. VI).

Hankeford's second wife was Anne, daughter of John Montacute, Earl of Salisbury (Pole, 385), who afterwards became the Duchess of Exeter as the third wife of John Holland, Duke of Exeter (son of John the 1st Duke)¹ (Banks, II, 649). By her Hankeford had a third daughter, Anne, who married Thomas Earl of Ormonde and became grandmother of Anne Boleyn. This daughter Anne was co-heir with her half-sisters of her *father's* own property, and as such we find specified "two parts of two messuages, two gardens, and appurts. in Exeter," which Richard

¹ *Vide* "Assignaco'e, Anne Ducisse Exon., nup ux'is Joh'e nup Ducis," Exon. Inqn. 26 Hen. VI (? 1447), No. 1³³.

Hankeford held at his death "in dñco suo, ut de feodo."

By another Inquisition (File 51, No. 54) we learn that on the Feast of SS. Philip and James, 9 Hen. VI [1431], Thomasia was aged eight years, Elizabeth seven years, and Anna twelve weeks.

All the possessions of the heiresses came upon the Pipe Rolls of the Exchequer, as having devolved to the King during their minority, and were farmed of the King by the guardians appointed by him, who are named therein.

Thus, on Roll No. 277, 10 Hen. VI [Michaelmas, 1431–Michaelmas, 1432], John Copleston, John Mules, and John Dabernon (? are indebted) . . . for the custody of . . . (manors named) in the counties of Devon, Somerset, and Wiltshire, which Sir Richard Hankeford held of inheritance of his wife Elizabeth, who held of the King in chief, etc. ; to wit, from Michaelmas, Anno 10 [1431] till the attainment of majority, etc. Manucaptors : Thomas Dowryssh and John Merwode, gentlemen, both of County Devon, "as contained in Roll 9 in Res. Deuon'."

And on the same Roll :—

"Anna Comitissa Staff & Heref : Henricus Bourghier, Cl'icus & Thomas Bourghier [? owe] cccxxxiiijⁱⁱ vj^s viii^d p ann. 'de custodia' of all the castles, manors, etc., that R.H. held of inheritance of his wife Elizabeth as well as the custody of two parts, etc. [as quoted, of the Exeter property]. Which custody the King committed to the said Anne, Henry, and Thomas, 14 February, Anno 11, to hold from Michaelmas, Anno 10, to the end of the minority, etc. Paying to the King for the sd. custody per annum £333 6^s 8^d, etc., maintaining the sd. heirs, and keeping the sd. manors in repair, etc."¹

"Manucaptors : Thos. Mulso, de Com. Northt., Armiger ; Joh'is de la Bere, de Com. Heref., Armig."

The Countess of Stafford,² who was daughter of Ralph

¹ It is puzzling to find on a roll of "10 Hen. VI" a record of an event of the eleventh year of the same reign, and a reference to its further record in the "Originalia Roll" of "Anno 11." But it has been explained to me, by an expert, that blanks were frequently left in these accounts for exact particulars to be filled in later, as was evidently done in this case.

² Her brother Richard married Alice, daughter and heir of Thomas Montacute, Earl of Salisbury, while Anne Montacute, daughter of John, 3rd Earl of Salisbury, was the mother of Anne Hankeford, and, on her second marriage, to the Duke of Exeter, became related to the Nevilles.

Thomasia Hankeford brought to her husband the title of Lord Fitz-

Neville, 1st Earl of Westmoreland, and wife of Humphrey Stafford, created in 1444 or 1445 1st Duke of Buckingham, was probably granted the wardship on account of her relationship to the Hankefords—indirect though it was—through Montacutes, Staffords, Nevilles, Hollands, Bourchiers, etc.

The possession by the Hankefords of the tenement of the Eagle¹ (and thereby, inferentially, its identity with Stapledon's High Street property), is testified to in the below-quoted "Receiver's Rolls," or Accounts of the Receiver of moneys for the Corporation, preserved in the Guildhall Muniment Room.

The earliest references to the Hankefords in connection with the "Egle" that have been found in these Rolls,² are in that of 16-17 Hen. VI [1436-7], under the heading "Resoluc' Reddit'," and run (translated):—

"Item: paid to the Lady the Countess of Stafford, farmer of the lands that had been Richard Hankeford's, Kt., of certain Exeter rents from tenements which had been Robert Wilford's there, 4s. per annum; viz., in the Hospice of [the] Egyll (hospicio de Egyll), in the High Street of the City."

"Item: paid to the Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral Church for rent of the farm of the Chapel (p redd' Firme Capelle) within the Hospice of [the] Egyll, 2s."

These entries, as if mechanically copied, appear year after year in such rolls as have been examined, with slight modifications at long intervals, down to Henry VIII's time. In the account of 6-7 Ed. IV, 1466-7, the Christian name

warren, her mother having been daughter and heir of Fulk Lord Fitzwarren. Her husband's mother was Anne Plantagenet (Lysons, xeviii.). Elizabeth Bouchier, the first cousin twice removed of Thomasia's husband, married Hugh Stafford (Inqn. 1421), uncle of Humphrey Earl of Stafford, the husband of the Countess with whom we are concerned, whose mother was also a Stafford (daughter of Hugh Earl of Stafford).

¹ Some years ago I gleaned several items relating to the "Egle" from these rolls, to which, by the courtesy of Mr. Lloyd-Parry, I have enjoyed frequent access; and Mr. E. Chick, of Haldon Road, who has examined a long series of them, has since supplied me with further extracts and summaries; while Mr. W. E. Gay, of the Town Clerk's office, has come to my assistance with copies of some other local documents, and of the Dymond Collection of abstracts of deeds belonging to the Dean and Chapter, but the originals would no doubt have yielded fuller evidence.

² Rolls for several years prior to this are missing, but in the next one before it extant—that of 11-12 Hen. VI [1432-3]—these entries do not appear.

"William" is substituted for that of "Richard Hankeford," as the bygone owner of the lands farmed by the Countess. This was surely a *lapsus calami* on the part of the scribe (who perhaps had in his mind at the moment the Sheriff's more distinguished grandfather), but it was repeated—perhaps continually down to, and certainly in, the Roll of 22-3 Ed. IV [1482-3], where I found another instance.

The payments are afterwards entered, I am told, to the Countess of Stafford's heirs, and later—say between 24 and 34 Hen. VIII—to the Lord Fitzwarren. The last mention of the "Egyll" by name that has been found is in 34-5 Hen. VIII; but (as my informant tells me, "speaking from memory" of subsequent rolls) in late Elizabethan days the area of the chapel was still rented from the Dean and Chapter by the name of "Chapel Chamber," and for many years was let to one woman.

Also there ran, side by side with the Fitzwarren entry, one which in 1 Eliz. reads: "Paid to Nicholas Wadham & Roger Bluyt, Kt.,¹ for the tenement[s ?] near the Broad Gate (*Lat. porta*) 6s 8d."

In the Roll of 2-3 Ed. IV (1462-3), we find the following topographical and personal details:—

"The Receiver renders his account of . . .

"16s 8d from a shop in High St, Exeter, on the east side (in orient' p'te) of 'Le Egle,' late Robert Wilford's.

"And of 5 marcs (66s 8d) from John Cooke, for the 'Hospitio de le Egle,' late the said Robert's.

"And of 26s 8d from a shop with a solar built over it on the west side of the Egle, late the said Robert's, which John Thomas now holds.

"And of 20s from a shop on the west side of the said shop, which William Hayward holds.

"And of 16s 8d from a cellar under the shop which Richard Ronewill holds.

"And of 20s from a shop above the said cellar.

"And of 26s 8d from a shop on the west side of the said shop, late the said Robert's.

"And of 54s 4d from Richard Ronewill, for a shop with a solar built over it, which belonged to the said Robert, adjoining the Broad Gate (*Lat. porta*)."

¹ The heiresses of Chiseldon, of Holcombe Rogts, near Tiverton, married Wadham and Bluett (Lysons, p. 275). *Rogts*

Analysing these sums, we find that the combined rents of the first three shops amount to 63s. 4d., and of the fourth and fifth to another 63s. 4d. Those of the third and fourth, exclusive of the cellar, would answer to the 40s. recorded as Stapledon's. The grand total of the row, corresponding to the present Nos. 57 to 63 High Street, comes to £12 7s. 8d.

The Roll of 6-7 Ed. IV [1466-7], under the head of Deficits of Rent (Def'tu' Redd'), contains the particulars that the Egle, which ought to render 5 marcs, is now assigned to Thomas Cook by indenture for 43s., and so there is a deficit of 22s. 8d.; and that one tenement on the east side of the Egle which ought to render 26s. 8d. is now assigned to John Durant for 18s. and so there is a deficit of 8s. 8d.

The following abstracts of deeds relating to the same property are taken from the Calendar of the Corporation Muniments :—

(No. 1286) 4 April, 21 Ed. IV (1481). "The Mayor, etc., of Exeter to William Pascow & Margery his wife & George their son.

"Counterpart of a Lease of a shop with solars situate in High St. on the east side of the Gate (Porta) of 'le Egle.' Term 29 years, Rent 20^s and to do repairs."

(No. 1318) 16 September, 9 Hen. VII (1493). "The Mayor, etc., of Exeter to John Dulche & Agnes his wife.

"Counterpart Lease of a tenement on the east side of 'le Egle' in High St. Term 29 years, Rent 22^s."

(No. 1401) 29 November, 19 Hen. VIII (1527). "The Mayor, etc., of Exeter to Christopher Mixstow, Alice his wife, & Robert Cuthberd, son of the sd. Alice.

"Counterpart Lease of a tenement on the east side of 'le Egle' in High St. Term 58 years, determinable on their lives, Rent 26^s 8^d."

The earliest record known to me of a connection of the civic Corporation with the premises of the Eagle by that name, is the following, taken from Crossing's MS. *History of Exeter* (preserved at the Guildhall) [p. 3] :—

"John Talbot, who had been twice mayor of the Cittie, gave in remainder his howse caled the Eagle in the high streete of Exon to the maior and Coñonalty for bringing home the waters to the Cittie Conduits, and repairing the

pipes and Cesternes, as appeareth in his Testament proved in the ninth yere of King Henry the fifth, Anno 1420. The sayd Howse lyeth over against the Guilhall" (*vide* Hooker, ff. 450, 453).

Hooker (MS. *Hist. Exon*, p. 450) gives a somewhat modified version of the benefaction, viz. :—

"John Talbot¹ Mayor of this Citie gave out of his lands called the Egle, over againste the Guyldhall to the Citie of Excet^r for conductinge, repayringe & amending the Pypes & Sesternes of the Conduyct for the bringinge home of the Water to this Citie, as appereth by his Testament, Dated the 9 yere of Henrye the 5, 1420."

A later reference to the Egle is also found in this volume, viz. (Hoker, *ibid.*, fol. 395a) :—

"St. Martyns [parish] :—Richarde Tothill holdeth one tenem^t sometymes called the Eagle over against the guyldhall between *the lands of the Citie on the East Northe & Southe*, and the highe streete of the west, for terme of the liffe of Richard Tothill, and after the death of the sayed Richard the same Remayneth to the Assignes of Geffrey Tothill for lvij yeres, by Deede Dated the viij of September, the yere of Queene Elizab., and payeth iij¹¹ iij^s."

To revert to the Receiver's Rolls. The largeness of the sums accounted for by him to the Corporation as receipts in the way of rents from the "Egle" and contiguous row of shops, as compared with the smallness of the out-payments in respect of the same premises—namely the 4s. a year to the representatives of the Hankefords, makes it apparent that the Corporation was responsible to them for the ground rent only. That this rent should have been due to a subject on property that was held of the King (as I gather), seems only explainable on the supposition that the King had granted it to the Hankefords or their ancestors, and had authorized the Corporation to hand it over annually to the grantee or assignee. Of the *rack rents* the Corporation would seem to have been the ultimate recipients, from 1437 at least; but whether the Corporation owned or held the property directly from

¹ Query, Whether this John Talbot was connected with Gilbert Talbot (*ob.* 1386-7), who married Petronilla, daughter of the Earl of Ormonde, and whose grandson, John Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury (*ob.* 1452 or 1453), married Maude, daughter and co-heir of Thos. Neville, Lord Furnival? (Banks, II, pp. 221, 559).

the King (or Earl of Cornwall), or whether all these rents had been bestowed on them by Talbot's will, I do not learn from the evidence.

If the proposition be tenable that the early site of St. Peter the Less and afterwards of Wilford's Chapel lay to northward of the wall, or section of wall, bounding the Close, I can only suppose this plot to have been anciently granted out of the city land by the King or Earl to the church, in free alms; as we always find the Dean and Chapter issuing grants of, and receiving rents for it.

Considering its proximity to the Guildhall, and having regard to the fact that at least four of its successive owners or holders were mayors of Exeter, so that it was probably, at times, the official residence of the chief functionary of the city, I am inclined to believe that, either in their own hands or in those of a sub-tenant, the "EGLE" constituted *the* HOSPICE, or HOSTEL, *par excellence*, of the city, and as such was the lodging-place of the city's special guests.

We may, I think, justifiably assume it to have been honoured by the presence of the Black Prince and his Princess when they visited Exeter, in 1371, and, as the Lysons tell us (p. 240), "were entertained at the Mayor's house for several days"; and I should not wonder if it had afforded shelter, with "*cenacula*" and "*janicula*," to the retinue of Lord Henry Stafford, younger son of Humphrey Duke of Buckingham, and of our Countess Stafford of the Receiver's Rolls, who, with his wife Margaret Countess of Richmond, spent Sunday 15 April, 10 Ed. IV [1470] at Exeter, between the Saturday and Monday at Sampford Peverel.

This I have learnt from an unexpected source—a Westminster Abbey MS. (No. 12184)—"*Liber Expensar' Hospicii Forinseca, Dⁿⁱ Henrici Stafford Filii Nobilis Principis Humfridi nup D^{nis} Buckyng'h'm . . . etc*"; being the quaintly set-forth account kept by "Gilberto Gilpyn, tunc clerico eiusdem Hospicii," and including their itinerary "in s'vicio Dⁿⁱ Regis," from "Wooking" to London, York, and Exeter, and back to London.

In the opinion of Mr. Dymond, the grantees of "the Eagle" in 1437 (Coplestone, Hody, etc.) "probably held the Inn for the Corporation"; for, he says, John Hoker quotes an order, of 1472, that "the Howse called the Egle

over against the Guildhall shalbe employed and put to the use of a clothe hall, and that all foreyn traders & clothiers resorting to the citie with their clothes, shall sell the same in that howse onlye, and not elsewhere." (See Hooker's MS. Commonplace Book, fol. 147*d*.)

Probably some relation might be traced between this order and the fact that in 1465, when Calais was made the sole "Staple Town," the Staple of Exeter in common with that of Bristol and other English towns was deprived of its original function (*Selden Soc.*, Vol. XII, Preface, p. lxxiv).

I have failed to discover any genealogical connection between the Stapledons, or Hankefords, and the Wilfords.

The Robert Wilford referred to in the Receivers' Rolls as the "former" owner of the "Egle," was the son of a William, and grandson of another Robert.¹

The earlier Robert, according to Izacke's list, acted as Bailiff in 1365, etc., and held the office of Mayor of Exeter from 7 December, 1373 (with now and again an interval of a year or two) to 1394-5. He it was who built the chapel that replaced St. Peter the Less.

The deed of the Dean and Chapter, dated 6 January, 1392, which gave him permission "to erect a stone wall and thereon to raise a chapel" (*vide ante*, p. 484), also granted him a messuage near Broadgate, with two shops and the solars built over them, and with a certain cellar under the said messuages and shops called "La vautor siler" (or, as in the deed of 6 June, 31 Hen. VI, "Le vaulted Cylere").

Dr. Oliver, writing in 1821, "conceives this to be under Cox's the Fruiterer's," marked X on his tracing of the Ordnance map, and answering to the site of the present Union of London and Smith's Bank at the farther corner of Broad Street and High Street.

I am inclined so far to accept Dr. Oliver's suggestion, as to identify the tenement distinguished by the "vaulted cellar" with the "house in St. Petrock's Parish," specified in the will of the grantee's son William, rather than with any of the houses in St. Martin's Parish; especially as the 1392 grant was issued by the Dean and Chapter, and not by the Mayor and Corporation.

¹ Query, Was this family connected with "William Wilford," Sheriff of Bristol in 1338?

I am, by the way, convinced that it is not to the Eagle (as has been supposed, or to some house near it), but to tenements *to westward of the Broadgate lane*, that the Deed No. 77 in the Dean and Chapter's Archives relates, of which the following is an abstract from the Dymond Collection :—

“(1323) 17 Ed. II, Tuesday before St. Ambrose.

“Alice widow of Roger atte [Hurne] and Thomas le ST. Spicer, Citizen: Covenant Lease (indented) PETERS of a shop with a Solar adj^s in High St THE between *St. Peter's Church* on the S. and High LESS St. on the north, and extending from *the porch of the sd. church* to the tenem^t. of Henry Aleyn. Term 12 years, Rent 5^s to the Chapter. Rob^t de Watton Mayor.”

The knowledge that St. Peter's the Less was in ruins, if not vanished, by 1285, and the absence of the words “the Less” in the title of the church named in this abstract, roused in me a suspicion that it was really St. Petrock's that was intended, and that “Scⁱ Petrocis” had been misread “Scⁱ Petri.” This guess has been confirmed by a tracing of the words from the original document, which Mr. W. T. M. Snow, the Chapter Clerk, has kindly sent me, for here they clearly read “Scⁱ Pet^o's.”

Robert Wilford's son William, bailiff (according to Izacke) in 1396 and 1397, was Mayor, with a few breaks, from 1400 to 1412.

A note of Mr. Dymond's seems to identify him with the “William de Wilford, an Esquire,” who commanded a fleet sent out in 1403 by the West Countrymen in retaliation of a descent of “a great company of Normans and Britons upon Plymouth,” and who took as “lawful prizes” no fewer than forty ships “laden with yron, oyle, sope, and Rochell wine, to the number in all of a thousand tunne, upon the coasts of Britaine,” besides burning “Saint Mathewes” and several other of their towns.¹

In his will dated 30 June, 1413, though desiring to be buried in the Cathedral, he provides for twelve torches, each weighing ten pounds, of which one is to be given to

¹ Vide Speed, *Hist. of Gt. Britain*, p. 757; and Robert Southey, *Lives of British Admirals and Naval Hist.*, p. 9.

each altar in his parish church of St. Petrock's, and directs that "his house near St. Petrock's church," of which Edward Lydford was tenant, is to be sold. He leaves in trust for his son Robert, a minor, (*inter alia*) the lands, etc., ". . . in Exeter and its suburbs," bequeathed to the testator by his father, Robert Wilford. To John Wilford he leaves a jewel (this was probably the John Wilford, bailiff in 1401 and 1404), and he bequeaths £10 to make a conduit in the city, assigning his croft without the South Gate for the erection and maintenance thereof.

Another pious act, probably of the same man, is on record in a case in the Court of Augmentations (Miscell. Bk. 124) beginning with an interrogatory as to "whether one Eliott gave a Tenement in Exetre nowe in the tenure of John Brycknoll for the fyndyng of a Stypendary priste yerly & an obytt yn the p'she Church of Seynt Petheryck's. . . ." One Harry Tou, gent., aged forty, deposing ". . . that he made dyvers & sondry accompts . . . for the wardeyns of the same pisshe, yn which he remembrith that there was allowance gevyn of iij^s iiij^d for the sayng of depfund' after the salvyte that was dayly song before the image of o^r Ladye & foundyd by M^r Wylfford yn the same church, and not by the forseid Elyott."

William's son and heir, the Robert Wilford who in the Receivers' Rolls is named as the "former" holder of the Eagle and adjoining shops, must have parted with them in the very year in which this reference to him is first found; for among the deeds in the Dymond abstracts we have, under date January, 15 Hen. VI [1437]: "Grant by Robt Wilford to John Coplestone, John Hody, Jno. (or Jas.) Fortescue, & John Mulys, of his dwelling-house in High St. called the Eagle, with 3 shops & solars over, in front of sd. dwelling-house, opposite the Guildhall & near a vacant spot where a Chapel has been rebuilt on the S. part in the direction of the Cathedral Yard," etc.

"Jno. Coteler, Mayor, W. Winard, Recorder, Benedict Drew, John Coscomb, Walter Meryfeld, & Jno. Brown, bailiffs."

There follows the note:—

"6 June, 31 Hen. VI, Fortescue & Coplestone grant the Premises in Fee to Jno. Shillingford."

This was the Mayor Shillingford who played so con-

spicuous a part in the history of Exeter as the champion of the Corporation *versus* the Bishop and Dean and Chapter.¹

It will be remembered that John Coplestone² and John Mules were among the custodians of Richard Hankeford's estate named in the *Pipe Rolls*.

The next abstract in the Dymond Collection is of 3 June, 5 Hen. VII [1490]: "Grant by Philip Skinner, Ex^{or} of will of Robert Wilford, to Robert Farrington, Esq., & his wife Elizabeth the dau. of the aforesaid Robert, of a moiety of the mess'es, etc., to hold of them and their heirs lawfully begotten of sd. Eliz. ; and on failure of issue, with remainder to her brothers James, Edmund, & William Wilford ; and in case of failure on their part, the moiety to descend to right heirs of sd. R. Wilford."

No daughter Elizabeth is named in the account of the descendants of "Robert Wylford of [blank] in the counte of Devonshyr, Esquyr" (printed in the Harl. Soc. *Visn. of Co. Essex*, p. 18), but all his sons are given ; viz. : William (his heir) ; James, second son ; Edmond, third ; Robert fourth.

James, "who weded Elsbeth, dau: of Bateman of Pluckeney in County Kent," had sons—Thomas (his heir) ; John, second ; William, third ; Robert, fourth ; Nicolas, fifth, and daughters (named).

The will (made 5 June, 1527) [Pr. in Ct. of Hustings] of this James Wilford, "Merchant talour," mentions, besides manors and lands in County Kent, and tenements in Tower Street, London, a bequest to his son William of his "lands and tenements at Brodgate within the city of Exeter" (these being, I take it, to eastward of the Lane).

Although James does not allude to his wife in his will, she would seem to have survived him, for the next abstract, dated 5 April, 1 Mary [1554], is an Indenture between Elizabeth Wilford of London, "w^o, of 1 pt. & W^m Wilford of London, Esq. of o^r pt. whereby Eliz. bargained &

¹ For licence to Baldwin Shillingford to grant land in Exeter to the Friar Preachers, see Inqn. A.Q.D. 4^{to} ; and for reference to his house in the Close, the Exeter "Chapter Terrier" before cited.

² John Coplestone, junior, is also mentioned under the Oblates in *Pipe Roll*, No. 281 (1455-6), as having been Receiver of all the manors, lands, etc., that had belonged to Elizabeth, one of the heirs of the Earl of Kent, late wife of Sir John Nevill, defunct [and therefore niece of John, 1st Duke of Exeter], since May in 10 Hen. V.

sold to W^m her lands &c. in Exeter betw. the Chyard of the Cathedral on the S. & the High St. on the N., & the lane leading from the High St. to the Ch.yd. on the W."

John Wilford, the second son of William and Elizabeth, may have inherited his aunt Elizabeth's moiety of the property adjoining Broadgate (answering, I take it, to part of the present corner house, No. 63, or perhaps part of 62), supposing him to be the John to whom the following refers:—

"20 April, 1 Mary [1554]. W^m Wilford, of Mount Jessing, Co. Essex to John Tuckfield of Exeter, Merchant, & Joan his wife; Conveyance in Fee for £120 of same premises with same description, with the addition that they were bounded by the tenement of one John Tothill and John Wilford on the E." [It must be remembered that the Eagle had long previously been sold away from the Wilford family.]

Mr. Dymond adds the note: "Then follow several Tuckfield Deeds."

The Tothill named was no doubt a relative of the leaseholder of the Eagle at about the same period; *vide ante* (p. 503).

Izacke, in his *Alphabetical Register of Devon Benefactors* (p. 147), records that Joan Tuckfield, widow of John Tuckfield, Esq., some time Mayor of the City, by her will, dated 14 June, 1568, bequeathed a tenement in St. Petrock's parish to the Corporation, for a gift of bread to the poor and afterwards by her deed indented, dated 31 August in the same year, "did give and grant to twelve feoffes . . . all those two tenements and shops with the appts. adjoining, in the Parish of St. Martin, in the said City, near unto the Broad Gate there, now in the possession of Edward Spicer, Goldsmith, Nicholas Elwill, & William Warren, Confectioners" . . . "for twelve frocks of frieze and twelve smocks of linen cloth to be given to 12 poor women."

The question has arisen—at what date since the completion of the enclosure scheme of 1285 any buildings first appeared on the churchyard side of the north wall. I take it that before the Reformation no houses other than collegiate or ecclesiastical official residences would have been allowed to encroach upon the Close.

A record in which one might have expected to find reference to the Chapel of the Egle and neighbouring tenements is "the Black Roll" of the properties constituting the "Bishop's Fee of St. Stephen's,"¹ to which the date 1473 has been assigned by a scribe who copied it in 1551,² but if they are included in it I fail to identify them.

Hooker supplements his own copy of the Roll with a "modern" list (i.e. *tempore* Elizabeth), and among tenements of which he remarks:—

"These be not in the Bishop's blacke Rolle," he brackets the following: "From St. Martyn's Lane to St. Petrock's Church: Thomas Southcott Esquier, Sr John Gylberd, Knight; William Moore the Byshopp's Baylyffe; Sue Keare; John Ryder, William Ryder, Mr. Rudgeway, Esquire, Hugh Wyett, Edmonde Greene, Robert Ellacot," but I do not know whether these lay on the city or on the Cathedral side of the Close wall.

Seeing that none of the Guildhall side of the High Street lies within the Parish of St. Martin, I think we must find some very near neighbours of the Egle in the particulars of a grant (Court of Augmentations, No. 129) to William Berners, 28 May, 36 Hen. VIII (1544) being "Percell' Possessionu' nup domus sive Hospit'lis S^ci Joh'is Exon, in Com: Civitat's Exon, sursumredd'." They are described in the margin as: "Om'ia illa iiij^{or} tenta iac' et existen' infra Civitat' Exon', in pochia S^ci Martini, ppe le Guyld hall eiusden Civit'," and the names of the occupants of the shops and houses included in this property and of those bounding them yield the list (from left to right):—

Wm. Collins, Joan Halse, widow; Alice Brown (shop); John Brandon, late John Bury (also to south of next tenement); Thomas Smith, John Smith.

¹ John Hooker, in the article contributed by him to Holinshed's *Chronicle* (p. 1027), writes: "The King, at the request of William Warewest, Bishop [1107-1138], giveth Plimpton, Brampton, and St. Stephen's to the church of Excester. . . . St. Stephen's, with the fee to the same appertaining, he reserved to himself and to his successors, and whereby they are barons and lords of the parlement."

² For this copy, see at Guildhall the MS. volume entitled "Reperitorium" (fol. 44), and for a copy by Hooker, D. and C., No. 3530, which has been privately printed, with coloured reproductions of the plans, by [the Rev.] Herbert Reynolds (to be seen at Brit. Mus.).

POSTSCRIPT.—*Tempore* Wm. Rof, Mayor (1234 or 1253), Willm. and Robt., sons of Margaret de Punchardon, and Alice her dau., release to Roger Gosegh, Chaplain, $\frac{1}{4}$ part of land, houses, and "*soldaria*" opposite the "*Gilhadie*" in High Street, next the house of the Prior of Plympton on the east, and stretching from High Street to Churchyard of St. Peter's. Two seals: I. *A spread eagle* [? any connection with the name of the "*Hospit. de l'Egle*," E. L.-W.] and inscription, "S. Rob. fil. Margarete. II. A star, "S. Alicie fil' Margarete (*Corporation Archives*, No. 647).

In 1224-86, William Talbot held, *inter alia*, Hutteneslegh of John de Ponchardon (*Feudal Aids*, I, 314).

In 1333, Wm. Hardewyne, citizen, and Beatrice his wife granted to Robert de Bradeworthy a mess., with shop and solar adjoining, on south side of High Street (D. and C. Archives, No. 87). In 1375 and 1378, Alice dau. of Robt. Bradeworthy, and widow of Maurice Lovcock, granted to Robert Wilford, son of Wm. son of Robt. and Eliz. Wilford, a tent. in occupn. of John Elegh, and a shop with cellar and solar, opp. the Guildhall to east of the entrance (*introitus*) of John Elegh's house, and all her share in her father's property in Exeter (D. and C. 119, 572, 121, 570). In 1396, Robert Beaumont, parson of St. Martin's Church, granted to Wm. Wilford a tent. bet. Wm. Gerueys on W. and John Talbot, then Mayor, on E. (D. and C. 123. See also 742, 145). In the Mayor's Court Roll, 1419, the Hosp. of St. John claims of Henry Hull and Margery his wife, dau. and h. of John Talbot and Matilda his wife, 1 mess. in High Street bounded on west by Wm. Wilford's, etc.

In 1392-3, the D. and C. granted to Roberte Wylforde, citizen, in (?) the New Tenement newly constructed by him towards the Cathedral Cemetery, a site 53 ft. long, 21 ft. at east, 12 ft. at west, for making a doorway (*ad faciendū hostiū*) open towards the sd. Cemetery, and a stone wall "of the length and width above expressed," and a Chapel upon the same wall. To hold of the D. and C. for 100 years, at 2s. per ann. Right of distraint on the whole of the tenements built behind that tent. and in the shops in High Street opposite the Guildhall and in all other tents. of the sd. Robert. Seal:—Lion's head: Roberti De Wylforde (D. and C. 365. See abstract, my p. 484).

For John Quinel and his Exeter property, see *Episc. Regr.*, *Bronescombe*, fol. 25b, and D. and C. Nos. 52 and 54, from which I gather that John Q., priest, succeeded master Peter Q. as rector of "*Sancti Melani in Kerier*," 7 July, and was instituted to Shobrooke, 18 Nov., 1262. In 1275, John Q., rector of Schotybrok, and Anger Quinel, sons and heirs of John Quinel, quitclaimed tents., formerly of Richard Prouwet and Matilda his dau., in High Street; no doubt the same house in High Street that Nich. Belebuche granted to Richard Pruet and Matilda Belebuche his wife—formerly property of Philip Belebuche his brother (D. and C. 328). In a (15th century ?) List of *Anniversaries* (some founded very anciently, some more recently) occurs the name of "*Matild' ux' Quinel*."

DRAKE'S TREASURE.

BY COLONEL E. T. CLIFFORD, V.D.

(*Chairman London Devonian Association.*)

(Read at Exeter, 24th July, 1912.)

[In submitting this paper I desire to acknowledge my indebtedness to Mr. Michell Whitley. The whole of the details given in the Appendix B, in addition to other matter, were, with much time and labour, extracted by him personally from documents in the Public Record Office.]

AMONG the glorious roll of heroic names which is the proud boast of our county, that of Francis Drake stands pre-eminent.

Drake's greatness lay in his character and his conduct, and may be viewed in his influence even more than his great achievements. Treasure he sought, and with a success unparalleled in one of his station; but it is his purity and patriotism which constitute the first claim to our loving admiration.

If he had ever given himself time to think upon the opportunities of self-aggrandizement he had enjoyed, he might, like Lord Clive in India, have felt "astonished at his own moderation."

In an age when princes and prelates vied with one another in amassing treasure, whether wrung from the poor or wrested from the rich, he stands alone, so far as I know, in resisting temptations to self-seeking. There is a fashion which I would deprecate, of reading the principles and ideals of modern time into the old days, of condemning men like Bacon or Wolsey for meanness or ostentation. But this is as nothing to the error of failing to recognize pre-eminent virtues, such as Drake showed throughout his life, and not least in his indifference to lucre, except as a means to a public end.

In olden days great prelates alone received steady incomes in money; even in the sixteenth century they

rivalled and often surpassed the lay nobles in luxury, display, and self-indulgence.

The objections which they raised against Lutheran doctrines were feeble if compared with the hatred they felt for those who challenged their vested interests—the privilege of wringing pence from the poor, lands from lay nobles, and profits from the exploitation of the New World. Some few there were, no doubt, who kept the spread of the gospel in view, but the vast majority, including the Holy See itself, were ever ready, to quote well-known words, “to join in the plunder and pity the man.” The temporal power had grown at the expense of the spiritual, like a lobster with one claw huge and the other puny, a mere arrested development.

To enter into so wide a subject as the finance of the sixteenth century would lead one too far afield; but I cannot help contrasting Drake's attitude with that of all his compeers and most of his successors. When he might have realized the ambitious dreams of Sir Henry Morgan a hundred years later, and have utilized his abilities to found and rule a buccaneering settlement in the Spanish Main, he devoted his supreme energy to the aggrandizement of his Queen and her growing Empire. By the time when he reached his thirty-fifth year the Spaniards estimated their pecuniary losses through him at a million and a half sterling, besides many hundreds of thousands in ships and general cargoes. From such profits he was contented with a trifling percentage granted to him by a grateful sovereign.

But not even the Spaniards could maintain the charges of cruelty which at first they levelled against him; as Mr. Julian Corbett well puts it, “his very hate was heroic; for a church, or a woman, or an unarmed man he had a noble forbearance that puts the brightest chivalry of his time to the blush, and it was the grateful eulogies of his prisoners of war that crowned his reputation.”

How within the next few years he won his way to respect and influence at home, becoming a trusted counsellor at Court and a public benefactor and potentate in Devon; how the navy—of old a mere auxiliary to the army—grew under the fostering care of Devonians to become our “first line” for defence as well as attack, I need not here recount. Suffice it to say that a new era

of English renown was opened, and the doom of a Spanish world-empire was decreed.

And what was the clue to this enormous change? What was the secret of the new policy? The answer lies in one word, "patriotism"; and the chief exponent of the new force was Francis Drake.

Useful as were the ingots of silver, the golden bullion, and the priceless jewels to fill a depleted exchequer, to build and equip fleets, and to pay in cash for good service rendered, they were but a paltry contribution in comparison with the spirit of patriotism which was evoked by the self-sacrificing devotion of Drake and his compeers. Nothing I have ever read has struck me more than Drake's sermon preached off Magellan Straits to a crew of malcontents led by some who should have known better :—

"I must have the gentleman to haul and draw with the mariner and the mariner with the gentleman."

By sheer moral ascendancy he won his way. It was not till he had beaten down those who disputed his authority, that he reminded them that he held his Queen's commission.

"*Drake's Treasure*," then, was not gold, but character, which enabled him to turn to account every force, and utilize every fibre in those who came within the sphere of his influence, and this treasure he bequeathed to this nation, with whom it remains, a priceless and incorruptible heritage.

Now let me turn for a moment to Drake's material treasure, and the circumstances under which he secured it; and here it is not out of place to point out that of this material treasure only a vestige can with certainty be traced.

Born in Devon, and of good Devon stock, about 1540-45, in the later years of the reign of Henry VIII, Drake's boyhood was passed amongst men whose one besetting dread was the might of Philip II, the fear lest England should sink into a mere appanage of the Spanish empire, and her people should first be humbled and then exploited in the interests of cruel bigots. But as, in the past, the Spanish peoples had been welded into a coherent nation by their hatred for the Turk and the Moor, so the English, under the guidance of men like our hero,

were to beat down the overweening pride and power of the Iberian Colossus, and defy the traditions of the "Holy Empire" itself.

In these stirring times England was awakening to a sense of her might and piety; pride and patriotism alike appealed, and not in vain, to the rising generation, who watched in dire exasperation the brutal inhumanity under which their co-religionists in the Netherlands were groaning, and even had to suffer awhile the stoppage of their trade and the seizure of their ships by order of a foreign monarch. It was in the west, and above all in Devon, far away from the narrow seas dominated by the stranger, that love of freedom and of adventure called Englishmen to a struggle which ended in establishing their claim to be a nation of the first rank. And of this high spirit no finer example can be found than Francis Drake, who threw himself heart and soul into the great movement, uniting brilliant genius and undaunted courage with a stern puritanism, which made him strive to uproot the idolatry which pervaded the greater part of the Christian world. He was, no doubt, a treasure-hunter, but his whole career was a protest against sordid love of pelf, against pedantic hypocrisy in high places, and ignoble self-seeking everywhere. Amongst his earliest experiences was the rescue of a remnant of a Plymouth crew from Spanish dungeons; but it was not till the year 1567 that he actually bore arms against Spain under his kinsman, John Hawkins, whose expedition, however, was unsuccessful, and whose squadron was shattered at San Juan de Luz. His resentment was heightened by a narrow escape from the Spanish Main in the following year, where he nearly fell a victim to a stratagem which he regarded as treacherous. Returning, however, a little later to the scenes of his discomfiture, he spied out in the enemy's defences certain weak places, and gained information which he put to good use thereafter. A glimpse of the Pacific Ocean fired his imagination, and in 1577 he set sail once more from Plymouth, with a tiny squadron of three ships and a pinnace and a store-ship, representing in all 275 tons, mounting 56 guns and carrying crews of about 160 men, gentlemen and sailors. Making his way, by the Cape de Verde Isles and the Argentine, to the shores of Patagonia, despite the loss of all (through misfortune, not war) save his own ship, the *Golden Hind*,

100 tons, 18 guns, and a crew of 75, he passed the Straits of Magellan. After sailing up the western coasts of South America he returned home across the Pacific Ocean, the South Seas, and the Atlantic. He had been away from home three years, during which period he had sailed round the world, the first Englishman to do so.

Not till Charles I was seated on the throne of a united Great Britain was any precise statement of Drake's hard-won treasure given to the world. Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth had not deemed it expedient to make a boast of her subject's successes. But if treasure to the value of 760,000 pesos (or dollars) was taken on that occasion, we may conclude that no single expedition had been more repaying since Alexander the Great rifled the royal vaults of the Persian emperor.

In vain did the haughty Spaniard humble himself to seek damages from England; in vain did peninsular devotees implore Heaven to chastise the man whom they fondly dubbed the "enemy of God." The spell was broken; "the spirits they called from the vasty deep" came not. Impunity bore its fruits; in 1585 Drake sailed out to the West Indies and brought back—along with a sample of the strange herb tobacco—a trifling sum of £60,000, approximately equal in our currency to, say, £750,000. In the spring of 1587, on the eve of the mighty conflict, Drake was commissioned to forestall the conjunction of the various fleets of Spain; and if his advice had been followed, doubtless he would have "stopped Philip for ever," instead of merely "singeing the beard" of that monarch. His wish was to take out a strong force and prevent the Armada from leaving Spanish waters. But his counsels were overridden, and he had perforce to content himself with striking a blow at the East Indian trade of Spain, and capturing that great Portuguese carrack, the *San Felipe*, with treasure on board valued (at present prices) at more than a million sterling, out of which only £17,000 went to Sir Francis as his share.

From our present point of view the Armada itself calls for nothing beyond mention. Though it was followed by the capture of numerous privateers, no trace is found of any important treasures therefrom, and the natural depression which succeeded to the wild elation of the recent period may help to account for the sad fact that after giving the best years of his life to crippling Spain,

in point of ships, men, and money, his later years were passed in disappointment and increasing gloom.

Finally, in 1595 Drake and Hawkins, as joint-commanders with Lieut.-Gen. Sir Nicholas Clifford as military commander, sailed for the West Indies. Hawkins died on 12 November, Clifford was killed in action a few days after, and on 28 January, 1596, died Drake, of whom Fuller wrote: "This our captain was a religious man towards God and His houses, generally sparing churches where he came; chaste in his life, just in his dealings, true to his word, and merciful to those who were under him, hating nothing so much as idleness."

England had called for an open fight with Spain, and a stern, if less direct, struggle with Rome; both summonses were answered by Drake, whose ambition was that England could and should be the dominant sea power, and whose noble prayer, uttered in the spring of 1588, may fitly be repeated here:—

"That the Lord of all strength will put into Her Majesty and her people courage and boldness; not to fear any invasion of her own country, but to seek God's enemies and Her Majesty's where they may be found."

I have finished my story. I have endeavoured, in the briefest manner, to give an outline of Drake's life and character and work. What material treasure he won is hardly worth considering, but the moral treasure he gave to posterity is a glorious legacy that in my opinion has been unequalled by any other Devonian, whether he be a soldier, sailor, statesman, poet, or painter.

Devonians are the inheritors and trustees of that great man's precepts and example. We Devonians in London have with pride recognized our responsibility, and adopted him as our county's hero. To his immortal memory we gather annually on Armada Day, and we invite Devonians all over the world, whether by birth, or descent, or residents, or exiles, to join our celebrations in recognition of our admiration and obligations. We trust that London, the heart of that empire for which he strove, and not in vain, may one day wake up to a sense of its responsibilities, and place on record his due by erecting there a statue worthy of the name and fame of the man who saved England, almost in spite of herself, and laid the foundations of this great Empire.

APPENDIX A.

DRAKE'S JOURNEYINGS.

In 1567 Drake joined his kinsman, John Hawkins, in an expedition against Spain, where he commanded the *Judith*, of 50 tons burden, but at San Juan de Luz the squadron was destroyed, with the exception of Hawkins' ship and his own.

In 1570-71 he made two voyages to the West Indies, to obtain information as to the Spanish possessions there.

In 1572 he made another voyage to the Spanish Main. Here he captured Nombre de Dios, burnt Porto Bello, sacked Vera Cruz, burnt several ships, and returned to Plymouth in August, 1573. The treasure he brought back with him amounted to a very considerable sum, and his share made him a comparatively wealthy man. During this voyage he marched across the Isthmus of Panama, and resolved to sail an English ship in the Pacific Ocean.

On 12 December, 1577, Drake sailed from Plymouth Sound. The squadron consisted of the *Pelican*, his own ship of 100 tons and 18 guns, equal in size to an ordinary schooner; the *Elizabeth*, 80 tons and 16 guns; a bark, the *Marigold*, of 30 tons and 16 guns; the *Swan*, a store-ship, 50 tons and 5 small guns, and the *Benedict*, a pinnace of 15 tons and 1 gun. The crews numbered about 150.

The fleet sailed to the Cape de Verde Islands, then across the Atlantic to the River Plate. At Port St. Julian, on the coast of Patagonia, the *Swan* and the *Benedict*, being unseaworthy, were broken up, and only three ships passed through the Straits of Magellan. Immediately afterwards a violent storm arose, during which the *Marigold* went down with all hands, and Wynter, in the *Elizabeth*, lost the admiral and returned home. So with only one ship the undaunted Drake held on to Valparaiso. Here they found a large galleon called the *Great Captain of the South*, which they captured, finding on board fine gold to the value of about £80,000 of our money, and a great cross of gold set with emeralds, on which was nailed a God of the same metal.

Tarapaca was next visited, the port to which silver was brought down from the mountains to be shipped to Panama, and Drake secured a large quantity and shipped it. Another ship was captured north of Lima, near Cape San Francisco, with 15,000 pesos¹ in wedges of pure gold, and a great gold crucifix set with emeralds as large as pigeons' eggs. Off Quito they overtook and captured the richest vessel in the South Sea, the *Neustra Senora de la Concepcion*, nicknamed the *Cacafuego* or "Spit-fire," richly laden with treasure.

After the capture of the *Cacafuego* she was taken out to sea, and the treasure removed and stored on board Drake's ship.

The exact amount has never been accurately ascertained. The narrative of the voyage published in 1628 says it consisted of thirteen chests of pieces of eight, eighty pounds of gold, and twenty-six pounds of silver, besides jewels and plate.

The registered treasure alone was valued at 360,000, and the unregistered at 400,000 pesos; the *Golden Hind*, to which name Drake had altered the *Pelican*, was practically ballasted with silver.

The empty *Cacafuego* was allowed to sail away. Off the coast of Mexico, Drake met and captured another ship with a cargo of silks and porcelain from China, and took away the most valuable portions of the freight, including a golden crucifix set in goodly emeralds. From a ship from Manilla he took much merchandise and treasure, including a "falcon of gold with great emeralds in the breast thereof," and from the *Gualoleo* a bushful of silver reales and a gold chain and jewels.

Having refitted in the Bay of Canoa, he set off on his homeward voyage across the Pacific and around the Cape of Good Hope, and arrived home in Plymouth Sound in September, 1580, arriving at Deptford shortly after, where he was visited and knighted by the Queen.

The story is taken up by documents in the Public Record Office, given in Appendix B.

The Queen was delighted at his success, but the Spanish ambassador complained that he had information from his King that Drake had spoiled his subjects, that the spoil was of great importance, a great quantity of bullion and pearls

¹ A peso was equal to about 6s.

taken in Mar del Sur belonging partly to the King and partly to his subjects, also that in fight Drake had cut off the hands of His Majesty's subjects, and he therefore demanded justice.¹

In reply to the demand of the ambassador the Council ordered Edmund Tremayne, Clerk of the Privy Council, who was then living at Collacombe in Lamerton, to register the treasure,² but the Queen wrote him a private letter, which was to be kept most secret,³ that Drake was to have access to it before this was done, and was also to be allowed to take £10,000 for himself, which he did, and in addition removed some of the most precious items of gold and jewels for the Queen and others. The remainder was brought to London and lodged in the Tower.⁴ The officers and crew of the *Golden Hind* unanimously swore that the accusations of the Spanish ambassador were false.⁵

In 1585 Drake again sailed to the West Indies, attacked and did great damage to the Spanish settlements and shipping, and brought back treasure valued at £60,000, and tobacco.

In 1587, when war between England and Spain was imminent, Drake was commissioned to forestall Philip and strike the first blow for the Queen; his commission was to prevent the joining of the King of Spain's fleets out of their several ports, to cut off their provisions, to follow and worry them in case of an attack on England, to damage their trade, and to attack their ships in their own havens.

On 1 April, 1587, he sailed from Plymouth, attacked the Spanish fleet in the harbour of Cadiz, sank and burnt thirty-three of them, several of them large, and captured four laden with provisions, carrying out his advice to "stop him [Philip] now, and stop him for ever," and there is little doubt that had his advice been taken to send a strong fleet to the coast of Spain in the spring of 1588, the Armada would never have sailed.

After "singeing the King of Spain's beard" at home, he set sail for the Azores to endeavour to intercept a rich carrack homeward bound from the East Indies, which had been wintering at Mozambique, called the *San Felipe*, a source of special anxiety to the King of Spain.

¹ *State Papers, Foreign*, 29 October, 1586.

² Appendix B, No. 3.

³ Appendix B, No. 2.

⁴ Appendix B, No. 4.

⁵ Appendix B, No. 3.

On 8 June, sixteen days out from St. Vincent, St. Michael's hove in sight. Here the *San Felip* was found and captured, "the King of Spain's own East India man, the greatest ship of all Portugal richly laden," which he brought into Plymouth Sound on 25 June, 1587, and anchored her off Saltash in the Hamoaze, with a splendid booty and a reputation unsurpassed in Europe. In all these wars there was no campaign to match that of 1587.

The *San Felip* was valued at:—¹

General Cargo	£108,049 13 11
Treasure and Jewels	3,900 0 0
Ship and Ordnance	2,000 0 0
	£113,949 13 11

representing over a million in present money.

APPENDIX B.

EXTRACTS FROM RECORDS IN THE PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE.

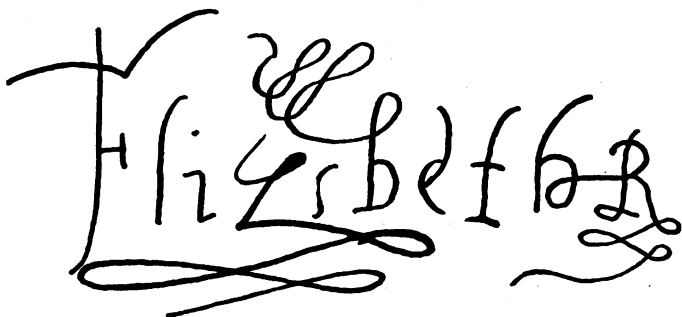
No. 1.

Bernardino de Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador, writes the King of Spain on 16 October, 1580, that:—

After Drake had landed the money he had stolen, he saw the Queen, and the Council ordered the money to be registered and handed over to the Queen's possession in the Tower; but Leicester, Hatton, and Walsingham, being the principal owners in the venture, refused to sign the order, saying they would speak to the Queen first; after they had done so she ordered the suspension of the letter, and that the rumour should be spread that Drake had not brought much money home (*S.P., Spanish*, Elizabeth, 1580, No. 44).

¹ Appendix B, Nos. 5, 6.

No. 2.

The Queen to Edmund Tremayne.


Trustie and well beloved we greet you well, whereas by letters lately written unto you by oure commandment from secretarye Walsyngham you were wylled in owre name to give your assistance unto our well beloved subject Francys Drake, for the save bestowing of certayn bullyon lately by him brought into this oure realme, which our pleasure is shall now be sent up as you shall further understand by the seyd Drake, wherein you are to assist him according to suche dyrectyon as you shall receive from oure pry councell: These are therefore to let you understande yt we are pleased for certayn good reasons—that there shoold be lefte in the handes of the sayd Drake so muche of the sayd Bullyon by him brought home as may amount unto the somme of ten thousand powndes which we requyre you to see performed accordingly. And forasmoeche as for sundrye good reasons we thinke yt verrye meet that the leving of the seyd somme in his handes shoold be kept most secreat to your selfe alone we therefor charge you that the some be used accordyngly whereof we need not to doubt having heretofore by former experience had so good proof of your service. Geven at owre Manner of Richemounde the 24th of Octobre in the 22nd yeare of owre reygne (*S.P.D.*, Elizabeth, Vol. 143, No. 30, 24 Oct., 1580).

No. 3.

The San Felip.

On 8 November, 1580, Edmund Tremayne writes to Walsyngham from Colocumbe. He expresses his great satisfaction at having Mr. Christopher Harris associated with him in charge of the treasure brought home by Francis Drake.

Harris he has long treated as a son, and Mr. Drake has also become of the same parentage. Has administered interrogatories to the gentlemen and others of Drake's company as to the value of his captures reputed to the amount of one million and a half, the interrogatories being as follows :—

Firstly. Whether Mr. Drake and his company had taken from the King of Spain and his subjects in goulde and sylver to the value of one million and a half.

Secondly. Whether they have in their voyage taken any ships or vessels of the said King or his subjects, and after sunk them with the men or marriners or not.

Thirdly. Whether they had at any time on any ship killed any of the said King's subjects or had cut off their hands or arms or otherwise with cruelty mangled them, or any of them.

Tremayne had also left the amount of £10,000 in Drake's hands selected by himself.

Encloses.

1. The 5th November, 1580. The register of such treasure as is delivered unto Chr Harris Esq. to be safely conducted and delivered unto the Tower, with the number of peces in every pack and what they contain in weight at 5 score and 12 lbs every hundred.

There were 46 packs of treasure averaging over 2 cwt. each, the total amount being 4 tons 15 cwt. 4 lbs.

(Signed)

J Tremayne
J vanneis
Drake
Chr: harris

The answers to the interrogatories.

Lawrence Elyot

2. To the fyrst I saye that to the valew I cann saye nothings the thinge being unknowen unto me, only sylver and some Gould their was taken but how moche I know not but a verie small some in respecte of yt as is reported.

To the second I confesse their weare shypps taken, but that any weare soncken wth their men and mariners yt is alltogether untrew.

To the thirde that to my knowledge there was no Spaniarde slaine by any of us or had their armes or handes cutt off or otherwyse by any creweltie mangled or maimed, only on man I remember was hurt in the face, w^{ch} our Generall cawsed to be sent for, and lodged him in his owne shipp, seet him at his own table, and would not soffer him to depart before he was recovered, and so sent him safe awaye.

John Chester—

To the fyrste, second and third artycle do afyrme as ys above rehersed and wyll justyfy the same uppon my othe.

Gregory Cary—

To the fyrste, second and third artycle do afyrme as above rehersed, and will justyfy the same uppon my othe.

George Fortescu—

To the fyrste, second and third artycle do afyrme as above rehersed and will justyfy the same uppon my othe.

And the like do all the rest afferme whose names do heare after folowe.

Francis Fletcher.	William Sholle.	Robarte Pollimone.
Chrystopher Hals.	Thomas Blacollers.	John Fowler.
Thomas Hood.	Thomas Mone.	Launsolet Garget.
Thomas Sothern.	Thomas Meckes.	Richard Writ.
Thomas Drake.	Roger Kingesuod.	Richard Clarke.
John Brewar.	John Grepe.	Willam Horsewill.
Richard Cadwell.	Thomas Crane.	John Blacoler.
Jhan Laus.	Willam Legee.	Powell Jemes.
Bartel Myeues	John Marten,	John Kidde.
Gotfalck.	Stewerd.	Richard Rowles.
Grygorye Rayment.	Chrastefor Waspe.	Jeames Milles.
John Drake.	Roger Player.	Simon Woodd.
John Mariner.	Thomas Haylston.	Thomas Hogges.
Necolas Mour.	Willan Smyth.	John Martyn.
John Huse.	Renold Danelles.	John Watterton.
Dennes Foster.	Thomas Markes.	

(S.P.D., Elizabeth, Vol. 144, No. 17, II).

These names are those of the survivors of the first expedition which sailed round the world with Drake in the *Pelican*, afterwards named the *Golden Hind*.

Amongst these names are those of Thomas Drake, the admiral's youngest brother, and John Drake, his page (*S.P.D.*, Elizabeth, Vol. 144, No. 17).

No. 4.

The Quantity of the bullion brought into ye tower by Fr. Drake.

Silver Bullion in Ingotes brought from Sion and laid up in a vault under ye jewell house there, weighted as followeth :—

650 ingots weighing 22,899 lbs. 5 ozs.

The course sylver otherwise called corrento reteined in little cakes and small broken pieces weighed 512 lbs. 6 ozs.

24th Dec., 1580. Golde bullion reteined in ingottes and cakes remaining in four several bages containing viz.

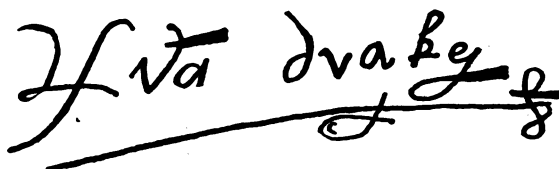
	lbs.	ozs.
1. 15 parcels weighed together	26	11½
2. 10 " " "	32	7¼
3. 7 " " "	27	11½
4. 6 " " "	14	3¼

Sum total of the weight of the same golde 101 lbs. 10 ozs.

Signed by

Richard Martyn Alderman.

Chris Harris.



Endorsed in the back by Burghley.

(*S.P.D.*, Elizabeth, Vol. 144, No. 60.)

No. 5.

*Extract from letter from Mendoza to the King of Spain,
1581, Jan. 9th.*

"Drake is squandering more money than any man in England.

He gave to the Queen the Crown which I described in a former letter as having been made here. She wore it on New Year's Day. It has in it five emeralds, three of them as long as a little figure, whilst the two round ones are valued at 20,000 crowns, coming, as they do, from Peru.

He has also given the Queen a diamond cross as a New Year's gift, as is the custom here, of the value of 5000 crowns."

(*S.P.*, Spanish, 1581, No. 60.)

No. 6.

A note or inventory of a small casket with divers jewels viewed in the town of Saltash ; the said casket being garnished with gold with two keys and a small chain of gold to the same. The which casket and jewels Sir Francis Drake hath taken charge to deliver unto her majesty with his own hands.

A Note or Inventorye of a small Caskett with divers Jewells viewed by us in the Towne of Saltashe the 6th of Julye, 1587, contayning as followeth :—

Five forkes of golde.

Twelve haftes of golde for knyves to saye sixe of one sorte and sixe of another.

One Chayne of golde with longe linkes and hookes.

One chayne of golde with a tablett havinge a picture of Christe in gold.

One chayne with a Tablett of crestall and a cross of golde.

One chayne of golde of Esses with fower Diamondes and fower Rubyes sett in a Tablett.

One chayne of smale Beadestones of golde.

One small chayne of golde with roughe linckes and a Tablett hanging unto it with the picture of Christ and our Ladye.

Two pendens of golde for the eares.

Three Bracelettes of golde eiche with a crosse of sondrye fashion.

A girdle of Christall garnished with golde.

A payer of Beades of Beniamyn garnished with golde.

Three rings of golde with stones.

One rounde hoope of golde inameled with blacke.

One smale ringe of golde with a Pearell.

Three heads and three rings of golde for walkinge staves.

One boole of golde and five spoones of golde.

Two pomanders the one with a smale chayne of golde and garnished with golde.

One pomander garnished with golde and a pearell hanginge to the same.

One small Box with some Muske in it.

A certayne quantitie in peces of Amber greece.

One hundred eightye and nyne smale stones which wee esteeme to be Garnettes.

Thirtye Aggettes smale and greate.

Eleaven other stones of a greene cullor with spottes of read.

One Blood stone.

One white clothe in the which there goeth diverse smale stones thought to be of smale valew.

The said Caskett garnished with golde with two keyes and a smale chayne of golde to the same. The which caskett and Jewelles before rehearsed Sir Fraunces Drake hath taken charge to deliyyver unto her Majestie with his owne handes at this presente.

John Gilbert. Thomas Gorges. Fred. Godolphin.
Edwd. Carye. John Hawkyns. Hy. Billensley.

(S.P.D., Elizabeth, Vol. 202, No. 53, 11th July, 1587.)

No. 7.

An estimate of all the merchandise discharged out of the Carricke Called Ye St. Phillip in the Ryver of Saltashe.

Imprimis. 6573 peces of Starcht calico cloth sounde and goode.

1022 peces of Brod unstarcht calico sound and good.

2778 peces of Callicos in papers sound and good.

1452 peces of Callico Lawnes sound and good.

1705 peces of corse whole unstarcht calicos.

1162 peces of corse calicos of 3 to 2 sound and good.

7423 peces of corse calicos of 3 to 1 sound and good.

418 peces of corse calicos towells sound and good.

410 peces of paynted pintados sound and good.

98 peces of calico diepers for cubbord clothes.

18 peces of fine calicos called callikens sound and good.

78 bundells of fine whyte China silke sound and good.

90 peces of stiched callicos called Boultellis.

214 peces of cullerd Buckerams sound and good.

72 peces of cullerd Sipres sound and good.

5 Quiltes whereof 4 of callico and 1 of sarsenett.

12 carpets of turkey and other thromba worke.

10 striped carpettes of another sort.

47 peces of collerd singell taffytas sound and good.

11 peces of changable silke and cruell boratos.

49 peces of whyte sarsenettes sound and good.

All the foresaid priced and valued by estimation at 15,576 10 8

Secondly.

40 bundells of fine whyte china Silk much taynted.

1105 peces of starcht Callicos much spoyled.

636 peces of starcht Cullicos more spoyled with wett.

155 peces of unstarcht Callicos spoyled with wett.

298 peces of Callico Lawnes all spoyled with wett.

67 peces of Callicos in papers spoyled with wett.
 44 peces of Cullerd Sipres spoyled with wett.
 6 peces of Cullerd Tynsell Taffetas wett.
 29 peces of whyte sarsenett wet and taynted.

All the foresaid goodes of taynted ware	
amount to	887 13 4

Thirdly.

420 bales of Indigo blew valued at 36 li. a bale amount to	15,120 0 0
330 tonnes of Dry pepper valued at 130 li. the tonne	42,900 0 0
124 tonnes of wet pepper valued at 70 li. the tonne	8,680 0 0
216 Kyntalls of Symamon I say 218 valued at 28 li. the Kintall	6,104 0 0
105 Kyntalls of Cloves valued at 20 li. the Kyntall	2,100 0 0
1800 pounds of Mace in 6 chestes valued at 100 li. the cheste	600 0 0
2000 pounds of Beniamin valued at 28 li. the C amounts to	560 0 0
1800 pounds of China in 3 pipes valued at 100 li. a pipe	300 0 0
70 Kyntalls of Lacry valued at 4 li. the kyntall	280 0 0
15 Pipes of Saltpeter valued at 30 li. the pipe	450 0 0
12 hundreth of wax in 2 pipes valued at 20 li. a pipe	40 0 0
2 pipes of Nutmegg valued at 75 li. the pipe	150 0 0
80 tonnes of Ibony in 3560 endes valued at 10 li. a tonne	800 0 0
6 Chestes of fine whyte china Silke unsene valued at	1,200 0 0
(Which chests are sold to John Hills, but not delivered.)	
For dyvers drughes and other odd things not particularized, but say	100 0 0
Some total of all the things therein	95,848 4 0

Fourthly.

39½ tonnes of pepper left at Saltashe at 130 li. ye tonne	5,135 0 0
19 C of Symamon left also at Saltashe at 28 li. the C	532 0 0
1 chest of Mace Weight 3. 2. 0. valued being at Saltashe	100 0 0
12 C. of Cloves left at Saltashe valued at 20 li. the C	240 0 0
11 C of Indico blue left at Saltashe valued at 30 li. the C	330 0 0
Lastly sold at Saltashe sundry parcells of wares amounting to	5,864 9 11

So the totall of the whole amounts to . 108,049 13 11

Fras. Drake. Thos. Georges. Edward Carye.
Henry Billingsley.
(S.P.D., Elizabeth, Vol. 204, No. 9, 8th Oct., 1587.)

ADDITIONAL NOTE.—In the list of survivors given on p. 524, the first twenty signed their own names, showing that they were educated men; and the first four, who deposed separately, were gentlemen adventurers, belonging to good families. Elyot was apparently the eldest son of Lawrence Elyot of Godalming, for we find that his youngest brother Edward (aged fifty-six in 1620) settled at Tavistock. Chester was the son of Sir William Chester, a former Lord Mayor of London; he went on Hawkins' voyage to the West Indies, 1564-5, and on the present voyage was originally captain of the *Swan*. Cary was probably the brother of Sir George Cary of Cockington. Fortescue may have been the son of Richard Fortescue of Filleigh; he was captain of the bark *Bonner* in Drake's expedition of 1585-6, and died or was killed on that voyage. The first name on the general list is that of Fletcher, the chaplain, who wrote an account of the voyage. Hals was probably the son of John Hals, Esq., of Kenedon, near Tavistock. Hood was master of the ship; he and Blacollers went as pilots on Fenton's voyage in 1582, and he went again in the same capacity in the Earl of Cumberland's expedition of 1586. Brewar, the trumpeter, was one of Hatton's men. The two Dutchmen were probably cartographers. Rayment was, no doubt, the "Mr. Raymund" who went with Sir Richard Grenville to Virginia in 1585, and Huse the "John Hewes" who went with Captains Amadas and Barlow the previous year. John Drake went as captain of the *Francis* in Fenton's voyage, and was taken captive by the natives near the River Plate. Blacollers was a Plymouth man, the same as "Thomas Blackley, Boteswayne of the *Pellican*"; he went as pilot on Fenton's voyage, and was also captured by natives. Mone went as carpenter on Drake's expedition of 1572, but on this voyage he started as captain of the pinnace; he was captain of the *Francis* in Drake's expedition of 1585-6, and died of wounds received at Cartagena. John Marten, the steward, was "especially prively to this voyadge," and probably had charge of the treasure; a man of this name was captain of the *Benjamin* in 1585-6. Of the rest little is known, but several of them appear in other records relating to the voyage.

R. P. C.

THE MARITIME TRADE OF EXETER IN MEDIÆVAL TIMES.

BY H. MICHELL WHITLEY.

(Read at Exeter, 24th July, 1912.)

WHILST the north coast of Devon and Cornwall is devoid of easily accessible and safe harbours, the south coast possesses several.

Helford, Falmouth, Fowey, Plymouth, Salcombe, and Dartmouth are secure landlocked havens easy of access, and possessing every facility for trade and shelter.

It is to this circumstance and their favourable situation with regard to foreign ports, that the Western Counties are indebted to the great expansion of their maritime trade, and to the creation of a type of hardy mariners to whose courage and skill England owes so much.

Although Exeter, like Teignmouth, does not possess a harbour of the same type, but one more resembling those on the north coast, its antiquity and central position (which was so favourable for the woollen trade, the staple industry of Devon in mediæval times) attracted to it a very considerable amount of the commerce of the county.

The River Exe, near the city, was formerly much wider and deeper, but it gradually silted up, as is the case with most rivers flowing into such havens, but the small ships of the period came up it and loaded and unloaded their goods at the quay near the watergate, although later Topsham was the main port of Exeter.

In the reign of Henry III, however, Isabella de Fortibus, Countess of Devon, built a weir called "Countess Weir," with a small opening for the passage of vessels, which was, however, closed in 1283; other weirs being afterwards added, and retained to the injury of the navigation, although numerous attempts were made by the citizens to obtain their abolition.

In 1563-7 a canal was made from Topsham to Exeter, and was deepened, extended, and practically reconstructed between 1820 and 1830.

In the reign of Edward I the commerce of England rapidly expanded : in addition to the trade with Norway and Germany, the important wool trade with Flanders, and the wine trade with Gascony, commerce sprang up to Italy, Spain, and Venice, and this growth continued throughout the fourteenth century.

England was the great wool-producing country of the west ; at first few woollen fabrics were woven at home, the bulk of the wool being exported to Bruges or Ghent almost entirely in foreign vessels, but during the fourteenth century this trade was gradually transferred to English hands, whilst the development of the staple system, the beginnings of the English cloth manufacture, and the rise of the English mariners (men who knew the majority of the havens of Europe) showed English commerce becoming more extensive and supplanting the foreigner.

The merchants of the staple had a monopoly in the purchase and export of the staple commodities of England—wool, woolfels,¹ leather, tin, and lead.

The staple towns (of which Exeter was one) were appointed by the King as the centres for the trade of the merchants of the staple, and in return for the privileges granted a tax was put on the commodities in 1353, but the growth of the system dates from Edward I, who bought the town of Antwerp and established there the foreign centre for the wool trade.

Collectors of the subsidies and customs were appointed for the various ports, and a large number of their accounts are preserved at the Public Record Office (K.R. Customs Accounts).

There are about one hundred and sixty-five which relate to the Port of Exeter, but it will be sufficient for the purposes of this paper to give extracts from a few only.

The earliest one relating to Exeter is dated 1286, being a controlment of customs of wool at 6s. 8d. a last. John Hawley, of Dartmouth, was one of the collectors in 1390, but the roll indicates only two ships laden with wool.²

In the twentieth year of King Richard II, 1396, a writ

¹ Sheepskins.

² K.R. Customs Accounts 48.

was issued to the collectors of customs and subsidies of the Port of Exeter to inquire into the cost of carriage of two great masts, which had been given by Thomas Knapp of Bristol, and John Hawley of Dartmouth, with the necessary appurtenances, from the latter town to Greenwich, and to settle the claim, and the account is as follows :—

K.R. Customs Accounts 49

“The particular account of William Selby and William Daryot collectors of the subsidies of 3 shillings on every tun of wine and 12d. a lb. [on wool] in the port of Exeter ; of divers wages and payments under the authority of the King, dated 8th July in the year of his reign the 20th, for the carriage of two great masts and all the accessories for a King’s ship ; being at Dartmouth, given by Thomas Knapp of Bristol, and John Hawley of Dartmouth, including all wages and expenses as follows :—

Expenses. They account for the wages, etc. the 23rd July anno reg. 20th.

For divers labourers drawing the aforesaid two masts from Dartmouth to the sea port	0	4	5
For ropes for the same to bind the said two masts and for gear bought for the same, in the whole..	0	17	8
And for a cable bought to draw the aforesaid two masts to the sea	0	75	0
And for one hawser bought for the same	0	57	6
And for divers labourers, carrying chains, and other necessities to the barge	0	2	0
And for one iron swivel bought for a swingletree ...	0	6	8
And for wages of the mariners taking the aforesaid two masts, and accessories by sea from Dartmouth as far as Greenwich makes in the whole.	8	0	0
And for one pipe of cider bought for their drinking..	0	6	8
And for one barrel of ale bought for the same mariners	0	3	0

The sum of the wages and payments £16 12s. 11d.

A memorandum on the back states that the collectors account for “2 great masts, one given by Thos. Knapp and the other by John Hawley, 3 ankers, 22 chains, 6 iron bolts, 1 cable, and one hawser.”

There is also appended an indenture acknowledging the receipt of the above at Greenwich from the hands of

Stenene Modberd, mariner, the master of the barge that took the masts from Dartmouth.

As an early example of the trade of Exeter the Customs Roll of 1398-9 is a good specimen (App. No. 1). The exports were whitestraights (a coarse cloth made in large quantities in Devonshire), friezes, and dried fish, whilst the imports were wine, woad, salmon, waynstotts, salt, copper, cress cloth (fine linen cloth), and (curiously) cyder.

The date of the next Roll transcribed is 1493 (App. No. 2); this shows a great increase in the trade of Exeter, there being sixty-seven ships entering and leaving the port in the six months. The exports now comprised white-straights, frieze, white frieze, leather, pewter vessels, lead, and large quantities of dried and salted fish, including buckhorn (dried whiting), mackerel, and dentries; church bells were also sent abroad, and there was an extensive export trade in tin, not only from Devon, but also from Cornwall; the former pieces uniformly weighed 100 lbs. each, but the Cornish were much larger, from 200 to 250 lbs. a piece.

The value for the former was put at 20s. for 100 lbs., for the latter generally a little more.

The imports were oranges, wine, canvas, cress cloth, glass, drinking-glasses, cards, woad, roysn, almonds, oil, white paper, iron, Mazer cups (bowls of maple wood often mounted with silver-gilt bands), dried salmon, and congers; quilts, sack, tennys balls, litmoss, tar, and large quantities of salt.

We pass on now to the reign of Elizabeth and the great expansion of commerce which took place in her time. The linen trade was in its infancy, and silk-weaving had been just introduced; but the woollen manufacture was attaining large proportions, and wool was no longer sent to be woven in Flanders.

The south and west were the great centres of manufactures, mining, and wealth, and the broadcloths of Devon took the lead among the woollen stuffs of England.

The Customers Book for the Port of Exeter from Easter to Michaelmas, 1588, giving the entries and tonnage of vessels crossing the seas (App. No. 3), supplies some interesting information, and it shows how small the ships of the period were. Within the haven of Exeter itself

twenty-four ships are enumerated. Topsham heads the list with eleven, ranging from 15 to 40 tons burden; Kenton had five, from 16 to 36; Exeter four, from 20 to 38, and Exmouth four, from 25 to 40.

In 1572 Thomas Coleshill compiled a valuable list of the number of merchant ships in all the ports and creeks within the realm of England from the respective customer's accounts from Michaelmas, 1571, to Michaelmas, 1572,¹ which gives a good idea of the relative importance of the ports of Devon. The Port of Exeter included as its members all the other ports in Devon, with the exception of Plymouth, which embraced the whole of the Cornish havens.

Topsham possessed fourteen ships: the *Emanuel*, 50 tons; the *Jenett*, 40 tons; the *Mary Martyn* 30; the *Mary Michall* 30; the *Mary Page* 25; the *Angell* 20; the *Dragon* 20; the *Gabriell* 20; the *Jonas* 20; the *Trinitie* 20; the *Greyhound* 18; the *Mary* 18; the *Faulcon* 16, and the *Mynyon* 16.

Powderham had four ships: the *Harry*, 25 tons; the *Mary Wytchally* 20; the *Clement* 15, and the *Kateryn* 15.

Kenton owned six: the *Nicholas*, 30 tons; the *Gregory* 20; the *Mary* 20; the *Michall* 20; the *Trinitie* 20, and the *Julian* 15.

Exmouth had five: the *Barthilmew*, 50 tons; the *Mary Martyn* 40; the *Mary Grace* 20; the *Primerose* 20; the *Harry* 15.

The members were Teignmouth with five ships ranging from 10 to 40 tons, Torbay four from 20 to 45, Dartmouth and Kingswere thirty-five from 8 to 80, Salcombe five from 20 to 40, Millbrook thirteen from 10 to 35, Barnstaple twelve from 20 to 80, Bideford and Northam nine from 20 to 80.

The total number of the ships and vessels in the Port of Exeter and its members was as follows:—

6 of the burden of 80 tonnes.			
2	„	70	„
3	„	60	„
4	„	50	„
1	„	45	„
13	„	40	„
6	„	35	„

¹ S.P.D. Addenda, Elizabeth, 1572.

14 of the burden of 30 tonnes.

7	„	„	25	„
35	„	„	20	„
3	„	„	18	„
4	„	„	16	„
12	„	„	15	„
4	„	„	12	„
9	„	„	10	„
1	„	„	8	„

Total 124

Plymouth itself possessed twenty-six ships, amongst them the largest in Devon, the *Christopher* of 100 tons burden.

The Customs Book of the Port of Exeter from the feast of Saint Michael until the feast of the Nativity of Christ, 1591 (K.R. Customs Accounts $\frac{1}{4}$), contains a most interesting series of merchants' marks, sixty-five in number.

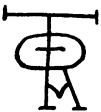
In mediæval times reading and writing were practically unknown, except among the educated classes, and it was a necessity for a merchant to have a mark which could be easily recognised on his goods by his illiterate workmen, so that they could distinguish one merchant's goods from another. As the gentleman had his coat of arms on his banner, so the merchant had his mark on his shops and bales of goods, in each case well known to those concerned ; these marks gradually rose, however, into greater prestige, until the merchant became as proud of his mark as the knight of his armorial bearings, and accordingly had it often placed on his memorial brass, and these marks are especially numerous in the great wool-growing districts of Gloucestershire and Lincolnshire. The period in which they were in use lasted about three centuries, from about 1300 to about 1600. Some marks resemble the cross and pennon borne by the Agnus Dei stamped on Cornish tin to the present day, and also used by merchants connected with the wool trade.

The distinctive mark of the wool staple, resembling a figure 4, forms the basis of a large number of the Exeter marks indicating members of the staple, generally in combination with the initials of the merchant, sometimes placed on either side of or across the central stem, in other cases used as a monogram at the foot.

In numerous cases, however, a simple symbol or the initials or monogram of the merchant was used alone.

The list of the merchants is as follows, and the numbers refer to those on the plates of the marks :—

- | | |
|---|--|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Richard Sparke of Chard. 2. Joseph Every of Chard. 3. Thomas Spicer of Exeter.
Mayor in 1593. 4. Joseph Horsey of Exeter. 5. John Ellacott of Exeter. 6. John Godsall of Taunton. 7. William Berthey of Exeter. 8. George Morris of Awkutt. 9. Thomas Walker of Exeter. 10. Henry Ellacott of Exeter. 11. Richard Eatore of London. 12. Alexander Germyn of Exeter. 13. Geffery Waltham of Exeter. 14. Nicholas Martin and Company of Exeter. Mayor 1585. 15. John Marshall of Exeter. 16. John Levermore, junior, of Exeter. 17. Martin Blomstut of Lanyon. 18. Symond Lunde of Tyverton. 19. John Every of London. 20. Thomas Symons of London. 21. John Woolmington of Chard. 22. Ingnalius Jurdaine of Exeter. 23. Christopher Spicer of Exeter. 24. Rd. Dorthester of Exeter. 25. Alexander Germy of Exeter. 26. Edward Chicke of Exeter. 27. Walter Horsey of Exeter. 28. James Beaver of Carnsey. 29. Gilbert Lambell of Exeter. 30. Robert Bragg of Exminster. 31. John Chapell the elder of Exeter. 32. John Depford of Exeter. 33. John Tapper of Exeter. 34. Nicholas Skinner of Tyverton. | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 35. Richard Prowse of Tyverton. John Prowse (same mark with I.P.). 36. Benedick Webb of Taunton. 37. William Spicer of Exeter. 38. William Hunt of Taunton. 39. Gabrell Webber of Southmolton. 40. Oliver Tapp of Exeter. 41. George Jere of Exeter. 42. William Grigg of Tyverton. 43. Richard Bevis of Exeter. 44. Thomas Spicer of Exeter. 45. Thomas Snowe of Exeter. 46. Thomas Walker of Exeter, Walter Harry of Exeter same mark as Geoffry Waltham. 47. Gabriel Webber of Southmolton. 48. Richard Wheaton of Exeter. 49. John Davis of Exeter. 50. David Bagwill of Exeter. 51. John Prowse of Tyverton. 52. Edward Beare and John Beare of Totnes. 53. Richard Norris of Totnes. 54. George Pridis of Tyverton. 55. John Collins of Exeter. 56. Walter Rowe of Tyverton. 57. Robert Burnete of Tyverton. 58. William Tanner the elder of Tyverton. 59. George Jeart of Exeter. 60. Nicholas Lukome of Kenton. 61. Lethery Galley of Exeter. 62. Phillipp Warde of Exeter. 63. Alnett Badley of Exeter. 64. Edward Amye of Tyverton. 65. Walter Borowe of Exeter. |
|---|--|

				
7	28	53	54	55
				
2	33	58	59	60
				
7	38	63	64	65
				
2	43			
				
7	48			

WONSHIRE MERCHANTS' MARKS.

To fa

The trade of Exeter having greatly increased in importance Queen Elizabeth granted a charter, incorporating "The Company of the Governor Consulls and Societie of Merchantes Adventurers of the Citie of Excester, trafiquing the realme of Fraunce and dominions of the Frenche Kinge." Much opposition by the older Companies to the charter was given, but after some delay it was signed in June, 1560.

Great privileges were granted by it, and, amongst others, the exclusive right of its members to trade with France, which was strictly enforced.

The importance of the Exeter Company is well shown by the following proposal which the Governor made, dated 1 November, 1633, that the merchants of London should join in the removal of the mart from Rouen to Newhaven (Havre) and from Morlaix to Lanion or Brest, and that none shall trade to France but merchants, those of the north and east to be under London, and those of the west under Exeter. Also, that for the support of trade, impositions may be laid by both Companies upon trades and upon all goods imported and exported.¹

An agreement was come to on this proposal between the two Companies.

The Exeter Company further joined with the cloth-workers of London in a statement of their grievances by which they stated they were much impoverished "because many drapers and merchants, not regarding the goodness but the cheapness of drapery, buy cloths which are rowed with iron cards, sallace, swines grease, or oil, but the greatest quantity wrought with gig mills, which force the cloths wrought by them longer by three or four yards in each cloth than they were from the fulling mills, and hinder much labour; for one man and a boy with a gig mill will row as many cloths as eight or ten can do by labour of hand, and the Company prays the Council to depress these unlawful engines and that the statutes for the due making of cloth may be renewed by proclamation."²

The Governor and Company again presented a petition, dated 18 January, 1633-4, to the Council, stating their grievances and the remedies they proposed for the same, namely: "A strict reformation of the abuses in the manu-

¹ *S.P.D.* Charles I, Vol. 250, No. 65.

² *S.P.D.* Charles I, Vol. 257, No. 1.

facture of cloth. No wool or fuller's earth to be exported from England. An incorporation of Merchants trading to France, to put a stop to the interference of interlopers. Prohibiting the importation of French cards, paper, etc., and English goods being exported in French ships."¹

The Company of Merchant Adventurers flourished exceedingly in the reigns of Elizabeth and James I, during the great expansion of the commerce of the period, bringing great renown and wealth to the city; from the inventories of the period which I have consulted the plate and furniture of a wealthy Exeter merchant far surpassed in magnificence that of a country gentleman, but the Company never fully recovered from the troublous times of the Civil War, and gradually decayed afterwards.

Pirates swarmed in the English Channel in mediæval times. In 1579 the Governor of Guernsey wrote to Lord Burghley that "the sea was never so full of pirates. A Plymouth ship passing Guernsey for Dartmouth was robbed and chased on to the rocks, four sail of Frenchmen continually keeping the coasts."²

In later times the following petition shows that the danger had increased and how unsafe the Channel was for small traders; and the Custom Rolls show that the Exeter ships if possible kept well together on the voyage for mutual protection, coming in and going out in groups, and especially was this the case with the wine ships.

It was not until the time of the Commonwealth that this scourge to English commerce was stamped out.

The petition to the Council, dated 2 September, 1636, was from merchants and others of Devon and Dorset, and stated that "in times past, only the pirates of Algiers came into the English and Irish Channel, now the pirates of Sallee are become so numerous, strong, and nimble in their ships, and are so well piloted into these channels by English and Irish captives (of whom they retain almost 2000 in slavery), that the channels are so full of them that merchants dare not send their ships to sea, seamen refuse to go, and fishermen to take fish."³

It became the general custom during this period for collections to be made in the parish churches to aid in

¹ *S.P.D.* Charles I, Vol. 247, No. 7.

² *S.P.D.* Elizabeth, Vol. 26, No. 21.

³ *S.P.D.* Charles I, Vol. 231, Vol. 7.

ransoming the English captives, thus feeding the flames of piracy; and the petition in the Litany "for all prisoners and captives" is said to have reference to these poor creatures. The Government of those days should have swept the Channel clear and guarded it with an adequate navy so that commerce could have been carried on in security; it is an old rule for England, as true now as when these words were written four centuries ago :—

"Cherish merchandize, keep the Admiratie,
That we be masters of the narrow sea.
The ende of battaile is peace sikirly,
And power causeth peace finally.

"Keep then the sea about in special,
Which of England is the town wall,
Keep then the sea that is the wall of England,
And then is England safe in Godde's hand."

APPENDIX.

No. 1.

K.R. Customs Accounts $\frac{4}{3}$, 22-23 Rd. 2nd, 1398-9.

The roll of the Collectors of a subsidy of 3s. a tun of Wine and 12d. de libra (on wool) by Robert Barton.

EXON.

- A Barge called the *Mary* of Garnesey out 2nd Decr., 1398, laden with whitestraights.
- A Smack the *Catherine* of Barum in 10th Decr. laden with woad and wine.
- A Smack the *sent Sanogg* in 23rd Decr. laden with wine.
- A Barge the *Margarete* of Topsisin out 18th Decr. laden with whitestraits and hake.
- A ship of Exmouth out 26th Jan., 1399, laden with cloths.
- A Smack the *Trinitie* of Exmouth out same day laden with cloths.
- A Balinge the *Michael* of Exmouth out 1st Feb. laden with whitestraits.
- A Smack the *Trinitie* of Exmouth in 6th Feb. laden with 5 boxes of salmon 4 Waynstotts 5 peces of coper and 1 Goshawk.

- A Bark the *Margareta* of Plymouth out 14th Feb. laden with cloths.
- A Ship the *Sent John* of Brabhant in 28th Feby. laden with salt and cloths.
- A Ship the *Margareta de Conke* in 4th March laden with salt and eggs.
- A Smack the *Sent Sansoog* out 8th March laden with woollen goods.
- A Ship the *Marye* of Conke out 18th March laden with cloths.
- A Ship called *Sent John de Brabhant* out same day laden with whitestraits and cloths.
- A Balynger the *Mathew* of Harflete in 26th March laden with 3 pipes of Cyder and 20 tuns of iron.
- A Smack the *Kateryn* of Exmouth in 29th March laden with wine.
- A Smack the *Kateryn* of Exmouth in 8th April laden with wine.
- A Smack the *Sowalwe* in 22nd April laden with wine.
- A Smack the *Sent Sansoog* in 24th April laden with wine.
- A Smack the *Mary* of Garnesey in 25th April laden with fine linen and wine.
- A Smack the *Maudeleyn* of Garnesey in 24th May laden with wine.
- A Smack the *Sent Antonio* in 21st May laden with wine.
- A Smack the *Many* of Vanys (Venice) in 24th May laden with cress cloth (fine linen cloth).
- A Ship the *Trinitie* of Garnesey in 8th June laden with cress cloth.
- A Ship the *Michael* of Garnesey in 8th July laden with salt.
- A Ship the *Katherine* of Caraunt in 28th July laden with salt.
- A Ship the *Salarde* of Cankele in 23rd August laden with fine cloths.

No. 2.

Customs Accounts K.R. $\frac{1}{2}$, 9 and 10 Hen 7th, 1493-4.

EXETER.

The Account of Thos. Eliot and John Symonds, Collectors of Customs from Easter 9th year of Henry 7th to the same feast in the 10th year.

- A Pinnace called the *Mitchell* of Cownda in 2nd April, 1493, laden with 16 dolia (tuns) of wine and 4000 oranges.
- A Pinnace the *Kateryn* of Topshin in the same day laden with peces and bolts of canvas (a pece was worth 20s., a bolt 10s.).

- A Pinnace the *Bonaventura* of Sent John de Lewce out the same day laden with whitestraits (valued at £2 a piece), 2 bells worth £10, 3 peces of Devon Tin containing 3 Cwt. worth 60s. shipped by Roger Hollan Armiger.
- A Pinnace the *Seynt Speritt* of Bayon in the same day laden with 20 tuns of wine and 2 tuns of iron.
- A Pinnace the *Jhesu* of Topshin out 12th April laden with cloths, whitestraits peces of irise worth 17s. a pece 4 cwt. of lead worth 16s. a cwt. and 18 peces of Devon Tin containing 1800 lbs. worth £18.
- A Pinnace the *Nicholas* of Morleis out 14th April laden with whitestraits and 14 peces of Devon tin weight 1400 lbs. worth £14.
- A Pinnace the *Mary* of Blewet in 15th April laden with 15 tuns of salt worth £15.
- A Pinnace the *Nicholas* of Teynmouth in same day laden with 5 tuns of wine, 6 pipes of woad and a tun of rosyn.
- A Pinnace the *Christopher* of Taunton out 10th April laden with whitestraits.
- A Batella the *Julian* of Kymperley out 22nd April laden with whitestraits and 5 cwt. wax worth 40s. etc.
- A Batella the *Rose* of Garnsey in 24th April, laden with peces of canvas.
- A Pinnace the *Christofer* of Exeter out same day laden with cloths, freizes whitestraits, white freizes, etc.
- A Pinnace the *Sent Speritt* of Bayon out 2nd May mainly laden with whitestraights.
- A Pinnace the *Nicholas* of Morleis out same day laden with 26 peces of Devon Tin containing 2600 lbs. worth £26 and 14 peces Cornish tin containing 3000 lbs. worth £35; whitestraights, freizes, etc.
- A Balynger the *Michell* of the town of Cowda out 7th May laden with whitestraights and cloths.
- A Pinnace the *Katheryn* of Morleis out 12th May laden with white straights and 19 peces of Devon tin weight 1900 lbs. worth £19.
- A Balynger the *Kateryn* of Topshin out 21st May laden with a full cargo of whitestraights.
- A Balynger the *Gabriel* of Topshim in 31st May laden with 25 pipes of woad worth £125, 12 rolls of neves, 2 tuns of wine, etc.
- A Batella the *Rose* of Garnesey out 3rd of June laden with white straights and 2 peces of Devon tin weight 200 lbs. worth £2.
- A Pinnace the *Jhesu* of Topshim in 12th June laden with canvas and cress cloth.
- A Batella the *Flower* of Calais in the same day laden with 2 pipes and 1 hogshhead of Tenys balles 3 lasts and 3 barrels

- of Litmoss, 198 Waynstotts, 3 maunds of stone crosses, and 3 lasts of tar.
- A Pinnace the *John* of Morleis in 16th June laden with 20 tuns of salt and 100 congers.
- A Pinnace the *Magdaleyn* of Blewet in same day laden with 20 tuns of salt and 100 lamproves.
- A Pinnace the *Mary* of Dartmouth in 19th June laden with general merchandise, 2 cases of glass, 2 panyers of drinking glasses, cards for the looms, ironwork, canvas, etc.
- A Batella the *Anne* of Fowey in 28th June laden with almonds, a case of glass, 6 cases of cards, and other merchandise.
- A Pinnace the *Nicholas* of Teynmouth out same day laden with 1 pece of Devon tin weight 100 lbs. worth 20s. and 5 cwt. of wax worth 33s. 4d.
- A Ship the *George* of Bonacountre in same day laden with 50 tuns of salt worth £16.
- A Pinnace the *Jhesu* of Topshin out same day laden with white straights and 100 peces of Devon tin weight 1000 lbs.
- A Ship the *Michell* of Fowey in 28th June laden with 5 tuns of oil a large quantity of wine, 8 cwt. of almonds, 800 white simgamatis, salt wax and 2 bales of white paper.
- A Balynger the *George* of Teynmouth in same day laden with two pipes of woad, wine and resyn.
- A Pinnace the *Magdalen* of Sent Malowe in 1st July, laden with wine, iron, a large quantity of canvas and some glass.
- A Pinnace the *John* of Morlais out 18th July laden with a full carge of whitestraits.
- A Pinnace the *Magdalen* of Blewet out the same day laden with whitestraights.
- A Balynger the *Kateryn* of Topshin in 16th July laden with cresse cloth and canvas.
- A Balynger the *Trinitie* of Deva in the same day laden with 20 tons of iron 60 tons of Lancearam and 5 cwt. of lead.
- A Balynger the *Trinitie* of Deva out 22nd July laden with whitestraights, leather and 12 peces of Cornish tin, weighing 2500 lbs. worth £25.
- A Balynger the *Christopher* of Exeter in the same day laden with woad in pipes, litmus and 13 tuns of iron.
- A Balynger the *Christopher* of Taunton in the same day laden with woad and iron.
- A Balynger the *Gabriel* of Topshin out 23rd July laden with whitestraights 42 peces of Devon tin weighing 4200 lbs. and 12 pieces of Cornish tin weighing 3000 lbs.
- A Pinnace the *Mary* of the Island of Molerns in 23rd July laden with salt and canvas and 200 Mazer cuppis worth 6s. 8d.
- A Batella the *Andrew* of Kenton in 1st August laden with Dentries and salt.

- A Batella the *Kateryn* of Kenton in the same day laden with 1000 lbs. of Dentries and salt.
- A Batella the *Mary* of Teynmouth in the same day laden with 2 barrels of salmon and salt.
- A Batella the *Trinitie* of Exmouth in 2nd August laden with 700 Dentries and salt.
- A Batella the *Michael* of Teyngmouth in 4th August laden with Dentries and salt.
- A Batella the *George* of Teyngmouth in the same day laden with Dentries and salt.
- A Batella the *Mary* of the Island of Molyns out same day laden with one cwt. of wax, etc.
- A Balinger the *Magdalen* of St. Malow out 10th August laden with whitestraights and 8 pieces of Cornish tin containing 2000 lbs. by indenture of Thomas Penwayn worth £20 and wax and lead.
- A Pinnace the *Jhesu* of Topshin in 16th August laden with 238 peces of coarse cloth and canvas.
- A Pinnace the *Mary* of Itell in the same day laden with salt tar and iron.
- A Batella the *Trinitie* of Torbay in the same day laden with 2 lasts of Salmon.
- A Batella the *Clement* of Fowey out the same day laden with whitestraights, cloth and coles, glass and 5 peces of Cornish tin weighing 100 lbs. by indenture of Thomas Penwreyn.
- A Batella the *Trinitie* of Kenton in the same day laden with salt and dentries.
- A Pinnace the *Nicholas* of Teignmouth in 18th August laden with 24 tuns of salt.
- A Pinnace the *Kateryn* of Topshyn out the same day laden with 20 peces of Devon and 62 peces of Cornish tin, and whitestraights.
- A Pinnace the *Mary* of the Island of Moleyns out 25th August laden with 800 Dentries 1000 Bukhorne, 500 Mackerell, Whitestraights, and Pewter vessels.
- A Batella the *Mary* of Teignmouth in 30th August laden with salt and dentries.
- A Pinnace the *Margaret* of Sent Bryacke in same day laden with canvas, lead, 5 Qwyltis, and general merchandise.
- A Pinnace the *Nicolas* of Morleis in 1st September laden with cress cloth and canvas.
- A Pinnace the *Christopher* of Topshin out 3rd September laden with whitestraights, dentries, hides and wax.
- A Pinnace the *Margaret* of Sent Bryak out 8th September laden with whitestraights, etc.
- A Batella the *Mary* of Teignmouth out same day laden with 2000 dentries.

- A Pinnace the *Jhesu* of Topshin out 12th September, laden with whitestraights and 1000 lbs. of lead.
 A Pinnace the *Christofer* of Taunton out 13th September laden with Dentries and cloths.
 A Pinnace the *Mary* of Itell out the same day laden with freizes and whitestraights.
 A Pinnace the *Mackerell* of Teignmouth out same day.
 A Balinger the *Gabriel* of Topshin in 15th September laden with cress cloth, canvas, iron and general merchandise.
 A Balinger the *Giles* of Morleys in same day laden with salt and congers.
 A Balinger the *Gabriel* of Topshin out 19th September laden with whitestraights, Dentries, wax and 9 peces of Devon tin weighing 900 lbs.
 A Pinnace the *Kateryn* of Exeter in 25th September laden with cress cloth, canvas and iron.

No. 3.

Entries and tonnage of vessels from parts beyond the seas.

In Portu Exon, An 1588.

K.R. Customs $\frac{4}{8}$.

The Customer's book extra and infra contayning the entries of all shippys crossing the seas, and also what prohibited goods and wines were in them, from Easter to Michaelmas, 1588 ; Anno Elizabeth 30.

EXTRA.

1588.

The <i>Trewdealing</i> of Exon, for	Jersey, burden	20 tons,	11th April
The <i>Pleasure</i> of Morles	„ Morles	„ 24 „	18th May
The <i>Revenge</i> of Sidmouth	„ Elbringe	„ 30 „	31st „
The <i>Jonas</i> of Topsham	„ Morles	„ 32 „	12th June
The <i>Grace</i> of Exon	„ Rame	„ 38 „	13th June
The <i>Trinitie Cowse</i> of Kenton from Rochell		36 „	17th June
The <i>Pleasure</i> of Morles	„ Morles	24 „	21st June
The <i>Swiftsewer</i> of Topsham for Rochell bur.		36 „	25th June
The <i>Lyon</i> of Exmouth	„ Rochell	„ 40 „	28th June
The <i>Jennett</i> of Exmouth	„ Rochell	„ 30 „	20th July
William Martin of Exon merchant one hundred dozen calf skins which paid subsidy.			
The <i>Treweaning</i> of Kenton for Rochelle bur. 20 tons, 15th Aug.			
The <i>Pleasure</i> of Morles	„ Morles	„ 24 „	23rd Aug.
The <i>Joane Drake</i> of Topsham „ S. Jean de Luce			
		burden 28 tons,	3rd Sept.
The <i>Serfaucon</i> of Topsham „ Barberie			
		burden 35 tons,	5th Sept.

The <i>Gift</i> of Exmouth	for Barberie	
	burden 40 tons,	9th Sept.
The <i>Angell</i> of Topsham	„ S. Joan de Luce	
	burden 28 tons,	10th Sept.
The <i>Gift of God</i> of Exon	„ S. Malowes	
	burden 18 tons,	8th Sept.
The <i>Trinitie</i> of Topsham	„ Morles „ 18 „	18th Sept.
The <i>Grace of God</i> of Exon	„ Newhaven (Havre)	
	burden 38 tons,	25th Sept.

INFRA.

The <i>Marigould</i> of Topsham	from Morles, bur. 40 tons,	10th April
The <i>Pearl</i> of Hampton	„ St. Malo „ 18 „	10th April
Robert Bragg of Exeter	Merchant one tunne and a half of	
Canarie Wine.		
The <i>Hopewell</i> of Poole	from St. Malo, bur. 15 tons,	29th April
Thomas Chapell of Exon	Merchant ten buttes of sack.	
The <i>Mary Elsdon</i> of Topsham	from Rochell, bur. 30 tons	4th Maye
The <i>Mary</i> of Barnstaple	„ S. Malowe „ 10 „	6th Maye
Thomas Davis of Barnstaple	Merchant Three pipes of Canarie	
Wine. Three hogsheads of French Wines.		
The <i>Cat</i> of Seaton	10 tons from Jersey	6th Maye
The <i>Jonas</i> of Topsham	32 „ „ Morles	13th Maye
The <i>Trinitie</i> of Instowe	20 „ „ Rochelle	13th Maye
Thomas Richardson of Exon	Merchant nine and a half tunnes	
of Gasconie Wine.		
The <i>Gift</i> of Exmouth	40 tons from Nantes	17th May
The <i>Pleasure</i> of Morles,	burden 24 tons from Rame,	17th June
Lewis Papes of Taunton	Merchant three tunnes and a pipe of	
Canarie Wine.		
The <i>Marye</i> of Jersey	20 tons from S. Malowes	17th June
The <i>Trewdeling</i> of Exon	20 „ „ S. Melowes	12 July
The <i>Gift</i> of Kenton	18 „ „ Rochell	15th July
The <i>John</i> of Teynmouth	30 „ „ Rochelle	15th July
The <i>Marie</i> of Teynmouth	25 „ „ Rochell	15th July
The <i>Katheren Michelle</i> of Dawlish	30 tons from	
	Rochelle	15 July
The <i>Thomas</i> of Kenton	16 tons from Rochelle	15 July
The <i>Trinity Couse</i> of Kenton	36 tons from Rochelle	15 July
The <i>Jonas</i> of Topsham	bur. 32 tons from Morles	30th July
The <i>Pleasure</i> of Morles	„ 24 „ „ Morles	30th July
The <i>Trewmeaning</i> of Kenton	„ 20 „ „ Rochele	12th Aug.
The <i>Elizabeth Jonas</i> of Kenton		
	burden 33 tons from Rochelle,	13 Aug.
The <i>Gift</i> of <i>God</i> of Kilbeese		
	burden 28 tons from Rame,	21st Aug.

546 THE MARITIME TRADE OF EXETER IN MEDIÆVAL TIMES.

- The Revenge* of Sidmouth
burden 30 tons from Elbringe, 26 Aug.
- The Flyenge Hart* of Topsham
burden 15 tons from Morles, 5th Sep.
- The Robert* of Lyme
burden 16 tons from Morles, 16 Sept.
- The Trumeaning* of Topsham
burden 20 tons from St. Malo, 20 Sep.
- The Jennett* of Exmouth
burden 30 tons from Rochelle, 25 Sep.
- The Jesus* of Teynmouth
burden 28 tons from Rochelle, 26th Sep.
- The John* of Teynmouth
burden 30 tons from Rochelle, 26th Sep.
- The Godspeed* of Topsham
burden 36 tons from Rosermunda 26th Sep.
- The Primrose* of Exmouth
burden 25 tons from Rosermunda 26th Sep.
- The Pentecoste* of Topsham
burden 24 tons from Rosermunda 26th Sep.

RECTORS OF ST. LEONARD'S, EXETER, SINCE THE COMMONWEALTH.

BY THOMAS CANN HUGHES, M.A., F.S.A.

(Read at Exeter, 24th July, 1912.)

FRANCIS MOORE. 1661-71.

I HAVE been unable to trace the birthplace or parentage of this Rector, but he matriculated at Merton College, Oxford, on 29 May, 1650 ; graduated B.A. on 6 July, 1654. He was instituted to the Rectory of St. Leonard's on 6 November, 1661, on the presentation of Nicholas Ducke, of Mount Radford. He became Vicar of Bovey Tracey on 6 December, 1668, Canon of Exeter in 1669, and Rector of Whitestone in 1671. He died at Bovey Tracey, and the following entry relates to his burial :—

“ 1681 Mr. Frances Moore, Vicar, the second day.”

He was buried in woollen.

I am informed that there is no monument to him in the church or churchyard. His will is dated 16 March, 1680. Under this he leaves :—

To Anne now wife of Thomas Conyam £90 also goods at Engsdon.

To my Cosin William Beaumont £5.

To Francis son of my cosin Thomas Moore deceased £50 when 16.

To Mrs. Anne Locke £5.

To cousin Grace Blanchflower £5.

To the old Joane Leslye 20/-.

To Mr. Charles Heren of Exeter £5 and Doctor Hamonds annotations on the new testament.

To Mr. Charles Heath of Boveytracy 10/-.

To said Charles Heren and Charles Heath £150 for use of executrix and her husband.

Residue to Elizabeth daughter of my said cosin Thomas Moore deceased and now wife of John Conyam and makes her Executrix.

Overseers good friends Mr. Charles Heren and Mr. Charles Heath.

If cousin Thomas Moore die before 16 or Elizabeth Childless will is said money to go to Francis son of John Moore of Wareham or if he be dead to said John's Children if none then to the redemption of Turkish captives.

The will bears the signature, "Fra: Moore" and is sealed with what appears to be a swan cygnet or other bird. The witnesses to the will are Richard Walcombe and Christo: Locke. An inventory was filed by William Jacob and Andrew Howard on 8 April, 1681. The will was proved by Elizabeth Conyam on 25 April, 1681.

NICHOLAS HALL. 1671-5.

This Rector was the son of Emanuel Hall and Mary Nosworthy, who were married at Bridford, Devon, on 7 July, 1646. He was baptized at Bridford on 24 May, 1647. He matriculated at Wadham College, Oxford, on 5 May, 1665; graduated B.A. 11 February, 1668-9, M.A. 1671, and was instituted to the Rectory of St. Leonard's on 26 October, 1671, on the presentation of the patroness, Martha Ducke, of Mount Radford. He was incorporated M.A. of Cambridge in 1676, and further graduated B.D., and D.D. at Oxford on 6 July, 1683. He became Canon of Exeter 1672, Sub-Dean and Treasurer 1675, and Rector of Stoke-in-Teignhead in the same year, and Rector of Whitestone in 1681, and of Faringdon in 1704. He died on 25 April, 1709, and his burial appears in the Faringdon Parish Register as follows:—

"1709 April 28 Nicolas Hall S.T.P., hujus parochioe Rector et ecclesioe Beati Petri Exon Thesaurarius mort 25th."

I am informed there is no monument in the church or churchyard. His will, dated 20 December, 1708, read as follows:—

To my daughter Anne Bidgood the little tankard.

Brother-in-law William Eveleigh late of Kentisbeare Clerk by his will dated 30 October, 1694, gave all his Manor, &c., called Worway als Oarway in Kentisbeare and estate in certain

tenements or fields called the three yards and the Pilcome Slades in Broadhembury to hold same unto me said Nicholas Hall and Joane Hall my mother subject to payment of annuity of £5-5-0 to his sister Mary Taylour for life with power to sell same to pay debts, etc., with other lands called St. Andrew's Middleton's Tenements, Whitneys Tenement, Warrens Ground Moales Lane and $\frac{1}{2}$ acre of sheere in Court Meadow.

Whereas after payment of said debts, etc., said last mentioned premises were given to my son Nicholas Hall and his heirs and said premises call Worway, etc., to my son William Hall and his heirs said William Hall paying out of same to his brother Thomas Hall £400 when 21.

Reciting Mortgage to Peter Pasmore for securing £1382 advanced to pay debts of testator, etc.

To said son William Eveleigh, on condition that he releases equity of redemption in Worway, etc., to said son Nicholas, estate in lands, &c., in parish of Stokeinteignhead called Tingharvey held by lease of trustees of St. John's Hospital for 99 years.

Said sons Nicholas and Thomas are tenants successively in reversion on death of Dr. Bury in tenement in Parish of Sampford Courtenay by copy of Court Roll said Nicholas to permit Thomas to have rents, etc., or pay him £500.

All other lands to eldest son Nicholas and his heirs male and for want of issue to my said son William and his heirs male and for want of issue to the heirs female of my several sons if they happen to have any such and for want of such issue to my daughters Anne Bidgood and Mary Gibbs and their heirs.

Residue to said son Nicholas Hall and makes him Executor.

If either son happen to be a Phisican I give him all my Physick Books and if either take orders I give such son all my Divinity Books unless son Nicholas think fit to keep same.

If Rectory of Bridford of which I am perpetual patron become void when either of my sons is qualified to be presented said son Nicholas shall present him.

The seal on the will is indistinct, but appears to be three eagles' heads.

The witnesses are Walter Taylor, Samuel Goodfellow, and Will. Kentisbeare. The will was proved at Exeter by his son Nicholas on 3 June, 1709. This son was a student of the Inner Temple and graduated at Exeter College, Oxford, in 1702. Interesting correspondence has appeared in the volumes of the *Devon Notes and Queries* dealing with the contention that Nicholas Hall was an assumed name.

NICHOLAS REDWOOD. 1675-88.

Son of Nicholas Redwood, of Exeter, and Charitie his wife. The father's administration was proved at Exeter in 1619. There is also a will of Charitie Redwood dated 1701, but whether this is the mother or daughter does not appear. He matriculated at Wadham College, Oxford, on 1 April, 1664, age seventeen; graduated B.A. 16 March, 1670-1, and M.A. in 1671. Under his will, dated 12 April, 1688, he leaves as follows:—

To wife Abiah and to my mother Charitie Redwood and to my sister Mary Wolston £3 each.

To mother estate for years in house in Northgate Street, Exeter, under grant from Dean and Chapter and after her decease to my only child Charitie Redwood until 18 and when 18 I give her right to title to same.

To said wife Abiah profits of house wherein I now dwell and two other houses in mortgage from my brother John Redwood in parish of Saint Thomas the Apostle.

Executrix said daughter Charitie when 18 and until 18 appoints my said sister Mary Wolston Executrix in trust.

Overseers Rev. Dr. Nicholas Hall and Dr. Francis Fulwood.

On this will appears the same emblazonment as the will of Nicholas Hall, to whom he was apparently related. I am informed that Northgate Street, Exeter, is on the boundary of the parishes of St. Petrock, St. Mary Arches, and St. Paul, and probably if search were made in the registers of those parishes the record of his baptism might be found.

The witnesses to the will were Richard Webber and Cha. Heron, and there is a memorandum affixed to the will that the testator and his mother stood obliged for payment of £100 to Mr. Boone, of Dartmouth, and for £20 to Mr. Cook, of Exeter. The will was proved at Exeter by Mary Wolston on 23 June, 1688.

HENRY GANDY. 1688-91.

Born on 14 October, 1649. His father was the Rev. John Gandy, Vicar of South Brent, 1638, and Canon of Salisbury (for whom see Prince's *Worthies*). Gandy was educated at Merchant Taylors' School from 1663 to

1666, and matriculated at Oriel College, Oxford, on 15 March, 1666-7, age seventeen, and graduated B.A. in 1670 and M.A. in 1674, and was Proctor of the University in 1683, and was instituted at St. Leonard's on 8 September, 1688, on the presentation of Richard Ducke. He died in Scroope Court, Holborn, on 26 February, 1733-4, and was buried in St. Pancras Cemetery, but no monument can now be found. He was a member of a very old Exeter family, several of whom held the office of Mayor, including his uncle Henry Gandy, from whom Gandy Street in Exeter takes its name. He was also related to the Devonshire artist of the same name.

THOMAS LEE. 1691-1708.

I have been able to find no certain trace of this Rector. He might have been the Thomas Lee who was son of Henry Lee and was born at Burton-on-Trent. Educated at Ashby School; ordained Deacon at Lichfield in September, 1677. We certainly know that he was presented to the living, then legitimately vacant, by Richard Ducke on 1 March, 1691, and that he died in 1708, but the burial register for that period is not forthcoming, and no trace can be found of a monument or a will.

RICHARD GAY. 1708-55.

This Rector was the son of John Gay, of Frithelstock, near Torrington. The following is an extract from that parish register relating to his baptism:—

“Richard ye sonn of John Gay, Esq: was baptized ye 18th day of April, 1682.”

The father was a Warden of Frithelstock for many years. Frithelstock registers also contain the following entry:—

“The Gays of Goldworthys in Parkham Parish of which the Frithelstock Gays were a branch was sprung from Gilbert LeGay of Hampton Gay, Oxon, by marrying a daughter and heiress of Curtoise who have arms 3 Fleur de lis sab. Laurence Gay a member of the Frithelstock branch resided at Langtree.”

Gay matriculated at Merton College, Oxford, on 23 March, 1699-1700, age sixteen, and graduated B.A. on 16 March, 1703-4. He was instituted to the living of

St. Leonard's on the presentation of Elizabeth Duche, widow, 16 June, 1708. He was buried apparently on 21 January, 1755. His will, dated 16 February, 1752, contains the following interesting provisions :—

To Francis Huysh Clerk of Clisthydon messuages in Devon and Cornwall to use of James Gay son of my late Cousin John Gay of Wilshamsted in County of Bedford Clerk son of my late uncle James Gay Rector of Upton Pyne for life and after his decease to the first son of said James Gay and to his heirs male of such first son and in default of such issue to use of 2nd 3rd 4th 5th son etc., and in default of such issue to use of my Cousin Nicholas Gay of Newton St. Cyres Clerk for life then to use of John son of Nicholas Gay and his heirs male and for default of issue to Richard second son of said Nicholas Gay and his heirs male then to heirs male of said Nicholas Gay lawfully issuing and for default of such issue then to Anthony Gay son of my late kinsman Anthony Gay of Great Torrington Soap Boyler and his heirs male and for default of such issue then to James another son of said kinsman Anthony Gay and his heirs and for default of such issue then to my right heirs.

Will is that if said James Gay son of my late cousin John Gay shall live to attain 21 and also his heirs male in like case and also said Nicholas Gay and also every other person as aforesaid to have power to grant and demise and let premises.

To cousin Nicholas Gay during term of six years after my decease all my right of occupation etc., in leasehold estate called Cloyster Hall in parish of Frithelstock, etc., he paying to my sister in law Elizabeth Gay rent or annuity as I am obliged to pay and after said term of 6 years I give same to James Gay son of my said late cousin John Gay and his heirs male and for default of such issue to said cousin Nicholas Gay and his heirs male and for default of issue to Anthony Gay son of my late kinsman Anthony Gay of Great Torrington and for default of issue to James Gay another son of said Anthony and in default of issue to my right heirs.

To James son of my late cousin John Gay yearly sum of £20 until 23 also £700 three years after my decease.

To Joseph Baller son of my late cousin Katherine Baller £1-1-0 and to his brother Anthony Baller £2-2-0 and to their sisters Katherine and Susanna £1-1-0 and to the several children of my late cousin Joanna Fortescue £1-1-0 and to my cousin Elizabeth Ellis £2-2-0.

To the three daughters of my said late cousin John Gay £10 each when 21 or on marriage with consent of their mother or their Uncle Nicholas Gay.

To Anthony and James sons of my late kinsman Anthony Gay of Great Torrington £20 each to be employed towards their education, etc.

To Elizabeth and Mary Gay daughters of my late kinsman Capt. Anthony Gay of Bytheford £10.

To Thomas Morrison of Great Torrington Clerk £30 upon trust to invest same and pay interest to Mary wife of James Lewis of Frithelstock now living in service in Cloyster Hall and to said James Lewis if in my service £5 other servants 5/- each.

To poor of Frithelstock £5 and to John Philips the elder distinctly of his share 10/-.

To Mary Sweet if dwelling in my old house in St. Thomas my old quarto bible and 40/-.

Residue to Cousin Nicholas Gay aforesaid of Newton St. Cyres and makes him my Executor.

The witnesses are Grace Lake, Jno. Smale, and Rowland Moase.

There is no inventory. The will has three codicils as follows :—

1st Codicil to will dated 15th May 1752 As to repayment of £100 secured by deed of assignment of Pidgeons Heathfield in Manor of Woodbury in Mortgage by Rev. Mr. Hicks of Exeter one of the Priest vicars of Cathedral and Mary his wife and James son of said Rev. Mr. Hicks of Exeter Gent. Signed Richard Gay. No witnesses.

Codicil dated 18th May, 1754. Varying legacies to several of the legatees and to Hugh Nichols 10/-. To Minister and Churchwardens of Frithelstock £100 in order to obtain augmentation from Queen Annes Bounty. Signed by Richard Gay. Witnesses Rowland Moase, Grace Lake.

3rd Codicil dated 4th December, 1754. Had purchased estate called Towsington in Parish of Exminster and gives same to Cousin Nicholas Gay of Newton St. Cyres. Signed by Richard Gay. Witnesses Robert Brinsmead, John Snow, Bartholomew Venton.

The earliest register of St. Leonard's contains a register of briefs for the building of churches and relief of losses by fire collected by this Rector.

The patronage of the living passed to Andrew Lavington and Richard Paule, who became bankrupt, and their assignees sold to John Baring, an ancestor of the present Lord Northbrook, on 19 July, 1737, for the sum of £90.

An interesting note signed by this Rector appears on page 30 of Dymond's *History of St. Leonard's*.

JOHN WESTON. 1755-67.

Son of Rhodes Weston and Mary of Kingsbridge. Baptized 14 November, 1717. He matriculated at Exeter College, Oxford, on 30 August, 1736; graduated B.A. 1740 and M.A. 1743, and was a Fellow of his College from 1741-5. For some time kept school at St. Thomas's, Exeter, and was instituted to the Rectory of St. Leonard's on the presentation of John Baring, of Larkbeare, on 16 May, 1755. He became subsequently Vicar of Whitchurch, near Tavistock, and died suddenly on 8 October, 1767, and was buried at St. Leonard's on the 15th.

His widow was buried on 3 November, 1788, and an Elizabeth Weston was also interred at St. Leonard's on 5 February, 1791. Benjamin Heath, Town Clerk of Exeter, was also buried at St. Leonard's during the rectorate of John Weston on 21 September, 1766.

GEORGE MOORE. 1767-78.

This man is probably George Moore, of Ely, who was admitted as a Sizar of Queen's College, Cambridge, on 6 February, 1749; graduated B.A. 1754 and M.A. 1757. He was instituted to the living of St. Leonard's on 6 November, 1767, again on the presentation of John Baring, of Larkbeare. He became Archdeacon of Cornwall on 15 February, 1788, and also Canon of Exeter and Vicar of Heavitree, where he was buried on 18 March, 1807, aged seventy-six, but there is apparently no monument to him. He buried William Collins, Mayor of Exeter, on 7 February, 1768.

See his notes in the Register (Dymond, pages 29-30).

SAMUEL RYDER WESTON. 1778-80.

The eldest son of the Rev. John Weston, the former Rector. Born at Exeter; educated at Eton under Dr. Barnard; admitted pensioner of St. John's College, Cambridge, on 12 April, 1763, age sixteen. Admitted Student of the Middle Temple 25 May, 1764, graduated

B.A. 1767. Admitted Fellow of his College 14 March, 1769, M.A. 1770. Ordained Deacon at Winchester on 2 April, 1771, and Priest on 26 May the same year. Instituted to the Rectory of St. Leonard's on 17 October, 1778, on the presentation of John Baring. On 31 May, 1782, he was presented by his College to the Rectory of Marwood, near Barnstaple; he was Canon of the Ninth Prebend, Canterbury Cathedral, from 15 April, 1788, to January, 1799, and was given the honorary degree of D.D. by the Archbishop on 6 December, 1798. He was Prebend of Wildland in St. Paul's Cathedral from 6 December, 1798, until he died. He was instituted Rector of Kelshall, Hertfordshire, on the presentation of the Bishop of Ely, on 30 July, 1805, and also of the adjoining parish of Therfield Royston on 24 April, 1812. Whilst Rector of Marwood he rebuilt the Rectory, obtaining a loan from the College for the purpose. He was a subscriber to Gutch's *Collectanea*. His place of interment has not been discovered.

Lord Ashburton was married at St. Leonard's to Elizabeth, the only daughter of John Baring, on 21 March, 1780, while the younger Weston was Rector.

GAYER PATCH. 1780-1825.

Son of John Patch, of Exeter; educated at St. Paul's School, London. He matriculated at Wadham College, Oxford, on 14 December, 1776; graduated B.A. in 1780 and M.A. 1783. Was instituted to the Rectory of St. Leonard's on 25 September, 1780; collated by Bishop Ross by lapse.

He died on 16 November, 1825, aged seventy, and was buried at St. Leonard's on the 23rd of that month.

His brother, Robert Burnett Patch, was Fellow of Exeter College 1747-51, and schoolmaster of Crewkerne, Somerset.

The living was sold during the rectorate of Patch in 1825 for £3500. A portrait of Dr. Patch will be found in the Board-room of the Exeter Hospital, by Gandy.

WILLIAM WARD SMITH. 1825-7.

Son of the Rev. William Smith, of Poole, Dorset. He

matriculated at Worcester College, Oxford, on 29 November, 1799, aged eighteen. Scholar Eton Foundation 12 June, 1801, and Fellow from 1803 to 1830; graduated B.A. 1803, M.A. 1807. He was instituted to Rectory of St. Leonard's on 21 April, 1826, on the presentation of Sir Thomas Baring, of Stratton Park, Bart.

He died on 24 May, 1830, but I have not been able to trace the place of his burial.

WILLIAM SWEET. 1827-31.

This man I have also been unable to trace, but is probably a member of the Sweet family who for many years held the living of Kentisbury, near Barnstaple.

There was a faculty granted on 18 March, 1831, to him and resident Curate Houlditch and Wardens by Bishop Phillpotts to take down the church and build a new church at a cost not exceeding £1210 (a drawing of the church as taken down is in the vestry); this church was of the fourteenth-century type and held about one hundred and twenty people.

EDWARD HOULDITCH. 1831-40.

Born at Ottery St. Mary on 25 March, 1801, son of the Rev. Richard Houlditch. Was a commoner of Winchester College, 1815 to 1818. Admitted St. John's College, Cambridge, on 26 May, 1819; graduated B.A. in 1823. Ordained Deacon in 1824 and Priest in 1825. Married Frances Elizabeth Cowper, had a daughter, Frances Emma (born 10 September, 1823; died 13 March, 1838). Was instituted to the Rectory of St. Leonard's on 3 September, 1831, on the presentation of the Rev. Richard Houlditch, of Ottery St. Mary. He was Rector of Staple-grove, Somerset, 10 August, 1840; Rector of Matson, Gloucester, 1853; Rector of Ashley, Gloucester.

Died at Weymouth on 9 August, 1870, and was buried at Matson. He was a good classic, and was a leading man in the Gloucester Musical Festivals. A portrait of Houlditch will be found in the vestry. The new church was opened in 1833 by Bishop Phillpotts; designed by E. G. Paley, of Lancaster. A model of the church was made by Miss Swan Hooper in 1859.

GEORGE WILLIAM BURROW WILLS. 1840-72.

Eldest son of Samuel Wills, of Crewkerne, postmaster, and was born there on 1 September, 1814, and baptized on 26 January, 1815.

He matriculated at Wadham College, Oxford, on 16 May, 1833 ; graduated B.A. in 1837 and M.A. in 1839.

Was curate of All Hallow's, Lombard Street, 1879-85.

Married Sophia Townsend, second daughter of Sir John Theophilus Lee, of Lauriston Hall, Torquay, J.P. for Middlesex, Hants, and Devon. He was instituted to the Rectory of St. Leonard's on his own presentation in April, 1840. During his rectorate the church was enlarged at a cost of £325.

He died on 7 January, 1886, at Kensington, and was buried in a vault under the western door of St. Leonard's. There are a tablet and a window in the north aisle of the church erected to his memory by his surviving son Herbert M. Wills, and a font was also erected to his memory by his daughters Georgina Sophia and Annie Sophia in the church in 1888. A new burial ground was opened, the School Board was formed, and the western end of the church was extended, to cost of which Sir Thomas Baring gave £500, during Wills' rectorate.

The following is the inscription to his memory :—

“In a vault under the western entrance of this church are deposited the remains of George William Burrow Wills M.A. Rector of this Parish for XXXII years who departed this life at Kensington January VIIth MDCCCLXXXVI.”

His portrait is in the vestry.

GEORGE PORTER. 1872-87.

Fourth and youngest son of Thomas Porter, of Rockbeare, who was a sporting squire and often drove a four-in-hand. Educated at Eton. Matriculated at Exeter College, Oxford, on 14 November, 1844 ; graduated B.A. 1848, M.A. 1851 ; ordained Deacon 1849, Priest 1850. Was Rector of Lympstone, Devon, 1850-7 ; Rector of Rackenford, Devon, 1860-7 ; Rector of Littleton, Middlesex, 1867-72. Was Chaplain at the Eye Infirmary for twelve years, Hon. Secretary Deaf and Dumb Institution for ten years, and Chaplain at garrison at Exeter from 1874-87.

He died suddenly at Seaton on 9 January, 1890, and was buried at Rockbeare, and the following is a copy of the inscription on his tombstone :—

“Sacred to the memory of
The Rev George Porter M.A.,
youngest son of the late
Thomas Porter Esq.,
Rockbeare House,
who died 9th January, 1890
Aged 63 years.”

A memorial window was placed on the north side of the church ; his daughter Blanche Mary Corser and her son Arthur were drowned in the wreck of the s.s. *Quetta* in the Torres Straits, February, 1890.

There is a photo of Porter in the vestry.

The present church was erected in 1883, towards which the brother of Rector Porter gave £1500, provided that the Rector was not Chairman of the Building Committee, and Mrs. Miles provided money for the erection of a new tower in memory of her husband. A new organ was opened on 30 March, 1873, and the new chancel was opened on 5 March, 1873.

The foundation stone of the present church was laid on 18 August, 1876, by Lord Northbrook in commemoration of his safe return from India, where he was Viceroy and Governor-General from May, 1872, to April, 1876, and the church was opened on 3 June, 1884, by Bishop Temple. The architect for the new church was R. Medley Fulford.

JAMES FREDERICK SHELDON. 1887–96.

Born at Mission House, Kurrachee, India, on 25 June, 1862, son of James Sheldon and Adelaide Gustava Catherine Martha Weis White Sheldon. Was educated at Ewell School, Epsom, for the army. Afterwards at Monkstone Combe School, Bath. Head boy and captain for cricket, football, and boating. Married, 14 October, 1885, Miss Petter, Bournemouth. Matriculated Queens' College, Cambridge ; graduated B.A. 1884, M.A. 1888 ; 1885–7 curate Shirley, Hants. In 1887 was (at twenty-five years of age) youngest Rector in England ; 1896–1904 Vicar of Cromer ; 1904–9 Public Preacher, Bristol Diocese ; Diocesan Missioner, Birmingham, 1909–12. Reinstated

9 February, 1912, by the Bishop of Exeter and inducted by Archdeacon Sanders. There is a portrait of Mr. Sheldon in the vestry.

WESTLEY BOTHAMLEY. 1897-1904.

Ninth son of Thomas Hilton Bothamley, of London. Matriculated at Magdalen College, Oxford, on 13 October, 1879; graduated B.A. in 1883 and M.A. in 1886, Demy Wycliffe Hall 1883.

1884. Curate St. Jude, Kensal Green.

1887. Holbrook, Suffolk.

1888. Deane, Lancashire.

1890. Emanuel, Wimbledon.

1895. St. Thomas's, Birmingham.

1904. Vicar of St. Nicholas's, Durham.

The tower of St. Leonard's was out of repair, and the services of a steeplejack were requisitioned to estimate what the cost of the necessary repairs would be, and upon the amount being reported to the Rector he stated that the sum was unreasonable, and himself ascended the spire and got the amount of the contract reduced, and saved the parish a considerable amount of money. During this rectorate the additional burying-ground was consecrated. There is a portrait of Mr. Bothamley in the vestry.

REGINALD CALLENDAR. 1904-12.

Born in Manchester on 8 January, 1867; son of Samuel Pope Callendar and Agnes Potter. Educated at Rugby and Christ's College, Cambridge; graduated B.A. 1890 and M.A. 1903. Was a missionary of the C.M.S. in Central Sudan and lay reader in the Sandwich Islands. Assistant Secretary of the Children's Special Service Mission.

Married in 1905 Jean Hamilton, daughter of Col. Buchanan Dunlop.

Curate, 1898-1904, St. Matthew, Bayswater.

There is a photo of Mr. Callendar in the vestry.

The cordial thanks of the author of this paper are due, first and foremost, to Mr. A. E. Roach, the enthusiastic Warden of St. Leonard's, and the Revs. J. F. Sheldon and Reginald Callendar (Rectors), to the Masters of Queens'

and St. John's Colleges, Cambridge, and the Provost of Worcester College, Oxford ; to Ven. Archdeacon Hyde (Bovey Tracey), the Revs. C. R. Chope (Bridford), H. A. Birks (Kingsbridge), J. R. Housman (Faringdon), John B. Pearson (Whitestone), C. C. Gillett (Frithelstock), John Openshaw (Kentisbury), J. W. Metcalfe (Ottery St. Mary), and H. D. Lewis (Crewkerne), and Messrs. Edward Houlditch, Harbottle Reed, and W. H. Bowers (all of Exeter), and C. W. Sutton (Manchester), and Herbert S. Price (Lancaster), and especially to the author's wife for competent and willing help.

WILLIAM WYKES, "FIRST RECORDER OF
EXETER"; AND WYKES, SHERIFF OF DEVON.

BY MISS ETHEL LEGA-WEEKES.

(Read at Exeter, 24th July, 1912.)

DR. OLIVER, in his *History of Exeter* (ed. 1861, p. 235), heads his list of the RECORDERS of this city with "JOHN WEEKS, ESQ., 1354," succeeded by "JOHN HULL, ESQ., 1379." For these particulars (which, let me at once warn the reader, are erroneous), Oliver perhaps drew on SAMUEL IZACKE's *Antiquities of Exeter, Originally Collected by his Father, Richard Izacke, Esq., . . . enlarged and continued to the Year 1723*, wherein (ed. 1741, p. 53) we read, "1354, . . . JOHN WEEKS ESQUIRE, elected the first Recorder of this City, and had a pension of three Pounds per Annum allowed him, and afterwards this Officer was chosen yearly, like the Mayor and other officers of the said City."

POLE, in his *Description of Devon* (p. 87), makes the different, but still inexact, statement that: "WILLIAM WIKES, learned in the lawes," was "chosen RECORDER OF EXETER, Anno 33 of Kinge Edward 3" [1358-9].

Turning to the Manuscript Compilations preserved in the Corporation Muniment Room, we find in RICHARD IZACKE's *Memorial of Sundry of the Chiefest Officers wtⁱⁿ the Cittie of Exeter* (dated 1665), the following passage: (fol. 84): "The Recorder was not an officer from the beginninge, for (as it should seeme by the course of the Recordes) some one of the Officers was learned & able to directe the Courte accordinge to the lawes of the land, but in pcesse of tyme, when knowledge fayled in them, & matters on lawe did increase, then by good advise 'twas thought fitt & expedyent that choyce should bee made of a wise & learned man, who should be alwayes attendant upon the Maior & Bayliffes, to directe & advize them in all

matters of doubte & difficulty, accordinge to Lawe, where-uppon *an acte was made that a Recorder should bee chosen yerely as the Maior and other officers were*, & then was elected (*beinge the first Recorder of this Citty*) :

" 1. JOHN WEEKES, 28 Ed. III, 1354 ;

" 2. JOHN HULL, 1379," etc.

The above information as to the origin of the office cannot, as I understand, be traced to a source in any contemporary records ; and as to the WEEKES item—Izacke, though he derived this, as he did most of his material, from HOOKER—the orderer and digester of the Civic Records, and pioneer Historian of Exeter—did so without acknowledgment ; but RICHARD CROSSING, "sometime a member of the Chamber," 1681, making the statement that, "in the thirty-seventh yeare of King Edward the Third, Anno 1363, the Chamber of Exon made choice of one WILLIAM WEEKES to be their first Recorder," gives as his authority "HOOKER, pp. 414-17" ; and HOOKER turns out to have misled all his followers, for, on consulting his MS. *Commonplace Book*, I find not only the above extract, but other statements on the same subject, that, while contradicting this, still fail to achieve accuracy ! viz. :—

(Fol. 279) "1354, M^d That one JOHN WEKES was made Recorder of the Citie, and hadd allowed for his fee iij^{li}."

(Fol. 279d) "1355, xxix of kynge Ed: the iij. M^d that this yere JOHN WEKES, the first recorder of this citie, and chosen the yere before, was chosen agayn this yere. . . ."

(*Ibid.*) "1379, iijth yer of k. Richerd the ij ; M^d, That JOHN HULL was chosen this yere to be Recorder of the Citie of Exceter."

The actual facts as obtained by me from the contemporary RECEIVERS' ACCOUNTS are the following : That JOHN WEEKES does not appear as RECORDER at all ; that WILLIAM WYKES appears as "RECORDER" in 27-28 Edw. III (i.e. Sept., 1353, to Sept., 1354, and subsequent years, but that the *title* of "RECORDER" is *first* found in the Rolls in the year 26-27 Ed. III [1352-3], where it is attached to the name of ROBERT ATTE WEYE, who held the office for that year only. The order in which the

officers were named at this period, and the respective amounts of their emoluments, are as follows (to translate the titles from the Latin):—

The MAYOR, 100^s per annum; three SENESCHALS, 20^s each; the RECEIVER, 40^s; the RECORDER, or in earlier Rolls, CHIEF BAILIFF, 60^s; the SUB-CLERK, 40^s; four BAILIFFS, 40^s together, or in earlier times three SERJEANTS, 30^s together; and four JANITORS OF THE GATES, 12^s together.

WILLIAM WYKES' tenure of office would seem to have been only temporarily interrupted by that of ROBERT ATTE WEYE, for in 1351-2 his name comes in the same order (though without any title being given him) and with the same fee (60s.), as in the later accounts where he is styled "Recorder"; and moreover—as in the later accounts—is followed by "sub-clerk" and "*four bailiffs*." In 1350-1 and preceding Rolls, back to at least as early as 22-23 Ed. III (1348-9), the order and the fee are the same, but he is styled "Chief Bailiff"; and no other "Bailiffs," but "three Serjeants," only, are mentioned after him and his "sub-clerk." It may be supposed, therefore, that WILLIAM WYKES, as "CHIEF BAILIFF," performed much the same functions as when he bore the title of RECORDER.

In the Roll of 1344-5, the name of ROBERT DE LUCY stands instead of his, with the same fee.

In the year 1348-9, being that in which the "Black Pestilence" raged, and when Law Courts throughout England were closed for a time, only half the usual fees are set down in the Accounts as having been "Paid" to the officers.

In 1351-2, in addition to his regular fee, WILLIAM WYKES received 20s. for his expenses in going to LONDON on civic business, connected with the MAYOR'S Precept, and a horse was "procured" for him for 17s.

The following year he was, as I have said, "RECORDER," and, as we learn from the "MAYOR'S COURT ROLL," acted on at least one occasion as "*locu' tenente Maiore*," or Deputy Mayor, having several cases brought before him.

The sequence of his annual reappointment to the Recordship was unbroken (except for the year 1358-9, when he had to go to PARLIAMENT on the Feast of the PURIFICATION of the B.V.M., and when RALPH SCHILING-

FORD took his place) down to 47-48 Ed. III, when JOHN HILLE appears as "Recorder," and WILLIAM WYKES, probably invalided, receives a pension ("pens'") of 20s. In the following year I think he must have died, after an effort to resume his office, for he was paid, as "RECORDER," a "pension" of 30s., and his name does not appear in the Rolls again in any capacity. He was succeeded, as "RECORDER," for the remaining half-year (March, 1374-September, 1375), by JOHN HILLE, who retained this office for at least the ensuing two or three years (my search extending no further).

The following Government Records corroborate the testimony of the local Rolls:—

1354 (28 Ed. III, m. 21^d), May 20th.—Writ for payment for their expenses in attending the Parliament held at Westm^r on Monday after St. Mark, last . . . [of various sums to divers persons, including]. . . . To Robert Noble & William Wyke, citizens of EXETER (*Cal. of Close Rolls*, p. 71).

1362 (36 Ed. III, m. 3^d).—Writ for payments, for their expenses in coming to the parliament at Westminster at the quinzaine of Michaelmas last, abiding there and returning thence. . . . Exeter: William Wyke & John Hille, 10^l for 50 days (*Cal. of Close Rolls*, p. 64).

1366, May 12th, 40 Ed. III, m. 23^d.—Writs for payments for their coming to the Parl^t held at Westm^r on Monday the morrow of the Invention of Holy Cross last, for their expenses in coming to the s^d parl^t there abiding, and thence returning. . . . The City of EXETER: William Wyke & John Gray, 4^l for 20 days (*Cal. Close Rolls*, p. 274).

The surname WYKE had struck root in EXETER by at least the lifetime of the Recorder; for in the Receiver's Roll of 13-14 Ed. III [1339-40] (the earliest one shown me, if not the earliest extant)¹ there occurs an item of rents due, from the house of WILLIAM PEVEREL that WILLIAM VYKE formerly held in "MAUDELYNESTRETE," and this house is repeatedly alluded to in subsequent accounts as "Ten" VYKE, IN MAUDELYNESTRETE."²

¹ The Exeter Receiver's Roll, formerly docketed as of "5-6 Ed. III," I found, from its internal heading, to be really of the 25-26 year of that reign.

² In 1354, Will^s Wyke de Exon. mortgaged for twenty-nine years, to

From this time onward Wykes, or Weekes, are constantly to be met with in the records of the city.

I have nowhere been able to discover any proof, or even indication, that a Wykes, Recorder of Exeter, was connected either with the family of Wyke of "North Wyke," in the parish and *quondam* Hundred of South Tawton (now Hundred of Wonford), or with the family of Wray or de Wyke, of "North Wyke" *alias* "Chawleigh Wyke," in the Hundred of North Tawton.¹

Sir William Pole's evident, and virtually avowed, confusion between these two North Wykes, and his (? consequent) blending of the pedigrees of the two houses, have led divers genealogists astray.²

Charles Worthy, in his *Devon Wills*, exhibits some deplorable instances of the dangerous but too common practices of accepting ready-made "family trees," without subjecting them to analytical comparison with original documents, and of grafting on to an established pedigree detached individuals who may happen to occur in more or less the same locality.

Thus, he writes (p. 378) (treating of the South Tawton family), ". . . Roger de Wray of Northwyke appears to have left Walter de Wray of Northwyke, son and heir, and John atte Wyke. The latter was the father of John Wykes, a benefactor of Stapeldon Hall, now Exeter College, Oxford, 8 Nov., 1358, and who was Recorder of Exeter, 1354-1379."

In the Rev. Charles Boase's *Transcript of the Registers of Exeter College, Oxford*, with a prefatory History of the College, I can find no mention of any endowment by a Wykes in the part headed "Benefactors' Book" (p. lxiii).

In other parts of the volume I note the following entries :

(p. 191) "18 Nov. 1358, John, son and heir of John de la John Aleyn de Wonford, a messuage and park in the Prebend de Heghes (*Cart. Harl.* 45, c. 17).

In 1343 (2 May), among persons present at the signing of certain documents in St. Mary Major's Church, Exeter, were "John de Northcote and Walter de Wyke, Advocates of the Consistory" (Boase, *Hist. of Exeter College, Oxford*, p. 5). The Vicars Choral kept the "anniversary" of a *Walter de Wyke*.

¹ See, for instance, *Lay Subsidies, Devon*, No. 23, "Walt'us le Wrey tenet in Wyke Chaluelegh."

² As a fact, the surname "De Wyke" is recorded in connection with the parish of South Tawton for centuries before the time of William Wyke, who heads the pedigree of that house (*circa* 1400) in the *Herald's Visitations*, and before the alleged "change of name" from "Wray to Wyke"; e.g. "Roger de Nort' Wyke" appears in the Jury-list of South Tawton Hundred in 1243 (*Ass. Roll, Devon.*, 175, m. 35).

Wyke granted to John Halle and John Wyseburgh, Castelhall, which was opposite the Chapel of Stapeldonhall on the south side." (Several of the entries describe the situation of Castelhall belonging to John de la Wyke.)

(p. xiii) "1 Aug. 1360, John Wyseburg granted to Thos. Kelly (and 5 others including John Restaurok) a toft in St. Mildred's called Castelhall lying south of the chapel of Stapledon Hall, once belonging to John de la Wyk (p. 191). 1 Aug. 1360, John Restaurok, Clerk, granted the same to the Rector and scholars of Stapledon Hall."

(p. 192) "The Compotus" shows the items: "1358 . . . iiij^d p vino dato Rectori de Seynt Holde et Johanni Wyke quando tradaverunt in aula de illo tenemento vocato Castelhall."

And in 1358 ". . . circa emcionem tenementi de Castelhall xi li traditis Johanni ate Wyke."

A John Excestre is entered Fellow, winter, 1354, Lent, 1357 (?) (p. 3), and see Compotus of 1360; but he is supposed to be the same as John de Excetre, Rector of Ipplepen, Devon, 15 September, 1396-1400, and Prebendary of Hereford, 1396. See Oliver, *Monast.* 300, Supplement 26.

Again, Worthy (p. 379), after alluding to "the children of Roger de Wray of Northwyke," makes the assertion, "John (Risdon calls him Joseph) Wyke replaced John Herle, Sheriff of Devon."

The late Col. Henry Vivian, too, in his so-styled *Visitations of Co. Devon*, the materials for which were far from being exclusively derived from Heraldic MSS., has entered as a son of Roger de Wray of North Wyke (in South Tawton) "John Wyke, Sheriff of Devon, 1402"; and it may be that I myself, in some of my earlier papers, have passed on, if not these, other equally unfounded statements, from having been, like most tyros, over-ready to "accept as gospel" whatever had been given to the world in print (though I believe I have always been careful to add a reference to my "authorities").

It is obvious in this case that not all the "authorities" can be right; for while Risdon states the Sheriff of Devon in 3 Hen. IV to have been "Joseph Wike," Izacke (Ed. 1741) has, as Sheriff in 5th Hen. IV, "John Wyse of Northwich, Ar. Bears sable, three chevrons ermine" (a coat not at all resembling that of the South Tawton family).

But the official *List of Sheriffs* at the Record Office

gives us for DEVONSHIRE, "JOHN WYKE of NEANYDE," appointed "29 Nov. 1402, followed, 5 Nov. 1403, by Gorges"; and this is presumably reliable, the place intended being NINEHEAD FLORY, in Co. SOMS.¹

The same John (probably) appears under the head "Commissioners of the Peace, Somersetshire," as "John Wyke of Nyenhed," 27 February, 1406 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Hen. IV, Appendix).

The *Index Heredum in Inq^{ns} p.m.* (Add. MS., 19708, p. 79) yields the particulars: "11 Hen. IV [1409], Johannes Wyke de Mynhide: Katerin' uxor, Johannes filius, æt: 19."

And, as a family of Wyke were seated at Ninehead for many generations before, as well as after, this John, I see no reason for supposing him to be a member of any Devonshire family of Wykes, though it is presumably he who, as "John Wyke, Esq., de Nenhide," presented to Blackborough in Devon, in the time of Bishop Stafford (? 1405).²

To revert to the Recorder William, one might like to identify him with the "William de Wike who occurs so frequently on the Patent and Close Rolls of Edward III's time, sometimes on appointment as "Attorney" to the King or others, and who, in an entry of 1 September, 1329 (*Cal. Pat.*, p. 444), is called "Will^m de Northwyk," but I have found nothing to justify such an assumption; on the contrary, a hasty comparison with other entries leaves an *impression* that he was of Somersetshire or Gloucestershire origin; and we must not forget that "North Wike" was an old *alias* of "Prikeswyke" in Chew Magna, Soms.³

¹ The place-name is spelt "Nienhidesflori" in *Early Chanc. Pro.* 134, when certain persons petition for the farm of it.

² *Episc. Reg.*, Staff., ii. pp. 25, 35.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 229, 300, 302.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES.—In *Dymond's Historical Collns.* (in Exeter Public Library), vol. xi. p. 3, in "a List of Members of Parliament for Exeter, from a Return ordered by the House of Commons to be printed in 1836," I note:

"Willielmus Wyke 1354, 1357, 1360, 1361, 1362, 1363, 1366."

Liber Tristram Risdon, Cathedral Library, No. 3531, contains the Arms of "WIKE OF EXON," tricked as *Barry of 14, over all a Bend*.

Corporation Deeds, No. 754. *Edith*, dau. of *William Wyke* of Exeter, to *Walter Godwyne*, citizen of Exeter . . . grant of a house without Southgate, in St. Stephen's Fee, between the tent. formerly *Thomas le Espycer's* on the E., that of *Thos. Gerveys* on W., *Magdalen St.* on N., and land of *John de Cokelescombe* on S.

The Receiver's Accounts of 21–22 Ed. IV repeat the item:—"vj^s viij^d dat' Joh'e Wekys de regardo, ex assensu xxiij^{or}." The same term is applied to a gift of xl^s to the Lord Bishop.

THE AULNAGER IN DEVON.

BY R. PEARSE CHOPE, B.A.

(Read at Exeter, 24th July, 1912.)

It is difficult for us to realize that Devon was once one of the chief manufacturing counties in England, and that it could possibly have been correctly described by Defoe in 1724 as "one entire county so full of great towns, and those towns so full of people, and those people so universally employed in trade and manufactures, that not only it cannot be equalled in England, but perhaps not in Europe."¹ The chief industry at that time was the great serge manufacture, for which Devon had long been famous, and which reached the height of its prosperity about the middle of the eighteenth century, but centuries before the introduction of serge an important woollen manufacture had been carried on in the county.

Although the various county and local histories give fairly good descriptions of the later phases of the cloth trade, its early history seems to have been strangely neglected. The statutes of the realm have, indeed, been consulted by most writers on the subject, but there is at least one other source of information, namely, the aulnagers' accounts, that has hitherto been entirely ignored. Several of these accounts have been preserved in the Record Office,² and, as they throw valuable light on the extent and distribution of the cloth trade from the time of Richard II to that of Edward IV, it is proposed to make them the basis of the present paper.

The office of aulnager, aulneger, alnager, or ulneger (to give only a few of the forms in which the word occurs),³ is ancient, and, according to some authorities, it existed

¹ *Tour through Great Britain*, Letter iii, p. 81.

² *Exchequer K.R. Accounts*, 338/10-20; 339/1; 347/10-13. I am indebted to Miss Ethel Stokes for very careful abstracts of these accounts.

³ Sir J. A. H. Murray seems to prefer the form *alnager* (see *N.E.D.*).

before any cloth was manufactured for merchandise in this country. This, however, is almost certainly an error, for coarse cloth was undoubtedly made throughout England from very early times, and the earliest mention of the aulnager dates only from the reign of Edward I. There are much earlier records of guilds of weavers and fullers in several of the larger towns, and of fulling-mills scattered about in various parts of the country. In 1208 certain members of the London guild of fullers and dyers complained that, whereas the old custom had been that cloth entrusted to men of that guild to be fulled by the men of the craft or their servants by treading it with their feet in their own houses in the City, certain persons had received cloth and sent it out of the City to be fulled, for instance, to a fulling-mill at Stratford.¹ As fulling-mills are machines for treating cloth in large quantities, their use indicates manufacture on a considerable scale. The earliest references that I have come across to fulling-mills in Devon are of one in 1292 at Chulmleigh,² and one in 1295 at Sampford Courtenay.³ In 1299 there were two at Hartland, worth 6s. 8d. each, and one at Harpford, worth 10s.;⁴ in 1307 there was one at Slapton, worth 4s.;⁵ and in 1308 there were one at Crediton, worth 24s., and one at Chudleigh, worth 20s., besides one each at Lawhytton and Penryn in Cornwall.⁶ The Hartland mills had increased in value to 8s. each in 1301, and 20s. each in 1332,⁷ showing that the weaving industry was then rapidly growing, although the fact that two mills had been necessary in such a remote place proves that the manufacture was already fully developed and widely distributed.⁸

The name *aulnager* is derived from the Old French *aulnegeor*, a noun of action from *aulnage*, which in turn

¹ Ashley, *Woollen Industry*, 28.

² *Inq. p.m.*, 20 Ed. I, No. 133.

³ *Inq. p.m.*, 23 Ed. I, No. 21.

⁴ *Inq. p.m.*, 27 Ed. I, No. 42.

⁵ *Inq. p.m.*, 35 Ed. I, No. 32.

⁶ Oliver, *Monasticon Exoniensis*, 427-430.

⁷ *Trans. Devon. Assoc.*, xxxiv, 425, 430, 432.

⁸ Other early instances of fulling-mills are one at Northmolton in 1314, worth 4s., and two in 1317, worth 10s. (*Inq. p.m.*, 7 Ed. II, No. 36; 10 Ed. II, No. 59); one each in 1326 at Bovey Tracey, worth 1 mark, and Southmolton, worth 20s. (*Inq. p.m.*, 19 Ed. II, No. 100); one at Matford in 1332, worth 13s. 4d. (*Inq. p.m.*, 6 Ed. III, No. 59); one at Uplowman in 1349 (*Inq. p.m.*, 27 Ed. III, No. 38), and one each in 1377 at Aylesbeare, worth 3s. 4d., and Tiverton, worth 53s. 4d. (*Inq. p.m.*, 51 Ed. III, No. 6).

is derived from *aulner*, to measure by the *aulne*, or ell,¹ and it is often stated that the office was "first instituted for measuring of foreign cloth imported, to ease the buyer of trouble and to secure him from loss,"² but this also appears to be incorrect, for the earliest records provide for the measurement of cloths exposed for sale in the fairs throughout the country. In the time of Edward I we find that Perout le Taylour had held the office of aulnager of cloth in the several fairs of the realm, but, having forfeited it, the custody of the aulnage and assize of cloth throughout England was granted, during the King's pleasure, to Pieres de Edelmeton, who took the oath for that purpose before the Treasurer and Barons of the Exchequer.³ The first mention of cloths of Devon and Cornwall occurs in the reign of Edward II, for in 1315 was granted, for life, to John Pecok the elder, King's yeoman, the office of the aulnage of canvas, woven linen, napery, "wadmalle, heydok, mendeps, kerseys,"⁴ says of Louth, "worsted" of Northwys (Norwich), Ireland, and Causton, and other says and scarlets and cloths of Lincoln, Essex, Norfolk, Suffolk, Kent, Stanford, Beverley, St. Osiths, Devon, and Cornwall.⁵ On the accession of Edward III the office was divided, John Pecok retaining the aulnage of canvas and linen web for the whole realm,⁶ while Nicholas Shirlok, King's yeoman, was appointed aulnager of woollen cloths in England,⁷ and Robert de Poleye, also King's yeoman, received the office of aulnager of worsteds in the county of Norfolk, demised to him by Pecok at the request of Queen Isabella.⁸

Up to this time the aulnagers apparently confined their attention to home-made fabrics, but in 1328, by the Statute of Northampton, they were required also to measure all imported cloths in such places where they were put to land, in the presence of the mayor and bailiffs, where there was a mayor, and where there was no mayor, in the presence of the bailiffs of those places.⁹ The only kinds of cloth specified were "cloths of ray" (that is, striped cloths)

¹ See *N.E.D.*, *alnage*, *alnager*.

² *Exeter City Archives*, Letter Book 60 C, No. 162.

³ Smith, *Memoirs of Wool*, i, 37; Madox, *Exchequer*, 538.

⁴ The earliest reference to "kerseys" in *N.E.D.* is dated 1390.

⁵ *Cal. P.R.*, 9 Ed. II, pt. i, m. 25.

⁶ *Cal. P.R.*, 1 Ed. III, pt. i, m. 10d.

⁷ *Cal. P.R.*, 1 Ed. III, pt. ii, m. 13.

⁸ *Cal. P.R.*, 1 Ed. III, pt. i, m. 20.

⁹ Stat. 2 Ed. III, c. 14.

and "coloured cloths," which were probably the kinds made by John Kemp and his companions, who came over to England from Flanders in 1331 at the invitation of the King. The beginning of the cloth industry in England is, indeed, often dated from this immigration, but it is obvious that a native manufacture was already widely established, and it is equally certain that the Flemings did not even introduce the making of broad cloth, for as early as the reign of Richard I it was ordered that "woollen cloths, wherever they were made, should be of the same width, to wit, of two ells within the lists, and of the same goodness in the middle and sides,"¹ and the Great Charter of 1215 also prescribed one breadth of dyed cloths, russets, and habberjects, to wit, two ells within the lists.² In 1337 it was enacted that no cloths made beyond the sea should be brought into the King's dominions, on pain of forfeiture, and further punishment at the King's will; but cloth-workers of strange lands who came into the King's dominions should have the King's protection, dwell where they pleased, and have convenient franchises granted to them.³ An exemption was made in favour of the town of Ghent, for cloths made in that town and sealed with the seal used there for the purpose; these were to be admitted free of aulnage.⁴ Kemp is said to have established the clothing trade at Taunton,⁵ but this is doubtful, and there is no evidence that he or any of his companions settled in Devon. Westcote's statement, too, that "one Anthony Bonvise, an Italian, taught us the knowledge of making kersies and our women to spin the distaff," in the time of Edward IV, is also unsupported by evidence, and is correctly described as being made by "an inventor of things,"⁶ for the Bonvise alluded to is, no doubt, the great wool merchant of that name, who did not die until 1558.⁷

In 1346 John Marreys, King's yeoman, was appointed to hold for life the office of the aulnage of such cloths, including cloths of Devon and Cornwall, and in such manner as was specified in the grant of Edward II to John Peycok

¹ Cunningham, *English Industry*, 2nd ed., i, 281; Roger of Hoveden, *Chron.*, iv, 33 (Rolls).

² *Magna Charta*, c. 25.

³ Stat. 11 Ed. III, c. 3.

⁴ *Cal. P.R.*, 12 Ed. III, pt. iv, m. 8; 12 Ed. III, pt. i, m. 38.

⁵ Lysons, *Devonshire*, ccxcviii.

⁶ Westcote, *Devonshire*, 59.

⁷ *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

the elder,¹ and the following year he was licensed to appoint deputies.² The first deputy of whom we have any record is Richard Thomas, who was appointed in 1348 to discharge the office in Devon and Cornwall.³ He was apparently succeeded in 1352 by Robert de Hampton, of Bristol, who was appointed deputy in the town of Bristol and the counties of Wilts, Dorset, Somerset, and Devon;⁴ and in 1357 by John Peutrer, of Bristol, whose district included Cornwall instead of Wilts.⁵

In 1353 it was enacted that all cloths vendible should be measured by the King's aulnager and his deputies, but a buyer might measure the cloth, although measured by the aulnager, and show any default to the mayors and bailiffs of the place, or keepers of the fair and market, and, if default were found notoriously before them, the cloth should be forfeit to the King.⁶ This gave rise to so many complaints of forfeiture that two years later it was further enacted that cloths should not be forfeited for want of measure, but the aulnager should measure them and fix a mark thereunto, expressing what each cloth contained. His fee from the seller was fixed at one half-penny for every "cloth of assize,"⁷ and a farthing for a half-cloth. Cloths that contained less than half a "cloth of assize," and those made by a man for his own use "to clothe him and his meiny" (that is, his household) were not liable.⁸

By the same statute of 1355 a subsidy on every cloth was granted to the King, in return for the remission by him of the forfeiture pertaining to him of the aulnage of cloths, namely, 4d. on every cloth of assize and without grain (that is, undyed),⁹ 6d. on every cloth of assize and scarlet (that is, dyed scarlet or other colour),¹⁰ and 5d. on every cloth of assize and demi-grain (possibly striped

¹ *Cal. P.R.*, 20 Ed. III, pt. ii, m. 26.

² *Cal. P.R.*, 21 Ed. III, pt. ii, m. 16.

³ *Cal. P.R.*, 22 Ed. III, pt. i, m. 15.

⁴ *Cal. P.R.*, 26 Ed. III, pt. i, m. 19.

⁵ *Cal. P.R.*, 31 Ed. III, pt. ii, m. 3.

⁶ Stat. 25 Ed. III, No. 3, c. 1.

⁷ See p. 575.

⁸ Stat. 27 Ed. III, c. 1, 4.

⁹ The origin of the use of "grain" in this sense is curious. A dye was prepared from the kermes or scarlet grain insect (the female of *Coccus Illici*), which was supposed to be a berry or grain; thus, "to dye in grain" was originally to dye in scarlet grain or kermes, and afterwards, to dye in any fast colour (*N.E.D.*).

¹⁰ "Scarlet" is derived from Old French *escarlate*, supposed to be from Persian *saqalât*, a kind of rich cloth, and in early use was not confined to cloth of red colour (*N.E.D.*).

or mixed colours),¹ and half these amounts on every half-cloth. Each cloth exceeding a half-cloth of assize by three ells or more, not being an entire cloth of assize, and each cloth exceeding an entire cloth by three ells or more, were charged after the rate of the subsidy payable for an entire cloth of the same sort.

John Marreys was appointed both aulnager of woollen cloths and controller of the subsidy,² but, as there was no subsidy on linen cloths, these apparently became in future free of aulnage. The subsidy was at first levied in the counties by the sheriffs, and in the cities of Canterbury, Norwich, Lincoln, and York by the mayors and constables of the King's staples there, but in 1358 it was leased at farm for four years to John Malewayn and John Bury, and John Dabroun, John le Spicer, William Chekston, and William Yoo were appointed by the King, with the assent of the farmers, to collect the same in Devon and Cornwall.³ Owing to a gap in the published Calendars of Patent Rolls from 1361 to 1377, it is not possible to trace the complete succession, but in the Exchequer King's Remembrancer Accounts there is (in very bad condition) a lease of the subsidy granted to John . . . (surname illegible) in 1371 for one year at a farm of 100s., and in 1373 a similar lease to Thomas Beaupyne (for whom Walter Derby and John Woderoue, of the county of Bristowe, were sureties) for 10 marks (£6 13s. 4d.).⁴

The lease provides liberty of complaint for extortions committed by the farmer, who is not to make any account to the King of the issues of the said subsidy, but only to pay his farm; he may lease out the said subsidy in the whole or in parcels; all cloths exposed for sale before being sealed, which by statute are forfeited to the King, are to be delivered by the farmer to the sheriff of the county under indenture, the farmer receiving one-third of the value for his trouble.

Thomas Beaupyne, who became mayor of Bristol in 1384,⁵ was several times reappointed to this office of collector,⁶ but, owing to the fact that he had only to

¹ Sir J. A. H. Murray derives this from Old French *demigraine*, pomegranate, which seems very unlikely (*N.E.D.*).

² *Cal. P.R.*, 27 Ed. III, pt. iii, m. 5, 4.

³ *Cal. P.R.*, 32 Ed. III, pt. ii, m. 6.

⁴ *Exchequer K.R. Accounts*, 338/10. ⁵ *Cal. P.R.*, 8 Ric. II, pt. i, m. 15.

⁶ *Cal. P.R.*, 1 Ric. II, pt. i, m. 17; 2 Ric. II, pt. i, m. 26; 7 Ric. II, pt. ii, m. 20.

account for the amount of the farm, we have during his period of office no particulars of the actual number of cloths sold. In 1379 it was enacted that the aulnager should not seal a pieced cloth, under penalty that the owner should forfeit the cloth and the aulnager his office; and if he sealed a cloth which was not of assize, he should forfeit the value of the cloth, and should also suffer one year's imprisonment and then be ransomed at the King's will.¹ In 1380 John Rede,² William Goscombe,³ and Peter Haddelegh,⁴ citizens of Exeter, were appointed to inquire touching the sale and false sealing of cloth in Devon contrary to this statute, which required the seizure of cloth falsely sealed,⁵ and two years later a similar commission⁶ was granted to John Russell,⁷ William Rokke, and William Dovne,⁸ also citizens of Exeter. However, in 1384 Beaupyne was reappointed, with power to retain one-half of forfeited cloth, though William Hervy had apparently in 1381 succeeded John Marreys as aulnager for the kingdom,⁹ and in 1388 he appointed John Luwell and Roger Breghnok as his deputies in the four western counties.¹⁰ In 1387 another commission¹¹ was granted to Baldwin Whitteley,¹² John Grilles,¹³ and Richard Peutrer,¹⁴ of Exeter, to inquire touching cloth exposed for sale which had been sealed in deceit of the people and in breach of the statute, and to take such cloths into the King's hands and all particulars thereof, going from town to town for the purpose. The next year a similar commission¹⁵ was granted to John Grilles,¹³ Thomas Numan, and Ralph Swan,¹⁶ of Exeter, and another to Joyce Antonay, Thomas Lelie, and John Pitteman, of Barnstaple.¹⁷ In 1389 Thomas Beaupyne was again appointed collector, and Bernard Oblie, burgess of Bristol, was appointed farmer under him.¹⁸

¹ Stat. 3 Ric. II, c. 2.

² Bailiff 1379 (Izacke).

³ Bailiff 1381, 1384, 1391, 1393, 1395.

⁴ Bailiff 1378, 1383, 1385.

⁵ *Cal. P.R.*, 4 Ric. II, pt. i, m. 41d.

⁶ *Cal. P.R.*, 5 Ric. II, pt. ii, m. 19d.

⁷ Bailiff 1373, 1377, 1379, 1380, 1388, 1390, 1392, 1397, 1399.

⁸ Bailiff 1378.

⁹ *Cal. P.R.*, 5 Ric. II, pt. i, m. 8.

¹⁰ *Cal. P.R.*, 11 Ric. II, pt. ii, m. 32.

¹¹ *Cal. P.R.*, 11 Ric. II, pt. i, m. 8d.

¹² Bailiff 1382, 1387.

¹³ Bailiff 1387.

¹⁴ Bailiff 1387, 1395, 1398, 1405.

¹⁵ *Cal. P.R.*, 11 Ric. II, pt. i, m. 8d.

¹⁶ Bailiff 1398, 1410, 1413.

¹⁷ *Cal. P.R.*, 12 Ric. II, pt. i, m. 16d.

¹⁸ *Cal. P.R.*, 13 Ric. II, pt. i, m. 37; pt. i, m. 15d.

The next appointment of which we have any note is that of John Copleston as aulnager and collector of the subsidy in the county of Devon,¹ excepting the city of Exeter, for which a separate aulnager, John Talbot, was provided. Cornwall also had a separate aulnager, John de Sireston. Copleston is stated to have been appointed under patent dated 20 July, 1394, but no record of this appointment appears in the Calendar of Patent Rolls. He was, like the other aulnagers, a man of good position, the representative of an armigerous family, J.P. for Devon in 1392, and escheator in 1395. John Talbot, too, had been mayor of Exeter in 1383, and again occupied that position in 1396.² As Copleston was directly appointed as aulnager, and not as farmer, he had to account for all cloths sold, with full particulars as to the names of the vendors and the quantities sold, and we find three accounts of his, covering the period from the date of his patent to Michaelmas, 1397. He was apparently appointed under the statute of 1393,³ which prescribed that no cloth should be sold before it had been measured and sealed by the aulnager, "with the seal to that ordained,"⁴ and no deceit should be used in kerseys, on pain of forfeiture. This seems to be the first enactment that required the aulnager to examine the quality as well as the size of the cloths sold. Copleston's first account consists merely of a list of the vendors, with the number of cloths sold, and the amounts of the subsidy and aulnage paid by each, but there is no indication of localities. The second gives the names under the chief market towns of the county, and the third arranges them in eight large districts, formed by grouping the Hundreds.

The first period extends from 20 July, 1394, to Michaelmas, 1395, during which 75 vendors paid a total subsidy of £28 ls. 6d., and aulnage fees of one-eighth that amount, on 6738 "dozens" of narrow cloth (*doss' panni stricti*), of which four were equal to one "cloth of assize." These "dozens" were small cloths, nominally 12 yards in length and one in breadth, whereas the "cloth of assize" was 24 yards in length and two in breadth. Curiously enough, the Cornish narrow cloths were twice the length of these

¹ *Exchequer K.R. Accounts*, 338/11.

² Izacke, *Memorials*.

³ Stat. 17 Ric. II, c. 2.

⁴ An illustration of an aulnager's seal is given in *Social England*, ii, 325.

"dozens," namely, 24 yards, but were the same width, and consequently were charged 2d. subsidy on each instead of 1d., though aulnage was charged in full, as if they had been "cloths of assize," namely, $\frac{1}{2}$ d. for each cloth, whereas the Devonian vendors only paid one-eighth of the amount of the subsidy, or a half-farthing on each "dozen."

According to the strict letter of the law, these "dozens," being less than half a "cloth of assize," were not liable, and, after the making of the first statutes, kerseys, "dozens," "streites," and all other things of small value had been suffered to pass "without controlment," which grew greatly to the King's loss when the making of kerseys, "dozens," and "cottens" increased, and therefore they were brought into charge by equity of the same statutes and common usage ever since the increase of the said kind of cloths, so that every four Devonshire kerseys should stand for a whole cloth, and so likewise for "dozens" and "streites."¹

As the accounts sometimes reckon in "dozens" and sometimes in "cloths of assize," it will be convenient for purposes of comparison to reduce all numbers to the latter standard. It should, however, be borne in mind that in the earlier accounts, at any rate, the actual number of cloths sold was four times the number specified. The 75 vendors thus sold the equivalent of 1684 $\frac{1}{2}$ "cloths of assize," an average of 22 $\frac{1}{2}$ each, but four of them dealt in much larger quantities than the others, and may be regarded as the pioneers of the large merchants or "clothiers" of later periods, though the same men did not sell such large quantities in subsequent years. The three largest merchants, John Neel (330 cloths), John Parkman (159), and Richard Burnard (126), were all Barnstaple men, while the next on the list, John Colyn (90), apparently hailed from Culmstock. There is no doubt that at this period Barnstaple was, after Exeter, by far the most important weaving centre in the county. Indeed, during the

¹ *Exeter City Archives*, Letter Book 60 A, No. 55. The document states that "everie Dozen shulde stande for a whole clothe, and streites in likewise," but this is obviously incorrect. It is difficult to ascertain the precise differences between kerseys, dozens, and straits, for in Devon they all appear to have been 12 yards long and 1 broad, though elsewhere kerseys were 18 yards long. "Cottons" were woollen fabrics of the nature of frieze, used chiefly for linings, but they were not made before the sixteenth century (*N.E.D.*).

few years that Copleston was aulnager, it appears to have accounted for more cloths than Exeter itself. The reason for this prominence is probably to be found in the fact that an important merchants' guild, the Guild of St. Nicholas, had been in existence at Barnstaple since 1303, whereas Exeter had as yet no guild of this kind.¹ It was not until 1490 that the Company of Weavers and Fullers was first incorporated in Exeter by grant under the common seal of the city,² and still later (1556) that the Company of Merchant Adventurers, trading to France, was incorporated by royal charter.³ From another source⁴ we learn that Exeter, during the same period as Copleston's first account, paid subsidy on 707 cloths of assize, but there is no record of the number of vendors. We have thus for the whole county 2391½ cloths for a period of fourteen months, being at the rate of 2050 per annum. Cornwall, during a slightly extended period, sixteen months instead of fourteen, only accounted for 91 cloths and 18 yards of narrow cloth, making 45½ cloths and 9 yards of "cloth of assize," or an average of only 34 cloths per annum. All the cloths in Devon and Exeter were plain without grain, and therefore paid subsidy at the rate of 1d. per "dozen," or 4d. per "cloth of assize." Five "dozens" were forfeited for being exposed for sale without being sealed, and were valued and sold for 22s., with the oversight of James de Chuddelegh, sheriff of Devon; the price per "dozen" was thus 4s. 5d., that is, 4½d. per yard. No cloth of scarlet or of demi-grain was found in this, or any subsequent, account.

The second account, which is for one year, from Michaelmas, 1395, to Michaelmas, 1396, is unfortunately much faded, and parts of it are illegible, but the total subsidy amounted to £35 18s. 4d., representing 2154 cloths. The distribution throughout the county, as far as it can be ascertained, was as follows: Barnstaple, 12 vendors, 977½ (or 980½) cloths; Torrington, 5, 116; Southmolton, 5, 53½; Bampton, 6, 159½; Cullompton, 4, 20; Culmstock, 8, 185 (more than this); Honiton, 6 (? about 250); Newton Bushell, 3, 26½; Dartmouth, 2, 16½; Totnes, 4, 47½; Plymouth, 5, 36½; Kingsbridge, 2, 25½; Plympton, 5, 46; Tavistock, 3, 36; Okehampton, 3, 35½; Credi-

¹ Gross, *Gild Merchant*, ii, 12-15; i, 22.

² Izacke, *Memorials*, 60.

³ Izacke, 61; Cotton, *Elizabethan Guild*, 1-10.

⁴ *L.T.R. Enrolled Accounts, Misc.*, 8 and 9, No. 8.

ton, 2, 42; Chulmleigh, 4, 28; "Sele" (South Tawton), 1, 15; Ashburton, 2, 38½. This shows the wide and uniform distribution of the industry throughout the county, and it also shows, I think, that in this year, at any rate, the aulnager confined his attention to the chief fairs. He was required to make proclamation, prohibiting all purchase and sale of cloth that had not paid the subsidy, and he had powers of search and forfeiture in cases of non-compliance. It may, therefore, be assumed that he required the cloths to be brought to the fairs to be measured and sealed. There were this year 82 vendors, giving an average of 26½ cloths each, but, as before, a few accounted for large quantities. Barnstaple again heads the list, for though it is doubtful whether John Neel's name occurs, we find John Parman (no doubt the same as Parkman) sold 270 cloths, Richard Burnard 251½, Thomas Lilia 100, John Bydewill 90, and John Pitman 75. Thomas Lilia and John Pitman were two of the commissioners appointed in 1388 to inquire into the matter of false sealing. John Colyn this year only sold 37½, but one of the Honiton merchants must have sold about 90. Exeter, during a slightly extended period, from Michaelmas, 1395, to 24 November, 1396, paid a subsidy of £11 17s. 11½d. for divers cloths and parcels of cloth without grain, representing 714 cloths for fourteen months, that is, at the rate of 612 per annum, which is considerably less than the number sold at Barnstaple. The only forfeiture was 7s. for two "dozens" of narrow cloth belonging to John Blaunchard, and sold with the oversight of William Ferers, sheriff of Devon. The price per "dozen" had thus fallen to 3s. 6d., or 3½d. per yard instead of 4½d.

The third account is also for one year, from Michaelmas, 1396, to Michaelmas, 1397, and the total subsidy paid was £35 12s. 2d. for 2136½ cloths. The aulnager this year obviously changed his plan of operations, and, instead of attending only the chief fairs, he extended his tour to the villages and outlying districts. The result is that the number of vendors increased from 82 to 242, giving an average of only 9 cloths each. The vendors were, therefore, in most cases probably the actual weavers, and the amounts represent the surplus cloth that they themselves sold during the year, whereas in the previous years they had entrusted their surplus cloth to merchants for sale at the fairs. It must be remembered that only the cloth

exposed for sale, that is, the surplus cloth made by the weaver, was accounted for by the aulnager. The weaver, no doubt, collected his yarn from the farm-houses in his vicinity, where it was spun by the females of the household during their moments of leisure, and he returned the bulk, if not the whole, as cloth. The cloth was then sent to the tucker to be fulled, and possibly to the dyer to be dyed, and any surplus cloth not required for home use was then sealed by the aulnager and sold to the clothiers and merchants. The largest vendor this year was Nicholas Buteler, of the Barnstaple district, who sold 75, but the large merchants of the previous accounts only sold small quantities, namely, Thomas Lelya, 40; John Neell, 7; Richard Burnard, 6; John Pitman, $3\frac{1}{2}$; and John Parkman, $3\frac{1}{2}$. The distribution throughout the county was as follows: (1) Hundreds of Braunton and Sherwill, with the town of Barnstaple, 108 vendors, 1094 cloths; (2) Hundreds of Fremington, Hartland, Shebbear, Black Torrington, and Lifton, with the town of Torrington, 27, $284\frac{1}{2}$; (3) Hundreds of Southmolton, Northmolton, Witheridge, Bampton, Tiverton, Hayridge, Halberton (and others), 37, $302\frac{1}{2}$; (4) Hundreds of Axminster, Colyton, Ottery St. Mary, and East Budleigh, 8, $26\frac{1}{2}$; (5) Hundreds of Exminster, Teignbridge, and Haytor, 7, $45\frac{1}{2}$; (6) Hundreds of Cole-ridge, Stanborough, Ermington, and Plympton, 29, $243\frac{1}{2}$; (7) Hundreds of Roborough and Tavistock, with the town of Plymouth, 14, $70\frac{1}{2}$; (8) Hundreds of Crediton, West Budleigh, North Tawton, and South Tawton, 12, 71. Exeter, for the period from 23 November, 1396, to 13 November, 1397, accounted for 272 cloths of assize without grain and 1634 "dozens" of narrow cloth, making altogether $680\frac{1}{2}$ cloths of assize, on which subsidy of £11 6s. 10d. was paid by a new aulnager, John Shapelee, senior.¹

There are no further statements of particulars available, but John Copleston and John Shapelee continued aulnagers for Devon and Exeter respectively until the end of Richard II's reign, and John Trewoof, who was appointed by patent of 23 November, 1395, continued aulnager for Cornwall. The following is a summary of the subsidies paid from 20 July, 1394:—

¹ *L.T.R. Enrolled Accounts, Misc.*, 8 and 9, No. 8.

	Periods.	DEVON.	Cloths.	Subsdy.	
				£	d.
20 July,	1394-29 Sept., 1395	.	1684½	28	1 6
29 Sept.,	1395-1 Nov., 1396	.	2155	35	18 4
1 Nov.	1396-29 Sept., 1397	.	2136½	35	12 2
29 Sept.,	1397-29 Sept., 1398	.	1349½	22	9 11
29 Sept.,	1398-29 Sept., 1399	.	910	15	3 3½
Total .			8235½	£137	5 2½
EXETER.					
20 July,	1394-29 Sept., 1395	.	677	11	5 8
29 Sept.,	1395-24 Nov., 1396	.	714	11	17 11½
23 Nov.,	1396-13 Nov. 1397	.	680½	11	6 10
13 Nov.,	1397-13 Nov., 1398	.	506½	8	8 10
13 Nov.,	1398-17 Oct., 1399	.	250½	4	3 6
Total .			2828½	£47	2 9½
CORNWALL.					
20 July,	1394-24 Nov., 1395	.	46	0	15 3½
24 Nov.,	1395-11 Oct., 1398	.	139½	2	6 7
12 Oct.,	1398-21 Nov., 1399	.	19½	0	6 6
Total .			205	£3	8 4½

This gives a total of $8235\frac{1}{2}$ cloths for Devon, $2828\frac{1}{2}$ for Exeter, and 205 for Cornwall, or 11,269 cloths for the whole of Devon and Cornwall. It will be seen that the periods vary slightly, but, taking this into consideration, it will be found that Devon sold an average of 1594 cloths per annum, Exeter $538\frac{1}{2}$, and Cornwall $38\frac{1}{2}$, giving a total annual sale of 2171 cloths of assize. When it is considered that this represents an annual sale of over 100,000 yards of fabric, in addition to the cloth made to order, or for home use, it will be realized what a large amount of cloth was at this time being produced.

It will also be seen that the output had been decreasing from 1396, but on the accession of Henry IV there was a great change, which it is very difficult to explain. A new aulnager, Thomas Wandry, was appointed for both Devon and Exeter, under patent of 21 November, 1399, but the returns dropped to such an extent that in 1400-1 three separate commissions were appointed to inquire into the concealment of certain sums of money due from the aulnage of cloth within the county of Devon.¹ The three sets of commissioners were: (1) 24 August, 1400, Philip de Courtenay, "chivaler," John Sanford, and Robert Markele, serjeant-at-arms; (2) 4 November, 1400, Philip de Courtenay, "chivaler," James de Chudderlegh, "chivaler," Robert Markele, serjeant-at-arms, Walter Cornewe, Walter Polard, Edmund Boson, and John Boson; (3) 5 July, 1401, Peter de Courtenay, "chivaler," Hugh de Courtenay the elder, "chivaler," William Bonevyll, "chivaler," John Herle, "chivaler," William Hankeford, "chivaler," Martin de Ferers, Robert Hulle, John Prestecote, and William Burleston. The chief reason for the inquiries seems to have been that Wandry, who was one of the bailiffs of Exeter in 1400 and on several other occasions, confined his attention to his own city and made no attempt to collect the dues from the rest of the county, for in each of the three accounts presented by him all the names appear to be those of Exonians, and the last account is distinctly stated to be limited to Exeter. Out of the 47 names given in these three accounts, no less than 23 or 24 were those of past and future mayors and bailiffs of the city. The previous aulnagers, John Talbot and John Shaplegh the elder, accounted altogether for 31 and 13

¹ *Cal. P.R.*, 1 Hen. IV, pt. viii, m. 14d; 2 Hen. IV, pt. i, m. 37d; 2 Hen. IV, pt. iii, m. 7d.

cloths respectively, and Thomas Wandry himself accounted for 6 in the first period, while the names of some of the previous commissioners also appear in the lists. It is, therefore, all the more surprising that the returns should have been so small. In the first fourteen months, from 21 November, 1399, to 31 January, 1401, Wandry only accounted for 179 cloths from 22 vendors; in the next 20½ months, from 31 January, 1401, to 15 October, 1402, 159½ cloths from 35 vendors; and in the last period of 3½ months, from 15 October, 1402, to 2 February, 1403, 36 cloths from 11 vendors. This gives an average of only about 117 cloths annually, in place of the 538½ for Exeter during the previous period. No cloths of any kind were exposed for sale in Cornwall during the whole of this period. As the vendors named were probably the most important cloth merchants in Exeter at this time, although the quantities of cloth returned as sold are so ridiculously small, a list of the names may be of local interest. They were as follows: Henry Alyn,¹ John Blakelond, Richard Bosyn,² Nicholas Bowhode,³ John Bugge, John Coke,⁴ Richard Dyscher, William Edmonde (or Heddemonde), Thomas Eston,⁵ William Goitan, Maud (or Maiota) Golde, Simon Grendon,⁶ John Grillys,⁷ Roger Hakeworth, John Herward, Henry Hull,⁸ Robert Hyston, Thomas Hyston, John Jonsone, Richard Larkstoke,⁹ William Mannyng, William May,¹⁰ "taylor," William Morton, Alice Nemot (or Nimet), William Oke,¹¹ John Panter,¹² "chaundeler," Richard Peuterer,¹³ John Peppedon, John Porter, John Russel,¹⁴ Roger Sadelere, Adam Scut,¹⁵ John Scut, John Shaplegh, senior,¹⁶ John Shaplegh, junior, Roger Shaplegh, William Shaplegh,¹⁷ Peter Stret (or Sturt),¹⁸ Ralph

¹ Bailiff 1383, 1388.

² Bailiff 1373; mayor 1387, 1389, 1391, 1393, 1409.

³ Bailiff 1402, 1407.

⁴ Bailiff 1413; mayor 1417, 1421, 1424.

⁵ Bailiff 1394, 1402; mayor 1414, 1419, 1422, 1426.

⁶ Bailiff 1382, 1386, 1389, 1391, 1393; mayor 1395, 1398, 1405.

⁷ Bailiff 1387; commissioner in 1387 and 1388.

⁸ Bailiff 1394, 1396; mayor 1403, 1412.

⁹ Bailiff 1397, 1402, 1408.

¹⁰ Bailiff 1389.

¹¹ Bailiff 1385, 1387, 1391, 1393, 1396; mayor 1401.

¹² ? Panton, bailiff 1383, 1388, 1392, 1394.

¹³ Bailiff 1387, 1395, 1398, 1405.

¹⁴ Bailiff 1373, 1377, 1379, 1380, 1388, 1390, 1392, 1397, 1399.

¹⁵ Bailiff 1365, 1369, 1373, 1377; mayor 1385, 1397, 1407, 1410.

¹⁶ Bailiff 1386, 1390, 1399, 1401, 1403, 1404, 1407, 1409; aulnager for Exeter 1396-9.

¹⁷ Bailiff 1415, 1417.

¹⁸ Bailiff 1400, 1403, 1405, 1411; mayor 1413, ? 1415.

Swayn,¹ John Talbot,² Gerard Tasker, John Tollow,³ Thomas Wandry,⁴ John Webber, Alice Wilford (or Elsota Wilforth), John Wilford,⁵ William Wilford.⁶

Wandry had received sixteen seals of office from John Copleston, of which he delivered three to the Treasurer and Barons of the Exchequer, and the remaining thirteen were sold by the Barons at 2s. 6d. each, presumably after cancellation. In 1402 it was enacted that the aulnage might be let to farm "by improvement" according to the discretion of the Treasurer and Barons, and on 4 February, 1403, Wandry was directed by writ to deliver the seals made for use in his office, and other things touching the same, to Thomas Fardell, of Barnstaple, to whom the King had farmed the subsidy, aulnage, and half the forfeitures from the Feast of Purification (2 February) in this year for three years, at a rent of 20 marks this Easter, and 40 marks each Michaelmas and Easter following during that term, that is, £53 6s. 8d. per annum, a very considerable increase on the amounts that had been collected by Wandry. As the subsidy was now farmed, the records for a long period contain only the accounts of the King's half of the forfeitures, and these, more frequently than not, were nothing. At Michaelmas, 1435, John Thorn became the farmer, and it is noted that before this date the subsidy had not been collected or farmed for several (*plures*) years.⁷ At Michaelmas, 1436, John Standard and Thomas Lamby succeeded, and then there is another gap. John Hyndeston had a grant of the farm for Devon and Cornwall for two years by patent of 26 October, 1456, and this was renewed by patent of 24 November, 1458,⁸ but, at the beginning of Edward IV's reign—on 10 April, 1461—the farm was granted to Edmund Molyneux for seven years from Michaelmas, 1460. In his return for 1462–3 he accounts for the half of 6s. 8d., the value of a dozen of narrow cloth belonging to John Towker, of Malton (? Molton), exposed for sale unsealed at

¹ Bailiff 1398, 1410, 1413.

² Bailiff 1375; mayor 1383, 1396; aulnager for Exeter 1394–6

³ ? Tollow, bailiff 1408, 1412.

⁴ Bailiff 1385, 1395, 1398, 1400, 1404, 1406; aulnager for Devon and Exeter 1399–1403.

⁵ Bailiff 1399, 1401, 1404, 1412, 1414.

⁶ Bailiff 1396, 1397; mayor 1400, 1402, 1404, 1406, 1408, 1411, 1412.

⁷ *L.T.R. Enrolled Accts., Misc.*, 8 and 9, No. 8.

⁸ *Exchequer K.R. Accounts*, 338/11–12.

Exeter, and valued by Richard Dyke and Thomas Hayle, of Exeter.¹ Hyndeston received twelve seals of brass, six for the subsidy and six for the aulnage, and these were passed on to Molyneux and his successors.

In 1464 was passed a very important Act of Parliament, referred to in a subsequent Act as the Act of Approvement.² This statute regulates the whole business of cloth-making in all its details. It prescribes the size of cloths of different sorts, and the manner of sealing faulty cloths. It compels the clothier to pay his work-folk in ready money, instead of "pins, girdles, and other unprofitable wares," and to deliver them wool according to due weight; and it forbids the fuller to use cards in "fulling, rowing (roughing or raising), or tayseling" of cloth. But, for our present investigation, the most interesting clauses are those which prescribe sealing with a double print of lead, to be devised and ordained by the Treasurer for the time being, who had power to appoint as many keepers of the seals as he thought necessary, so long as one of them was an alien. These keepers had to render yearly an account of the revenue of their offices without paying any fees for the same, and were to be rewarded by the Treasurer and Barons according to their labour and diligence. If any of the keepers should be found faulty or corrupt in his office, refuse to seal, extort more than his due fees, or refuse to show his commission upon sealing or measuring any cloth, he should forfeit 20s., to be divided between the King and the prosecutor.

One of the clauses of this statute forbade the putting into cloth of any lambs' wool, flocks, or cork, on pain of forfeiture, but three years later³ an exemption as regards this clause was given to the inhabitants and residents of the Hundreds of Lifton, Tavistock, and Roborough, because "by this ordinance the said inhabitants were likely to be undone, for that they have continually used, from the time whereof is no memory, to mix and put flocks in the cloth made there,⁴ without which flocks they might not,

¹ *Exchequer K.R. Accounts*, 338/13. Richard Duke and Thomas Hayle were both bailiffs in 1460, and the latter was again bailiff in 1462 and 1466 (Izacke).

² Stat. 4 Ed. IV, c. 1.

³ Stat. 7 Ed. IV, c. 2.

⁴ It is not clear how this was done. In later times it became the practice to apply flocks in the form of powder to the woven fabric, and

nor could make any cloth there to sell, by reason of the grossness and stubbornness of the said wool ; for the same wool is not put in clothing, nor in cloth in any (other) part of this realm ; so that the King will lose his customs, aulnage, and all other profits pertaining and belonging to him of the said cloth made in the same Hundreds, and the inhabitants aforesaid for ever will be utterly impoverished, and like to be undone, unless a reformation be made in the premises." These cloths were exempted in several subsequent statutes under the name of Tavistocks or Tostocks.¹

The first "approver" under the Act of Approvement was Nicholas Elwyn, who was appointed for Devon and Cornwall under patent of 26 January, 1468, and we have an almost complete set of the accounts of these "approvers" during the whole period that the statute was in force, namely, from Michaelmas, 1467, to 22 March, 1478.² Thomas Byne succeeded Elwyn at Michaelmas, 1470, but he held office only until Easter, 1471, when he was succeeded until the following Michaelmas by John Ferley, whose account does not appear to have been preserved. John Rowland and Nicholas Henstecote were then appointed under patent of 14 November, 1471 ; Thomas Elyot under patent of 18 November, 1472, for five years from Michaelmas, 1472, his sureties being Thomas Dokmanton, of Exeter, gent., and John Wykes, of Wyke, gent. ; and Richard More for Devon, Cornwall, and several other counties, under patent of 8 November, 1474.

incorporate the powder with it in the process of dressing, but in the case of these Devonshire cloths the flocks were apparently mixed with the wool before spinning.

¹ Stat. 6 Hen. VIII, c. 9 ; 27 Hen. VIII, c. 12 ; 5 and 6 Ed. VI, c. 6.

² *Exchequer K.R. Accounts*, 338/14-20 ; 347/10-11.

The following is a summary of the whole period :—

Periods.	Duration.	Approvers.	Vendors.	Cloths.	Cloths per ann. per ann.	Cloths per vendor per ann.
Mich., 1467-Mich., 1469	2 yrs.	Nic. Elwyn .	. 248	939	470	1.9
Mich., 1469-Mich., 1470	1 yr.	Nic. Elwyn .	. 226	396	396	1.75
Mich., 1470-Easter, 1471	6½ mos.	Tho. Byne .	. 119	364½	673	5.65
Easter, 1471-Mich., 1471	5½ mos.	Joh. Ferley .	. .	No return		
Mich., 1471-Mich., 1472 ¹	1 yr.	Joh. Rowland and Nic. Henste-	180	924½	924½	5.13
		cote				
Mich., 1472-Mich., 1473	1 yr.	Tho. Elyot .	. 138	1066½	1066½	7.72
Mich., 1473-Mich., 1474	1 yr.	Tho. Elyot .	. 177	1066½	1066½	6.0
Mich., 1474-Mich., 1476	2 yrs.	Ric. More .	. 43	2133½	1067	24.8
Mich., 1476-Easter, 1478	1½ yrs.	Ric. More .	. 43	1600	1067	24.8

¹ In this account 45 are entered as cloths, and the remainder as dozens of narrow cloth.

This gives a yearly average of 849 cloths. The first six of the eight accounts are remarkable for the long lists of vendors, and the small numbers of cloths accounted for by each individual. The first four lists are fairly consistent with each other, and contain a very large majority of the same names in each ; in fact, no less than 161 of the names appear in at least three of the lists. There are, indeed, very few names in the second, third, and fourth lists which do not also appear in the first. But when we come to the fifth list, made by a fresh approver, Thomas Elyot, there is almost an entire change in the names, which it is very difficult to explain. The names in his two lists, however, are in close agreement, and the total numbers of cloths sealed are identical. In the last two accounts, rendered by still another approver, Richard More, the vendors are reduced to about a quarter of the previous number, but nearly all of them appear also in Elyot's lists, although they now account for much larger quantities. In More's two lists the names are identical, and the number of cloths per annum is the same as in Elyot's. During the short period of ten years there are nearly 500 names of different vendors.

In the first list only are the names arranged under localities ; in this we have under Exeter 36 vendors of 189½ cloths ; Totnes and Plympton, 106, 335 ; Ottery St. Mary ("Sent Mary Overy") and Honiton, 38, 150 ; Tiverton and Cullompton, 37, 142½ ; Barnstaple, 31, 121½. As the statute exempting the three Hundreds was passed this year, it is remarkable that one of the districts was not made conterminous with them. The names of the Exeter vendors were as follows : Richard Addiscot, Edmund Arkesworthe, John Atwill,¹ John Baron, Undirhill Baron, John Belli,² Walter Belli, William Browne, Robert Browning, John Colyn, William Dunster, Raynold Ebin, William Frend, John Gill, William Gill, Thomas Hastingses, William Holle, John Jakman, William Jakman, Hugh Jerman,³ William Kelli, John Palmer, Thomas Richard, John Robin, Richard Robin, Robert Smyth,⁴ Edmund Sowle, Thomas Spere, William Stere, Simon Sweting, John Thomas, Richard Thornbi, John Towker, Richard

¹ Bailiff 1472, 1474 ; mayor 1476, 1479, 1483, 1492, 1496 (Izacke).

² ? Betty, mayor 1459.

³ Germin, bailiff 1441 ; mayor 1443, 1449, 1451, 1453, 1455, 1462, 1464, 1466, 1470, 1474.

⁴ Bailiff 1453, 1456, 1458 ; mayor 1469.

Webbe, John Weye, Henry Whitford. It is an extraordinary fact that although there was only an interval of five years between this list and the first of More's, not a single name is repeated.

As More's list probably includes all the most important clothiers at that time, it will be interesting to give it in full, together with the numbers of cloths paid for by each vendor in the two periods. They were as follows : Matthew Andrew,¹ 27, 16 ; Thomas Atwell, 15, 11 ; Philip Atwyll,² 32, 19 ; John Baker, 120, 68 ; Richard Baker,³ 51, 33 ; John Balker (or Blaker), 37, 29 ; Richard Barry, 15½, 121 ; Nicholas Bery, 37, 28 ; Richard Birche (or Bryce),⁴ 7, 4 ; Robert Bonefaunt,⁵ 112, 66 ; Thomas Bounde,⁶ 26, 16 ; Thomas Boyle, 88, 100 ; Richard Burgh, 40, 30 ; Robert Chapelman, 18, 13 ; Richard Clerk,⁷ 18, 14 ; John (or James) Corman, 22, 15 ; William Coyton, 30, 23 ; Walter Dowlyng, 153, 115 ; John Dythe, 30, 17 ; John Ector,⁸ 38, 29 ; Henry Geffery (or Gaffery), 17, 11 ; Henry Grantlond (or Grauntlond), 44, 31 ; John Grauntlond, 34, 22 ; William Gremell, 9, 7 ; John Gruscote,⁹ 46, 32 ; Nicholas Hamelyn,¹⁰ 18, 14 ; Peter Hamelyn, 16, 12 ; Henry Hoper, 140, 105 ; John Kelby, 29, 23 ; John Kellegh,¹¹ 24, 18 ; William Naune, 6, 6 ; Nicholas Nawne,¹² 20, 15 ; Robert Newton,¹³ 115, 68 ; John Rewe, 19, 15 ; William Rewe, 41, 30 ; Richard Ronwell (or Ronwall),¹⁴ 114, 86 ; John Taylor (or Tailor),¹⁵ 113, 67 ; Henry Undey, 29, 22 ; William Webbe, 118, 84 ; William Webber, 110, 67 ; John Wenycote (or Wyncote), 23, 15 ; Thomas White, 24, 16 ; and Peter Wise (or Wyse), 108, 67.

¹ Of Topsham, merchant (*Cal. P.R.*, 21 Ed. IV, pt. i, m. 2).

² Bailiff 1485.

³ Bailiff 1464, 1467.

⁴ Bailiff 1473.

⁵ Bailiff 1473, 1489, 1491, 1499.

⁶ Merchant, *alias* "mercier," bailiff 1486 ; deputy of John Taillour (see below).

⁷ Bailiff 1466, 1470 ; mayor 1472, 1488.

⁸ "Marchaunt," *alias* "taillour," bailiff 1488.

⁹ ? Goscott, "marchaunt," *alias* "taillour," bailiff 1491, 1503 (died of the plague).

¹⁰ "Marchaunt," *alias* "wever," bailiff 1485, 1491 ; mayor 1499.

¹¹ Mayor 1457, 1461, 1477.

¹² Bailiff 1467.

¹³ Bailiff 1469, 1477, 1478 ; mayor 1487, 1503 (died of the plague).

¹⁴ ? Rumwell, bailiff 1459, 1464 ; mayor 1473.

¹⁵ ? John Taillour, of Exeter, the younger, merchant, surveyor of the customs and subsidies in the ports of Pole, Exeter, Dartmouth, Plymouth, Fowey, and Briggewater, and of the customers and controllers in the same ; keeper of the seal for the subsidy and ulnage of cloths in the county of Devon (*Cal. P.R.*, 21 Ed. IV, pt. i, m. 2).

As the approvers under the Approvement Act were salaried officials, and were concerned mainly in regulating the size and quality of the cloths made rather than in collecting money, the revenue fell short of the amount expected, so in 1477¹ "the King certainly perceiving that sithence the making of the same Act, he hath had yearly greater loss by the approvments of the subsidy and aulnage of cloths, than he had at any time before the said Act of Approvement made," it was enacted that the Treasurer should again have power to let to farm the subsidy and aulnage to persons, by sufficient surety, in the form as was used and done before the previous Act; the farmers to have half the forfeitures as before. It was also enacted that the cloths should be sealed with wax at both ends, instead of with a double print in lead. In accordance with this new Act, Richard More, under patent of 5 June, 1478, became farmer for ten years from Easter (22 March) in that year, and consequently we get no further particulars except of forfeits. In the period from Easter, 1478, to Michaelmas, 1479, he accounted for 50s., the price of 14 pieces of woollen cloth called "streytes," 13 being white and one green, the goods of John Piers, merchant of Brittany, exposed for sale in Exeter before being sealed, by John Atte Wylle,² merchant, and seized by John Ector,³ of Exeter, the accountant's deputy in Devon and Cornwall.⁴ On 4 October, 1483—at the beginning of the reign of Richard III—he handed on the seals to William Dracher and John Shaldo, the new farmers of the subsidy.⁵

In this year another important Act had been passed,⁶ requiring that no person should be made aulnager, sealer, or keeper of the seal, but one who was expert in cloth-working and worth £100 at least, and the officer so deputed should seal no cloth but such as was made within the limits of his deputation, in pain to forfeit to the King for every whole cloth 5 marks, for a half-cloth 33s. 4d., for a "streat" 20s., and for a kersey 10s. The seals were to have the King's arms printed on one side, and the arms, sign, or token of the city, borough, or town, or the name of the county where the cloths were made, on the other side.

These straits (occurring also in the forms streytes,

¹ Stat. 17 Ed. IV, c. 5.

² See p. 587, note 1.

³ See p. 588, note 8.

⁴ *L.T.R. Enrolled Accts., Misc.*, 8 and 9, No. 8.

⁵ *Exchequer K.R. Accounts*, 347/12.

⁶ Stat. 1 Ric. III, c. 4.

streates, strayghtes, streightes) were in later years the subject of several special enactments, from one of which we learn that they were a base and coarse kind of cloth, usually made for the use of poor people beyond the seas, and especially designed for export to Brittany in exchange for linen cloths.¹ In 1513² it was enacted that "none shall make white streates to sell, but when they are raw ready to be toked, and being a yard and a quarter broad and 15 yards long, and except the maker set his special mark upon them"; and in the following year³ this statute was made perpetual, and extended to "russet streates" as well as white, and the weight was fixed at 14 pounds the piece at least. In the preamble of "An Acte for the true making of white playne Streightes and pynned White Streightes in Devon and Cornwall," passed in 1553,⁴ we are told something more of the nature of these cloths: "In divers parts of Devon and Cornwall ther be certeyn kinds of clothes made of the nature of Tavestock clothes, thone called White playn Strayghtes, and thother called pynned White Straightes, which sorte of clothes be made withe the refuse and course woolles flockes lambes wool and heire woolles; which clothes are transported and carried into the partes of Brytayne beyonde the sea, and ther uttred by the marchauntes therof by exchange and barter for lynen cloth called doulasse, lockeram and canvase, which the same merchants do afterwards bring into this realm to serve the King's majesty's subjects therewith, as well dwelling in Devon and Cornwall as in divers other parts of the realm; and the said kind of clothes are made with Cornish wool, which is for the most part thereof all hairy woolls." It was enacted that in future the white plain streights should be at least 12 yards long and one yard broad, and the white pinned streights should be at least 11 yards long and $\frac{3}{4}$ yard broad, and should weigh 8 pounds at least, but the essential difference in the nature of the two cloths is not explained. It was declared lawful for anybody in Devon and Cornwall to make these cloths with hair, flocks or yarn made of lambs' wool, or otherwise, without any penalty. The owners were required to bring or send the cloths to the next city, borough, or town cor-

¹ Stat. 27 Eliz., c. 18. In this it is stated that "in trueth none of the same are worne or occupied within this Realme."

² Stat. 5 Hen. VIII, c. 2.

³ Stat. 6 Hen. VIII, c. 8.

⁴ Stat. 7 Ed. VI, c. 9.

porate, where the same should be fulled, dressed, and made, there to be measured, weighed, and sealed with a seal of lead, in which the arms or name of the town should be graven, and the mayor was required to appoint and swear two officers for the true weighing, measuring, and sealing thereof, who should receive a halfpenny for each cloth and no more. In 1584¹ it was again enacted that the inhabitants of Devon and Cornwall might weave these cloths, and use therein hair, flocks, and lambs' wool, and further that they might keep three looms in their houses,² and make the cloths of such length, breadth, and weight as they liked, provided only that no piece of such cloth should weigh above 12 pounds, nor be above 14 yards long or one broad; the yarn had grown so much smaller and finer that the weight, length, and breadth could no longer be made to agree.

There are also statutes relating to the manufacture of Devonshire kerseys, which were a superior kind of cloth to the Tavistocks and white straits. It is not quite clear whether the "Western Dozens," exempted with Tavistocks from the Act of 1535,³ refers to kerseys, but in 1552⁴ it is definitely prescribed that the length of Devonshire kerseys called dozens should be betwixt 12 and 13 yards, and the weight 14 pounds, and this Act did not extend to Devonshire cloths called Tavestocks. In 1557⁵ it was prescribed that Devonshire kerseys should weigh after the rate of one pound the yard; and in 1592⁶ that every piece of Devonshire kersey or dozen (as it came from the loom) should weigh 15 pounds and upwards, and every raw Devonshire kersey or dozen, being a rudge-wash kersey, that is to say, being made of fleece wool washed only on the sheep's backs, and the wool not being cleansed, washed, and scoured after it was shorn and before it was woven, should weigh 17 pounds at least, and should contain in length between 15 and 16 yards by measure of yard and inch; and in 1606⁷ that Devonshire kerseys or dozens should contain in length between 12 and 13 yards, and should weigh 13 pounds. The object in all cases was to provide that the cloths, when scoured, thicked, milled,

¹ Stat. 27 Eliz., c. 18.

² Only two were allowed elsewhere. Stat. 2 and 3 Ph. and Mary, c. 11.

³ Stat. 27 Hen. VIII, c. 12.

⁴ Stat. 5 and 6 Ed. VI, c. 6.

⁵ Stat. 4 and 5 Ph. and Mary, c. 5.

⁶ Stat. 35 Eliz., c. 10.

⁷ Stat. 4 Jas. I, c. 2.

and dried, might weigh 12 pounds and measure 12 yards.¹

The statute of Elizabeth (1592) was due to a complaint by the clothiers of the weavers and tuckers of Devonshire kerseys or dozens, who made them too light when they came from the loom : some weavers used false slays, or mixed yarn, and made the muster end of fair yarn, the other end by the crest being coarser and open woven ; and the tuckers cut off some, and racked and strained the remainder. Complaints of this had even been made by the States of Holland.¹ The Act states that these Devonshire kerseys or dozens were a commodity heretofore in great request, prize, and estimation both amongst her Majesty's natural subjects and in foreign nations and countries, but of late marvellously (and not without occasion) discredited by the inventions and new devices of the weavers, tuckers, and artificers.² In addition to prescribing the weight and dimensions, as indicated above, it required the cloth to be "sewantly" woven throughout of well and like sorted yarn, except the list, and the weaver to weave in at one end his mark of some coloured yarn, and at each end a "purrel,"³ and it forbade him to deceitfully mingle his yarn. Searchers and sealers of such kerseys were to be annually appointed by the head officer of the place where they were made, who should be sworn, and have the power to enter into any house (in the day-time) to make search accordingly, receiving a farthing for every kersey they marked.

It must have been detrimental to the best interests of the cloth industry to allow the use of flocks, for this was one of the chief "deceits" the aulnager had to guard the public against. This practice had increased to such an extent by the time of Westcote (1630) that he says Pilton made "cottons for lining, so coarse a stuff as there was a *vae* or *woe* pronounced against them in these words, 'Woe unto you Piltonians that make cloth without wool.'"⁴ As early as Richard III's time it had become general to apply flock powder to cloths, to enhance their

¹ *Bibliotheca Lindesiana*, vol. v, *Royal Proclamations*, No. 847.

² "Some merchants caused counterfeit Devonshire kersies to be made in Yorkshire out of washers or half-thicks, which have contained such length and breadth with stop lists, like those Devonshire kersies, which they have caused to be dressed, dyed, and pressed with the hot press, and so sent beyond the seas in the name of Devonshire kersies, to the great discredit of that sort of cloth" (May, *Estate of Clothing*, 32).

³ This was to prevent pieces from being cut off the ends and the remainder sold as a whole cloth.

⁴ Westcote, *Devonshire*, 61.

appearance and value,¹ and in Edward VI's reign we find Bishop Latimer denouncing this practice, in his usual vigorous language, in one of his sermons before the King : " I hear say there is a certain cunning come up in the mixing of wares. How say you ? were it no wonder to hear that cloth-makers should become poticaries ? If his cloth be seventeen yards long, he will set him on a rack, and stretch him out with ropes, and rack him till the sinews shrink again, while he hath brought him to eighteen yards. When they have brought him to that perfection, they have a pretty feat to thicken him again. He makes me a powder for it, and plays the poticary : they call it flock-powder ; they do so incorporate it to the cloth, that it is wonderful to consider : truly a goodly invention ! They were wont to make beds of flocks, and it was a good bed too : now they have turned their flocks into powder to play the false thieves with it."² This powder was mixed with " solace," and spread upon the musters, and where the cloth could be seen ; " but the same cloth lying a while after the dressing, the solace drieth up, and then the same floss flyeth away, leaving the cloth in his owne nature againe."³

According to the statute of Richard III (1483) no cloth could be retailed until it had been fully watered, and it could not be stretched or drawn after being so watered ; no one was allowed to keep in his house any tenter or other engine whereby cloth might be drawn in length or breadth, under penalty of £20, but tenters were to be set in open places and used only for the due stretching of cloth after it came from the mill and before it was " rowen " (raised). In 1514⁴ it was enacted that no one, after buying cloth, should draw it length or breadth with tenter, wrinch, or otherwise, under penalty of £5, and in 1552⁵ that none should use with his tenter any wrinch, rope, ring, or other engine, to strain or stretch cloth, under penalty of £20. A kersey was allowed to be strained one nail in breadth, and half a yard in length, and no more ; but John May, a deputy aulnager, writing in 1613, says : " It hath been known that a Devonshire kersey of 12 yards hath been strained a quarter of a yard in breadth and 3 yards in

¹ Stat. 1 Ric. III, c. 8.

² Latimer, *Third Sermon before Edward VI.*

³ Smith, *Memoirs of Wool*, i, 135 ; May, *Estate of Clothing*, 29.

⁴ Stat. 6 Hen. VIII, c. 9.

⁵ Stat. 5 and 6 Ed. VI, c. 6.

length: so that in breadth and length the tenters lends them the one half of the piece, which as soon as it comes to water flies away invisible to his own country, but never to be found again." "If a gentleman make a livery for his man, in the first shower of rain it may fit his page for bigness."¹

Various other abuses crept in from time to time. For example, the use of cards instead of teazels for raising the nap had been forbidden since 1464, and in 1552² the newly invented gig-mill was also banned. In this year, too,³ it was enacted that none should press any cloth with the hot press, nor in any other deceivable manner, but only with the cold press, in pain to forfeit the same, or the value thereof. Indeed, in almost every fresh statute provision had not only to be made for new kinds of cloth, but also to guard against new abuses.

In the reign of Elizabeth was introduced what was called the "new drapery," that is, the manufacture of serges or perpetuanoes, as distinguished from the "old drapery," or manufacture of broad cloths, kerseys, and straits. As the various statutes were devised only for the regulation of certain specified cloths, the "new drapery" was in many cases not affected, and this gave rise to further complications. It is difficult now to ascertain the precise nature of the different cloths made, but the essential difference between kerseys and serges seems to have been that in the former both warp and weft were made of the same kind of yarn, which was spun locally, whereas in the latter the warp was made of worsted, which is spun from wool of longer staple, and was obtained from Yorkshire and elsewhere. Kerseys were inferior in strength to serges, but they were not necessarily coarser cloths, for we have Westcote's authority for saying that some of the local yarn, especially that spun at Crediton, was extremely fine.⁴

The office of aulnager had by this time become almost a sinecure, though in 1561 and later⁵ we find the corporation of the city of Exeter still making regulations for it; in this year the aulnager or his deputy was ordered to be

¹ Smith, *Memoirs of Wool*, i, 135, 136; May, *Estate of Clothing*, 29, 38.

² Stat. 5 and 6 Ed. VI, c. 22.

³ Stat. 5 and 6 Ed. VI, c. 6.

⁴ Westcote, *Devonshire*, 61, 121. "It is very true that 140 threads of woollen yarn spun in that town were drawn together through the eye of a tailor's needle; which needle and threads were, for many years together, to be seen in Watling-street in London, in the shop of one Mr. Dunscombe, at the sign of the golden bottle."

⁵ *Exeter City Archives*, Letter Book 60 A, No. 55.

ready every Tuesday and Friday by request to repair to the clothiers' and dyers' houses to survey, view, and seal their cloths, and collect the duties. The office had in former times been given only to persons skilled in the art of cloth-making,¹ but it was now deputed to overseers and searchers, who were "silly countrymen, and generally not expert in the mystery of making cloth."² Complaints were made that the searchers' seals were bought and sold as in a market, "by bushels," and put on the cloths by the tuckers and other servants of the clothiers, as if the same had been lawfully searched and sealed according to law, though the searcher's eye had never so much as beheld the cloths; whereby the seal, which ought to have been a witness of right, was made an instrument of deceit, and in foreign parts disgraced the cloth that it ought to have warranted. The searchers were also accused of extortion, extending their operations to waistcoats, stockings, and caps; charging a penny for sealing, instead of the half-penny to which they were entitled; and exacting fines and yearly rents from woollen drapers, mercers of the new drapery, upholsters, and stocking-sellers.³ The aulnager had, in fact, ceased to exercise any effective control on the quality of cloth produced, and his office continued to exist merely for purposes of revenue, although it is probable that only a small proportion of the fees collected found their way into the Exchequer. In the Exchequer Accounts⁴ there is a curious memorandum to the effect that, under patent of 26 October, 1583, the farm of the subsidy and aulnage on cloth in Devon, Cornwall, and Exeter had been granted to Roger Parker, one of the Pages of the Queen's chamber, for a term of 40 years, upon the determination of a lease of 21 years, granted to Richard Stringfellowe and William Crudge on 29 November, 1570, the said Parker to pay a yearly rent of £26 15s. 4d. The term was, on 15 January, 1601, in the possession of Walter Hickman, Esq. John Plummer, gent., came into the Exchequer and offered an additional 24s. 8d. yearly rent, whereupon the patent to Parker, if still in force (!), was revoked, and a grant made to Plummer at £28 per annum. On 13 April, 1613, the Duke of Richmond and Lennox became aulnager,

¹ Stat. 1 Ric. III, c. 4.

² Misselden, *Free Trade*. Quoted in Smith, *Memoirs of Wool*, i, 147-8.

³ *Exeter City Archives*, Letter Book 60 C, No. 162.

⁴ *Exchequer K.R. Accounts*, 339/1.

and he and his successors held the office until its abolition in 1724.¹

The statutes occasionally indicate a general change in the conditions of manufacture. We have seen that, as early as 1464,² a class of employers, known as "clothiers," had come into existence, who supplied their work-folks with wool by weight, to be spun into yarn, and in 1514,³ when this practice had become more fully developed, the clothiers were required to deliver wool by weight to the breakers, combers, carders, and spinners, who had to redeliver to the clothiers the same wool, or woollen yarn, by the same weight (the waste thereof excepted); and the weavers also were required to put all the yarn delivered unto them into the web, or restore it, without putting anything deceitfully thereto. By Westcote's time (1630) the procedure had quite changed, for he tells us that "first the gentleman farmer, or husbandman, sends his wool to the market, which is bought either by the comber or spinster, and they, the next week, bring it thither again in yarn, which the weaver buys; and the market following brings that thither again in cloth; where it is sold either to the clothier (who sends it to London) or to the merchant who (after it hath passed the fuller's mill, and sometimes the dyer's vat) transports it."⁴ In the reign of Mary clothiers were forbidden to keep in their houses more than one loom, and the weavers and fullers were not allowed to encroach on each other's occupations; no weaver could have more than two apprentices, and no one could act as a weaver until he had served a seven years' apprenticeship, under a penalty of £20.⁵

New conditions of manufacture had been introduced with the "new drapery," the development of which must be left for consideration on another occasion. It will be seen that the earlier history of the cloth trade presents several points of difficulty, of which no solution is offered, but it is hoped, at any rate, that the new material which has been brought to light will be found useful to subsequent investigators.

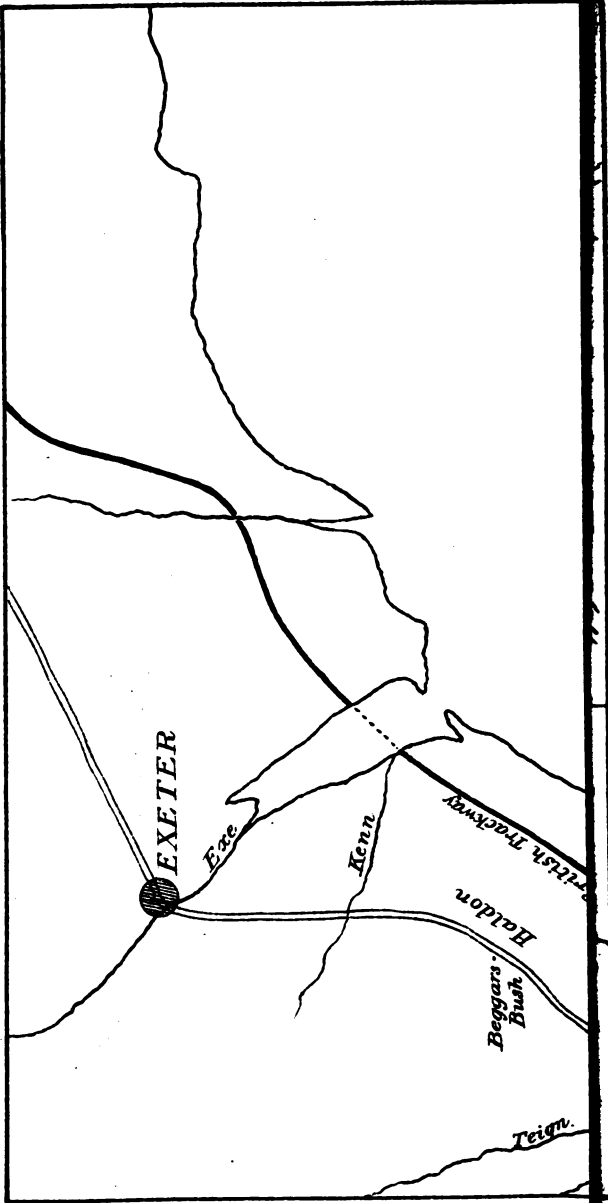
¹ Stat. 11 Will. III, c. 20. The office ceased at the expiration of grants for 60 years from 1664.

² Stat. 4 Ed. IV, c. 1.

³ Stat. 6 Hen. VIII, c. 9.

⁴ Westcote, *Devonshire*, 61.

⁵ Stat. 2 and 3 Ph. and Mary, c. 11. *Weavers* were then allowed to have *two* looms, and in Devon and Cornwall they were afterwards allowed to have *three* (see p. 591).



THE EXETER AND DARTMOUTH ROAD.

BY T. J. JOCE.

(Read at Exeter, 24th July, 1912.)

THE Roman power, having firmly established itself on the outpost above the Exe, an admirably chosen position, which has made the city to this day the key to the south-west, was advancing steadily on into the difficult country beyond that river, where the Celtic tribes were able during many years to hold their own against the invader. But discipline and organized warfare prevailed, and at length a road, direct and well-controlled, a broad channel cut through the dense forest, was led up to the great natural rampart between Exe and Teign upon which our eyes rest to-day from the same station, though the intervening centuries have seen every form of change.

The line of direction of the Roman bridge over the Exe was almost east and west, and that of the road we are considering south, the point of divergence being not now traceable, due in part to its crossing low-lying meadowlands by the river, on the outskirts of a city which has known many years of troubled history. Through Alphington, crossing Kennford, it took its course, climbing over Haldon with its merciless gradients, rising to seven hundred and sixty feet, the poorer land on the heights helping towards its better preservation. An unused portion lies above Waddon Brakes. It crossed the line of the present 'telegraph' road at Beggar's Bush, and after an exceedingly steep descent in Dunscombe now passes the wall of Ugbrooke, where for a long distance it is the present main road. An unused stretch lies in Sands Copse, and then it is again in use where the name 'Sandygate' describes the nature of the way. A two-mile stretch of old road, broad and straight, brings us to the river where those early road-engineers found a swift moorland stream, the head of a tidal estuary, and a great

expanse of water-logged marshland. It would appear that on both the East and West Teign streams there was no fording-place from Chudleigh and from Bovey to the sea except that at Hackney, where the ancient Trackway crossed.

There lie, to this day, twenty feet below ground, the piers and abutments of white stone—most likely Beer stone, brought by water—which were the earliest of the various structures discovered at this spot. The bridge and its necessary adjunct, the long causeway, leading to the hard ground near Sandford Orleigh farm, seem to mark the end of Roman constructional work in the south-west. That they explored and had stations farther into the western peninsula is known, but of settled occupation this appears to mark the terminus.

Thus there came into being the Tengbridge, or Teign-bridge of history, a place of such consideration as to give name to one of the Hundreds of the county. There is to-day but one house near it, taking name from it, but deep in the alluvium around lie foundations of many buildings, showing that there was once a considerable roadway settlement on either side of the river. It is possible that one of the unidentified places in the Itineraries was situated here.

The ancient Trackway leading up from Cornwall, and the constructed military road, were at this point roughly parallel and but two miles apart, and we may surely assume that a safe passage over the river and marsh, with the added advantage of a line of route prepared by the great road-makers of the world, would be preferred to a much-worn and irregular trackway which had also the danger and delays of a tidal ford. It is of interest, therefore, to observe the connecting-link of road between the prehistoric and the civilized.

On climbing the hill out of the Abbotskerswell valley towards Newton, at a level stretch of the lane known as Highburrow, before descending to the hollow at Stanparks which was the course of the Trackway towards the Teign, a road is found starting suddenly away to the left, not curving naturally, but abruptly leaving the former line at an angle of 120° , and the angle is marked sharply by the hedge. This is the point where the ancient way was forsaken for the better course by the bridge.

By the side of the road—which is now the usual way

to Newton from Abbotskerswell—is a hollow pack-horse track, worn in places to a depth of six feet. It leads into Wolborough parish, anciently Ulborough and Ulber, and we follow a long descent of three-quarters of a mile towards the town. Rock Cottage now stands on its former course, and near by the foundations of the cottages which formed the forgotten village of Ulber lie under the turf.

Along the upper end of Wolborough Street we pass on our way to the Lemon, according to Leland the Loman, which stream must be crossed to reach Teignbridge. Ford and stepping-stones were used here until the early part of the nineteenth century. Wolborough Street and Back Road are seen to be in the same alignment. Nos. 68 and 66 have the old line, and 64 and 62A have been brought up to the line of the modern street, properly known as High Street. The ford crosses the bed of the little river obliquely, while the small Union bridge passes squarely above. The remaining portion of Back Road appertains to the modern town. Our original line, it would appear, occupied a course through Messrs. Vicary's gate up to Exeter Road.

At an early period, at what date we know not, the first bridge was thrown across the stream some yards lower down than the ford, and to cross it a deviation from the fording-way would need to be made by men and animals to get into the straight for the bridge. This is what we notice. At a point in Wolborough Street the ford-way was left for a new route by what became in after years High Street. At the angle between the two ways was formed the Pound, whence came 'Pound' Chapel. The wayfaring folk traced the full and emphatic curve so noticeable in Newton to-day, and which is by no means a mere street turning from Wolborough into Bank Street (formerly Bridge Street). After curving thus, the way crossed the bridge up to Exeter Road. The west side above the bridge shows how irregularly buildings have at various times been brought out towards the present line of street. At the higher end of the town the original width may be seen, narrow at first by the old cottages of Exeter Road, wider at Elm Cottage, and so on to the Gilbert Almshouses. It is likely that the earliest way to Teignbridge was not the present one over Whitehill, but along the upper part of Jetty Marsh Lane and the grounds

of Sandford Orleigh, keeping above the marshland till the causeway was reached.

Both above and below the Lemon bridge a settlement sprang up, perhaps receiving its name of Newentone from the dwellers in Sherborne, a small hamlet a few hundred yards lower down the stream, and of which only the name of the Town Mills preserves the record. Having position in different parishes, under separate ownerships, the small groups on either side of the stream came to have separate and distinct entities, and to some rivalry in markets.

Turning now to consider for a while the course of the oldest road from Totnes, we shall find that at a convenient spot that also was forsaken and another line of direction followed to the Roman Teignbridge.

The writer has the misfortune to differ from the largely-accepted idea about Totnes, and holds that it stood not on an east-and-west through trackway, but that it represents the lowest fording-place on the Dart, or Darent, and was the 'way out' up from the rich lands of the South Hams towards the north-east and north, and the roads leading to it come evidently up from the southward, cross the river by the ford, a few yards below the island, and lead to the high ground above Bridgetown. The ford existed before the bridge, and the town street is the deviation curving round from the south, leading over the bridge to join again the old line from the ford, going past True Street and Berry along the elevated ridge of Beacon Hill to that commanding centre of the district—Five Lanes. For a long distance the line is a parish boundary. Keeping its direction at the summit crossway we come by a long gradual descent through a deeply sunk lane to a point near Edginswell, or Agilswell, where the marshland of the Aller stream is narrowest. The Torquay railway line has made some alteration here at Scott's Bridge. Across the modern turnpike road, up a gentle ascent, a hollow road by the side of our way, we reach the crossway above Fluder, and continue past Well, now Coffinswell, up Blackenway, with a loop road over Coffinswell Down, over Newtake Plantation and down Hackney Lane to the same Teign-ford as that taken by the great through Trackway from Cornwall. We here see the tracks converging into one on the north shore of the Teign.

On Milber there is some evidence of the way in which the Roman invaders commanded these old tracks. The well-

known circular camp has immediately above it, and almost contiguous, an earthwork which has not received so much attention. We need not doubt which is the later work. It is a straight-sided, rectangular camp with somewhat rounded corners, and has been almost tilled level again. It can be seen on either side of the St. Marychurch road, and lies adjacent to the ancient Blackenway mentioned above. On the lower side it commands not only the great entrenchment, but lower still under the same extensive down ran the ancient Trackway from the extreme south-west. The higher earthwork is not of great size, and its water-supply could never have been abundant. From the centre of the earthwork there is a paved way of large flints laid without foundation, uncemented, about ten feet in width, passing through Milber woods, and its course may be seen as low as the orchard of Penninn Nursery. Its position lies exactly between the two old tracks, and the writer considers the upper earthwork to be a Roman exploratory camp of a temporary character, cast up by the conquerors when thrusting themselves into the difficult fastnesses of the west, and its date is perhaps many years earlier than the settled work of the great road which ended at Teignbridge. Milber would appear to have been Milborough, as Bilver is Bilborough and Ulber, Ulborough.

The oldest way from Totnes ford to Hackney ford was left at Five Lanes, and a line taken past Marldon, along the Compton valley to Maddacombe Cross, and up a stiff hill which still has its hollow track, down Great Oak Lane to Abbotskerswell. Out of this deep valley an easier line was taken partly up Hall Lane, over Ham field, and up Firestone Hill to the Lemon ford and Teignbridge.

Returning again to Five Lanes, we have to the southward the important landlocked harbour of the Dart estuary, its waters hidden by circling hills. From this height a way was taken by Windmill Hill, Smoky House, by King's Ash, by Hook-kilns, or Hookwells, along Langdon Lane to Galmpton, anciently Gaynton, and to the ferry by the Greenway. Another way climbed the hill by Galmpton Lane, which after 'Collins' Grave' is the modern road to Kingswear ferry.

For many years after the eastern side of the island had been settled by the Saxon invaders a stubborn resistance to the foe was maintained by the British in the west, and Athelstan, pushing on after his conquest of Exeter, would

surely find himself near that magnificent harbour which could not fail to be entered by the early sea-rovers passing down Channel. It was soon recognized as a port of embarkation for France. William of Normandy marched through that narrow gateway of the west—the old Exe Bridge—and made another language to be heard in South Devon by wondering peasants, who themselves used that broad old speech which we have to this day. William Rufus, with a martial train, used the same route in 1090. A hundred years later the road grew busy after an unwonted manner, for the Crusaders on their hapless journey, full of high religious and chivalrous feeling, with their King, Richard of the Lion-heart, with an immense following of horse and foot, and it may be with the battle-axe of renown, together with all the appurtenances of a great military gathering, passed along this historic way to the same goodly haven to which but a sorry remnant returned, to ‘saunterre’ through the land, often laden with foreign diseases, causing leper hospitals to be set up, of which one arose in Newton.

The little township by the Lemon, being situated halfway between Exeter and the port of Dartmouth, occupied a most convenient position for break of journey and for rest of men and beasts. There is reason to believe that the two chapels, hard by the road, came into existence as wayside chantries, where pilgrims paid their devotions. ‘Beggar’s Bush’ seems to have been a pitch for a begging friar, who was greatly interested in the pilgrims.

In the town the needs of the travellers would give occupation to smiths and leather-workers and in providing food and lodging. A noticeable feature of the older part of Newton is the existence of long ranges of small dwellings—the Newton courts—occupying probably the site of the hovels and lofts where wayfarers rested for the night, their weary pack-animals and saddle-horses below. A considerable number of these yards and courts existed, the entrances often low and of varying widths, and it leads us to infer a great amount of road-traffic. The town never had pride of position by charter or from the prestige and protection of a great name, but was in very truth in its narrow thoroughfare, which crossed the bridge and led round into its High Street and on to the far lands of the west, a travellers’ town, literally, in the exquisite words on the tomb of Dean Alford at Canterbury—“The wayside

resting-place of a pilgrim toward the Holy City " (Diversorium viatoris Hierosolymam proficiscentis).

During the long French wars of Edward III thousands of soldiers sailed from the port, and the road knew the tramp of the companies who were to win fame as the bowmen of Cressy and Poitiers, and for centuries there was unceasing traffic. The vogue of a great pilgrimage to the Spanish shrine of St. Jago di Compostella lasted for several years from 1428. "The Duke of Clarence, the Earl of Warwick with their wyffes and company, roade to Dartmouth and embarqued for Calys," doubtless an attractive and picturesque cavalcade, in 1470, and as it was spring-time it may be that the pleasant journey made up for the longer sea passage.

The awakening to ocean voyages and exploring of distant climes which marked the sixteenth century gave increase of trade to the road and port, and Devon seamen were foremost in that wondrous time. Products of the tropics and of the Newfoundland formed the cargoes transported from Dartmouth into the shires. Newton knives and fish-hooks and other articles of local manufacture were sent away, and seamen's yarns were spun, and the beginnings of England's sea-control were heard in Newton taverns. But in the great Elizabethan age the climax of excitement came with the news of the Armada—the road was a main line of dispatches and of badly-needed ship-supplies. The sea was near, and the enemy a reality. In the long war, 'Spain' was the one name which stirred the blood. Many folk for miles around came to look on the huge prize galleon, *San Philip*, brought safely into the harbour.

Not only did Drake, Hawkins, and other dauntless captains draw rein in the little half-way town, but down from Exeter there went one sent in haste from the indignity of a prison in the Tower, that illustrious son of Devon, Raleigh, even then under guard, sent by a queen of varying temper, yet shrewd enough to know his worth, to take charge of the vast carrack, *Madre di Dios*, just lately captured by Sir John Borough and brought into port, which an ungoverned populace was rapidly despoiling and turning into a dismantled hulk.

War declining, trade increased the harbour's business as a port of call. Leland, travelling the country over, mentions in his precise way the creeks and points on

the Kingswear side. The persevering Ogilby, with his measuring-wheel, marks each rising and falling gradient to Exeter, but later in his century a different course was taken to avoid the deep Abbotskerswell Vale by descending towards Kingskerswell along Red Hill, above the church and Castle Dinham, crossing Langford, and so into Newton by Keyberry Road (East Street).

In the sadly disturbed times of the Civil War the road again knew the tramp of armed men, Royalist and Parliamentary, encamping and skirmishing throughout the district, till the unworthy Goring, hurrying off with plunder, took ship at Dartmouth. The troops of Fairfax stayed in the outskirts of Newton for some days. During nearly a week in November, 1688, regiments of foreign soldiers, welcome, yet scarcely welcomed, were passing in detachments along the road, sorely tried by their first acquaintance with the mud of the good red earth, following the Prince of Orange over hills the like whereof could not be seen in the Low Countries.

Many years later, engaged in the work of leading another peaceful revolution, there rode along the historic way a venerable clergyman, who bore the honoured name of the Rev. John Wesley.

With a settled government came a period of great prosperity in woollen manufacture and in agriculture, and the coaching system demanded a better condition of road than had sufficed for pack-animals and lumbering wains. The course taken in the present day differs almost entirely from that of olden times, and towns and villages are altered beyond recognition. Yet there is one part so little changed that though for towering mast and spread of canvas we have steel and steam, as travellers in bygone days looked down upon it we now behold that matchless Dartmouth harbour, set deep within its frame of hills, a noble picture of sun and clouds and woods and sparkling waves.

TWELVE MONTHS' NOTES ON BIRDS IN THE SOUTH HAMS DISTRICT.

BY E. A. S. ELLIOT, M.R.C.S., M.B.O.U.

(Read at Exeter, 25th July, 1912.)

THERE is no doubt the Wild Birds Preservation Act is having some effect in increasing certain species of birds, and whether these birds are of use to man or not is a moot point. For instance, the Common Buzzard is largely on the increase, which preys mainly on rabbits—now a somewhat valuable asset to the tenant farmer, in spite of what he may say to the contrary, for in some cases I have known the rent paid by the sale of rabbits alone—therefore it is not surprising to find that, in spite of this increase, numbers of the birds are destroyed, as evidenced by our local taxidermist having three of these birds in hand at the same time during the winter. It is possible some of these birds were migrants from the north, driven south by the severity of the winter: let us hope so, for a more interesting bird of prey to watch than a Buzzard is hard to find, circling round and round in ever-widening circles high over head in calm or storm, on the look-out for the unsuspecting bunny. An interesting pheasant was shot off a hedge close to the precincts of the town last January, and was brought to me for identification. It proved to be a cross between a Reeves's Pheasant and a Chinese. A brief description of the plumage will show this. There was a broad white stripe over the orbit on each side, a broad white ring around the neck, the supra-scapular feathers were broadly edged buff and the upper tail-coverts buff, tipped with green, but the tail was barred, characteristic of the species known as Hagenbeckers. The tail was broadly barred and considerably longer than in a common pheasant. The nearest place where any Reeves's occurred in a wild state was six miles

away, so that we may reasonably suppose the bird that strayed was a female, as a male bird would have been spotted and shot long before it got so far with its six-foot-long tail. I would have liked to have said a word or two upon the general subject of hybridism and its effect on the origin of species, but the time at my disposal is too short. I can only relate my experience with a friend of mine. I was talking to a farmer once about hybridism in fowls, but he evidently misunderstood me, for his answer was, "Why, bless 'e, sir, there baint no high breeds in fowls ; us only find they in the haristocracy."

A specimen of the White-eyed Duck was shot between the quays at Kingsbridge the end of January. The history of this duck is somewhat interesting, as only two have ever been shot in the county before. This freshwater duck is a summer migrant to the South and Central parts of Europe only, from Kashmir and Northern India, and it is a rare occasional visitor to our Eastern Counties in the spring months, while its appearance anywhere in the West Country can only be regarded as accidental, and it is singular that the only three instances of its occurrence should have been in winter. These winter occurrences of a duck which is, in general, only a summer migrant from the far South, may be compared with the appearance of the Red-footed Falcon, also a summer migrant from the South, in the West of England in the winter months, and are not a little puzzling. The scientific name of the bird is somewhat interesting to trace, for the first naturalist who described the bird in 1788 failed to recognize the peculiar colour of the iris, and was struck only by the rusty colour of its plumage, thus giving it its specific name as that of *Ferruginea*, retaining the generic title of *Anas*, thus placing it in the same genus as the Wild Duck, with which it has no affinity whatever. The generic name as now recognized, *Nyroca*, is an abortive and Latinized name from the Russian name *Ootna Nyrok*, which is equivalent to white eye. It is somewhat curious that two of the rarest of the *Anatidæ* that have ever been obtained in the neighbourhood in the last forty years have so narrowly escaped the fate of falling victims to the cooking-pot. The first instance was that of a Pink-footed Goose, and now this bird was ordained for a Sunday dinner, but was rescued just in time, to "cast its shadow on the rungs of fame, and leave its feathers

to proclaim the same," rather than descend to the depths of Avernus or the pot. At the end of February I was brought a Scaup Duck which had been shot on Torcross Ley. This bird must not be considered a rare bird in the general acceptation of the word, as it occurs in countless thousands at this time of the year off the East Coast, where it finds abundant sustenance on the scalp (whence the name) or mussel beds so frequently met with in the German Ocean. It is incredible to what depths these birds dive to obtain their food—various species of mollusca—specimens of the bird having been found in nets or crab-pots as deep as thirty fathoms. To enable the bird to keep below the surface of the water for so long a period—often exceeding five minutes—Nature has perfected a curious yet wonderful means to an end, namely, a dilatation of the windpipe capable of expansion, just before its entrance into the lungs, enabling the bird to store its supply of air in the same way the ship of the desert does its water. Again, this species is singularly tolerant of sound, and it almost seems as if Nature in allowing the bird to descend to such great depths had abrogated the bird's hearing apparatus to a great extent, for many years ago I came across a small flock of these duck feeding just off the northern end of the Salt Stone, and on firing two barrels into the flock, killed some, yet the others kept on feeding as if nothing had happened, enabling the gun to be charged twice more, until the whole flock were secured. A wild-fowler has no — inside.

May 5. I come in from the garden whilst the tragedy is green in my memory. Sitting outside the greenhouse, a bird glides swiftly over my head low down, with wings fast closed, which I instantly recognize as a male Sparrowhawk; its objective is evidently a few gardens below. Yes! there is a Blackbird singing in a small ash tree, oh, so blithely, to his mate, no doubt sitting on a nest close by, but in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, the songster is dead and being carried over my head again to the hungry progeny of the robber, whose blood I would willingly have shed if I had been given the opportunity; but there! the deepest feelings have the fewest words.

"All is hushed, and nothing that has life is visible during tempestuous weather." Thus wrote a poet who was not a naturalist, for only this morning (4 Nov., 1911), whilst the gale was at its height, one was able to observe several

birds of interest, never seen in the estuary except under exigencies produced by a hurricane of wind and rain. First one observed the common Estuarine Gull, the red-legged, flying low close to the quay walls, seeking any small bits of offal that might be floating from the moored shipping; one could almost touch them as they tried to beat against the gale. Then out by High House Point were seen an innumerable number of various species of sea-gulls on the wing, because, as it was high tide, they seemed not to know where to seek shelter. Numbers of Great Black-backed Gulls and Lesser also were noticed, rare visitors inland except during stormy weather, and, above all, a common Skua, which very seldom enters our estuaries, keeping well out to sea. The Skua family, four in number, which occur on our coasts at certain seasons, is an interesting one, but from exigencies of space we must refer those interested to any text-book on Ornithology for the reason. Their generic title, *Stercorarius*, will afford a clue—it was an erroneous name given by Linnæus. The fact is, the Skuas chase the unfortunate Gulls on the wing and make them disgorge their well-earned meal, and catch the fish ere it reaches the water. Their beak is quite raptorial in character. An interesting account is given by Sir Walter Buller. He writes: "As is well known, this bird usually subsists by plunder, pursuing the Gulls and compelling them to disgorge their food. Here, however, the conditions were changed, as I myself had an opportunity of observing from the box-seat. The Skua had alighted in a shallow beach stream, and was ducking its body in the water, when a fine old Hawk (*Lucus gouldi*), with hoary white plumage, suddenly appeared from the sand-hills and swooped down upon this intruder. The Skua, without making any show of resistance, instantly disgorged from his crop the entire body of a Diving Petrel. The Hawk, balancing himself for a moment with outspread tail, dropped his long talons into the stream, and clutched up his prey without wetting a feather of his plumage, and then disappeared with it among the sand-hills, while the terrified Skua hurried off, only to be pursued again by the clamorous sea-gulls."

Far away swarmed in the sky are seen a huge flock of wild-fowl, instantly recognized by their colour and flight, which presently, after sundry wheelings, sought shelter under the low cliffs of Decoy Pool. Not often is it vouch-

safed to ordinary mortals to see such a collection of sea-fowl in such a prescribed space, and only under such conditions of weather is it possible.

There were an extraordinary number of wild-fowl in the neighbourhood during the winter, notably the Common Mallard. They mostly flocked in the lower waters of the Avon, and very few were obtained on account of their extreme wariness. There has been a great increase of wood-pigeons in the South Hams this year, in spite of organized shoots and epidemic disease (diphtheria); so that Nature's apparent attempt to check any great increase of this destructive species in ordaining the laying of two eggs in a clutch is of no avail, especially when we take into consideration that the bird often lays as many as three clutches in a season, the first as early as March, and the last as late as October.

On Sunday, 17 March, I noticed a great gathering of Cormorants (*P. carbo*) high up in the estuary, over fifty being counted. It was low tide at the time, and the birds seemed restless, diving in the extremely shallow water and coming up again every few seconds, and swimming round and round each other. It requires little stretch of the imagination to believe the birds were collected for the purpose of pairing, the species being early breeders. On 20 March all the birds had left for their breeding quarters.

Another interesting feature of the spring was the nesting of a pair of Greater Spotted Woodpecker in the stump of an old tree just opposite my bedroom window, which is situated in a busy thoroughfare. The incessant tapping of these birds in search of food often woke me at an unseemly hour of the morning. Once I had the curiosity to try to time the strokes of their beak, and found it no easy task, but it panned out at something like 350 strokes a minute, and this with an interval of two seconds between each twelve or fifteen strokes. No wonder, then, the muscles of the neck of this species are extremely well developed. The strokes were so rapid as to be constituted vibratory. A year or two ago a male bird was brought me picked up dead in the same grounds.

In the same compound a pair of Stock Doves nested, and the incessant *shoo-shooing* note of the male bird, even before dawn, I found most irritating. One can put up with the soft *coo-coo* of the Cushat Dove, but the other note is absolutely distracting.

May 17. On lifting the blind early this morning, far away in the eastern horizon I noticed a bird which even at that distance loomed large, and presently I identified it as a Peregrine Falcon, probably an old friend, as in previous springs I have noticed this species as nesting in our cliffs. And once I fired at one near its eyrie, and missed, owing to the rolling of the boat; but its mate instantly dashed at me, and I only escaped a nasty scratch by dodging behind the sail. One can always identify a Peregrine or a Buzzard, no matter how far off, for the former has an attenuate wing, the latter a rounded.

June 22. During the summer I have observed not only one, but a pair, quartering the distant hills early in the morning.

A LITTLE BIT OF GREAT TORRINGTON CHURCH HISTORY IN THE TIME OF QUEEN ELIZABETH.

BY GEORGE M. DOE.

(Read at Exeter, 25th July, 1912.)

FOR many years I have had in my commonplace book a reference to some Chancery Proceedings in the reign of Queen Elizabeth respecting a "Popish book" having been used in the Parish Church of Great Torrington; but owing to a lack of opportunity and time I omitted to hunt up or verify the reference at the fountain-head. However, thanks to the kind offices of my friend Mrs. Frances Rose-Troup, I have obtained a copy of the whole of the evidence in the case, though, I am sorry to say, there appears to be no record of what was ultimately done in the matter, nor what sentence, if any, was passed on the offender. The extracts are from Vol. CLXXIV of the *State Papers (Domestic)*, temp. Elizabeth.

The case is the more interesting from the fact that the doings during the Commonwealth period and the few years immediately preceding it, and which led up to that great turning-point in English constitutional and religious history, occupy so prominent a position in our country's past career, that one is very apt to attach too little importance to, and rather lose sight of, the earlier struggles and incidents which were the immediate outcome of the Reformation, and which played no little part in influencing the course of later events.

The prejudice against anything savouring of "Popery" was especially strong in the reign of Elizabeth, and notably in the county of Devon, as so graphically portrayed by Charles Kingsley, in his great Devonshire classic of *Westward Ho!*

Another instance of this strong feeling is shown in one of the earliest documents preserved in the Office

of the Clerk of the Peace for Devon, quoted by Mr. A. H. A. Hamilton in his *Quarter Sessions from Queen Elizabeth to Queen Anne*. It is a letter from the Lords of the Council to the Justices of Devon of the 20th October, 1592, respecting the taking of the necessary oaths by all Justices of the county, and the reporting to the Lord Keeper of those refusing to do so. The real cause of this order, in Mr. Hamilton's opinion, was the activity of the Government against "recusants," in proof of which he quotes from it as follows: "That divers persons doe occupy the offices of Justice of the Peace whoe doe not repayer to there churche or chappell accustomed, or upon reasonable lett thereof to some other place where common prayer is used and accustomed for divine servyce, or whose wyves lyvinge with their husband, or sonnes and heyres lyvinge in there houses or within that county where there fathers doe dwell are known to refuse to come to the churche, contrary to the statutes in that behalffe made. A matter not agreable with the vocacon of any that ought to enquerer of such offenders, and to reforme the same."

Without further preamble I will give the whole story of the happening in Great Torrington Church in the words of the various witnesses taken down at the time, and now kindly transcribed for me by Mrs. Rose-Troup:—

STATE PAPERS, DOMESTIC, ELIZABETH.
VOL. CLXXIV. No. 59.

The confession of Alexander Barry taken before S^r Richard Greyndvile knight, and Barnard Drake esquier the xxvith daie of December in the xxvjth yere of the raigne of o^r soveraigne ladie Elizabeth the queenis ma^{tie} that nowe is, as followeth

Imprimis the said Alexander Barry saith that on yesterdaie beinge Christes day, he beeing at mornynge praier in the churche of great Torrington, & sittinge by a servant of one M^r Chapell, named William Edmondess, did see in the handes of the said Edmondess a little booke, to whome the said Barry said, I pray you, what booke have yow, and the said Barry praied hym to loane it, that he might p^{se} it. The said Edmondess answered it is a Catechisme, and delyvered hym the booke, wherof the said Barry p^{se}ved & read a litell pt, and p^{ce}ived that it containyd popishe doctryne, Then the said Edmondess after a litell while praide the said Barry to delyver him the booke agayne. The said Barry told hym that he would

delyver it, because it containd matters against the queenes proceedinges. Then said Edmondes yo^w will not vse me so, I pray yo^w delyver me my booke. The said Barry answered yo^w shall not have it before I pervse it better & afterwards it may be yo^w shall have it. Then said Edmondes, what is yo^r name? Barry answered, my name is Barry. And forthwith the said Edmondes tourned himself to one whome some call Hüfry Reynoldes, servant to M^r Anthony Coplestone, & whispered wth him, And when he had done, the said Barry asked him what his name was, and he answered, Hollaway, And ymmediatlie he denyed it and said (as nere as the said Barry doth remember) that he was called William Edmondes, And praied the said Barry if ever he would doe any thinge for hym, that he woulde delyver hym the booke againe. ffor (said he) I brought the booke from M^r Coplestons, and I toke it vppe in his house to have it in my hand at the churche, when I came forth wth my maister, and I shall have displeasure if I have not the booke againe. The said Barry willed him to be content and said to him, the more he stirred the worsse it should be for him, wherat the said Edmondes did fetche a sigh, and spake no more for the booke. Then the said Barry went home to his house, and pervsed the title & some pt of the contentes of the booke aforesaid, and pceived it to be a popishe Cathechisme, sett forth by one namyng hym self in the booke, Laurence Vaux, batcheler of divynyty; he sett one to writ owt the title therof, and in the meane tyme he went agayne to the churche and gave the maior of Torrington informacion of the said booke, declaring to hym of whom he received it, and a litell after Barry deputed and went home to his howse. And further the said Barry saith, that he shortly after being sent for by the said maior went vnto hym, And delyvred to hym the said Booke. At w^{ch} tyme the said maior told him, that he had talked wth M^r Chapell, and had taken order that his man should be forth comyng.

It. further the w^{thin} named Barry saith, that in the afternoone of the same daye, he was sent for to come before the fforesaid maior of Torrington At w^{ch} tyme were psent diverse of his brethren the Alderman, and M^r Anthony Copleston, and M^r Chapell. And the said Barry being demaunded by the said maior touching his receiving of the said booke, and meetinge wth the said Edmondes: made answer to all thinges as before specified in that behalf. further the said Barry saith that at the same tyme, the said M^r Copleston said, that he thought the said Edmondes could scarce read, and that he thought he was not of any religion, but was an arrant knave, and a vile cutter as might be, and had mysvsed his maister diverse tymes And therfore did mervaile that his sone yn lawe did keepe hym so long as he did. And that his sone in lawe the

same daie after his comyng home from the churche, willed him to putt of his coat, for he would be ridd of him and not keepe hym any longer. To whome the said Edmondnes answered that he could not take his coat from hym, but if there were a cognisaunce on it, he might take that away.

further the said Barry saith that as he was then rehearsing some pt of the contentes of the said booke, The said Mr Copleston said touching the seven sacramentes (w^{ch} was then rehearsed to be mentioned of in the saide booke) That thoughe there were but twoo, in specie, yet the other were sacraments, and had their misteries and sygnifications. As matrymony did expresse the vnitie betwixt Christ and his churche, And further he said that the only having of the booke was no offence, for a divyne mighte have a papistes booke to answere and confute the booke

By me Alexander Barry.

Vol. CLXXIV. No. 60.

26th of Desember 1583.

The examenacon of me Thomas Chapell seayinge howe I towecke W^m Edmondnes in to my servis in Candalmasterme laste paste and howe that one Mr Porter a grosser in chepe side did comende to me the said Edmones and gove me his worde howe that hee shoulde bee of good bee havioure and I shoulde geve the sayde Edmondnes for his yeres servaes xl^s and two Liveries and as fare as I knowe hee is a barcke shere man but to saye sertentie I cannot tell where hee was boren and farder Mr Meare of Torrenton did sertifie mee that hee was informed that the sayde Edmondnes hade a papest booke, but bee cause hee had not at that present no seight of itt, he could not tell what to seaye to itt, and vppon Mr Meares Wordes I examened the sayde Edmondnes what boocke hee hade at the Chourche hee answered me that hee hade a cathecisme, but to what effecte it was of he coulede not tell, but hee confessed that Mr Anthonie Coplestons Clerke called Homfrae Raynoldes had rede some parte of the boocke w^{ch} knewe more of it than hee did And vppon Demande of the sayd Reynold whether he hade rede anie parte of the cathecisme confessed that hee had rede a matter, w^{ch} as tovchinge no other thinges hee seaythe hee did reayd anie for that I did not knowe seaurlie whether it were a navstye booke that hee hade wth hime to the churche or no for that I never sawe itt, nor anie man coulede sertifie mee to bee trewe at the fearste, I called the sayde Edmondnes vnto me and showed hime that my Lyverie should not bee warren by anie suche, and caused hime to put of his cote, and come to answer his Doings hime selfe bee fore

the meare of Torrinton Edmones had folloed mee thether but hee did not & then I retourninge from the Church asked for Edmondes hee coulde nott bee founde, and then the Meayre of Torrenton sente his preseppe to the Counstabl of the parresh to serche for hime, but hee coulde not bee founde, the foresayd Edmondes as fare as I knowe coulde not reade when hee came to mee but mowe hee doeth reade onlie for the sayde cathechisme, the sayde Edmondes did confesse that hee brought itt from London wth hime.

(signed) Thomas Chapelle.

Vol. CLXXIV. No. 61.

The examinacon of Humffrey Reynoldes taken befor S^r Richard Grendfeld knight & Bernard Drake esquier the xxvjth of Decēber 1583.

Imp^rmis he saith that aboute ij monthes sithence he came into pvice wth M^r Anthonie Copleston, and was lodged with Willm Edmondes M^r Chapelles ma, whome he founde frendlie vnto him. This Edmondes had a booke w^{ch} he toke to reade & first beganne to reade at the beginninge & then torned to the place where it is w^rten of the seven sacram^{ts} w^{ch} he rede & then said to Edmondes that he thought the booke to be naught, but he saith he neŕ told any man of the said booke. One Christes daie last W^m Edmondes havinge the booke in his hand at the church Barrie toke & pvsed the same, wherof W^m Edmondes semed to the examen^d to be greved but he could not gett the booke againe and then said that he would tell his M^r of it & so they went home. After dinⁿ M^r Chapell called his man & bid him put of his lifie And then the said Edmondes told this examined that he feared lest that he shuld haue trouble for the booke and therfor he would shift for him selfe & desired this examined to bring him goinge where he went w^t him that night to Bēford & the next morning brought him three miles farther in his waie towards Exeter, whether he said he would go & he desired this ex^d to gather his apparele that he had left behinde, & to kepe hit for him in this examineds chest and so this ex^d he retorned back to his M^{rs} againe

p me Humfredū Reinoldii.

“THE ADVANCEMENT OF SCIENCE.”

SOME GENERAL REFLECTIONS.

BY ARTHUR R. HUNT, F.L.S., F.G.S.

(Read at Exeter, 25th July, 1912.)

IN this Jubilee Year of the Devonshire Association for the Advancement of Science, Literature, and Art, retrospection is perhaps a pardonable weakness; and with some the backward glance may occasionally be that of some *laudator temporis acti*, though such a person is not likely to commend himself or herself to this self-satisfied twentieth century.

As an Association our own most backward glance takes us only to the year 1862, a year which to all intents and purposes lands us in pre-Darwinian times; for in that year the Darwinian theory, not yet three years old, had made but little impression on scientific thought, at any rate in the provinces. My own active and recorded interest in science reaches back to Monday, 7 February, 1859; as an old school notebook reminds me that “I saw the planet Venus as a half-crescent at 7.10 a.m.,” and “in the afternoon went to Mr. Pengelly’s lecture on Astronomy at 2.30.” Next Monday, the 14th, I record going to hear Mr. Pengelly, but hearing a Mr. Saville instead, which I lament as “a great sell.” On Monday, 21st, I played rounders, “went to Mr. Pengelly’s lecture,” and record the death of a schoolfellow’s tortoise! On 1 March I “went to the great quarry at Anstey’s Cove.” On the 3rd “took a candle and went down the cavern at Babbicombe.” On the 5th “went to Barton Quarry in the afternoon.” On the 27th three schoolfellows went to Kent’s Cavern. On 1 April bought sulphuric acid for making hydrogen, but did not succeed. On the 2nd “bought some more S. Acid and Zinc, and succeeded to perfection with the Hydrogen.” After many boyish notes

of games and birds' nests the diary concludes : " Exeter, May 30th, good and exciting match, drawn, 5 runs second innings."

I had forgotten the caverns, quarries, birds' nests, and lectures, but that cricket match with Exeter is burnt, as with a red-hot iron, on my memory. Oh, the schoolboy agony of having to keep up the last wicket for the future Head Master of Newton College to try to make the runs, or play out time ! That is my remembrance, though possibly it was not the last wicket. We were but a school of about twenty, an occasional master, old boys, and our professional, Charles Bentley. But Exeter did not beat us that hard-fought day.

My object in citing these almost childish records is partly to illustrate the hero-worship of our founder in science, William Pengelly. The boys were clearly attracted by science, and the grief is great when Pengelly's place is taken by some other lecturer.

Among other embryological science I may record the purchase on 23 February of half pound hyposulphite soda and half ounce nitrate silver ; and on 5 March the printing (by contact) of some lace collars. These photographic experiments were doubtless initiated by the present Lord Rayleigh, whom I immortalize in the following note : " Feb. 25th. In the morning had jumping in the field. Strutt and Townsend jumped best ; strained my ankle a little, which hindered my jumping as well as I ought." " Townsend," the Rev. George Townsend Warner, Head Master of Newton, was always a leader ; and the Hon. J. W. Strutt, the present Baron Rayleigh, O.M., has certainly " jumped " high and far since that morning fifty-three years ago in the playground. I think my own career was equally well indicated. I tried to jump, but strained my ankle !

It may be interesting to note that the future Chairman of the Explosives Committee, or Commission, made some very potent guncotton at school, which, being exploded in a small cannon, blew out the candle ; enter the Head Master, etc. etc. Cannon goes out of the window.

Among other occupations incidentally mentioned in the diary is that of turning at home with a turning-lathe. We thus see that the school and home life was pleasantly varied by chemistry, photography, astronomy, geology, cave-exploration, and ornithology ; in addition to music

and water-colour drawing taught in school hours, and to wood- and metal-turning at home.

It will have been noted that these schoolboys occasionally gave up their afternoon playtime to attend scientific lectures; and that, although no science was taught in the school, as such, there was a very practical interest evinced in various branches of research.

This general interest in science was probably partly due to the celebrity of Kent's Cavern, and to the stimulating influence of such a man as Mr. W. Pengelly in the town. Science, as expounded and unfolded by Pengelly, was a sort of intellectual luxury. The audience were almost invariably led step by step up to the scientific frontier, to peer into the unknown, and wish they could discover just the next step. That, of course, is the essence of the spirit of research, and, when properly developed, it is the true and not the spurious scientific imagination; the trying to picture to oneself and realize things which really exist, which differ entirely from things which exist only in the imagination.

In my endeavour to string together some of the valuable pearls of an intensely interesting scientific period, I must unfortunately make use of the unworthy thread of my own trivial experiences, but happily pearls do not depend for their value on their invisible connecting fibre, whatever that may be, though lacking the fibre they may be lost.

My little school diary, from 5 February to 30 May, 1859, was written in one of those absolute calms which may precede the hurricane, and which in this case did so, as in the following October the first issue of the *Origin of Species* appeared; and I may say that of that first issue of 1859 (not only the first edition of 1860) the Torquay Natural History Society procured a copy. This, no doubt, owing to the fact that Pengelly was in the very forefront of intellectual activity in the scientific world. The *Origin* seemed to burst as a dynamite bomb on the world in general, and to give rise to an extraordinary ebullition of bad manners; not so in the small scientific circles of Torquay, which then for already twenty-five years had been pondering over the evidences in their midst of the great antiquity of man. Why, even some members of that very strict society the Plymouth Brethren had been driven out of their fortress of the six

days' creation, and the recent appearance of man. I remember a few years later, when Pengelly found the bone needle in Kent's Cavern, joking a relative with the thrust, "You can't get over that needle and its eye; that was made by man," the ready retort came, "They were not the same little men"! The flint implements had long convinced a few specialists that man had lived untold ages before the so-called Adamic period, and the bone needles and barbed fish-spears only served to confirm the flint tools to the specialists, and to convince a wider class of doubters. And here let us not fall into the common error of deriding the doubters. The *onus probandi* lay on those who preached the new doctrines, contrary to all received scientific axioms, and they were doctrines which required proving up to the hilt. I remember hearing my first intimation of evolution, which came, I think, incidentally in a lecture by Pengelly to the Torquay Natural History Society. It struck me as rather absurd, but not so very unorthodox when referred to Kent's Cavern, and the antiquity of man. Professor Huxley took up the new doctrine wildly, but his advocacy was much less convincing to the non-scientific world than the more comprehensible evidence of the caves. The facts of the caves you can see and handle, but no one but an anatomist can judge of "the great Hippocampus question," which so greatly excited Huxley and his followers. Scientific scepticism is one of the greatest safeguards of science, and that man is wise who refuses to accept unconditionally the dogmatic teaching of any scientist, whether it be a Dalton, with his atomic theory, or a Kelvin discoursing on the origin of granite. There is much sound sense in the reply of the naturalist, when the fiend threatened to eat him up, "Hoofs and horns: don't believe a word of it." If not competent to form an independent judgment there is, however, much safety in the caution, "Believe nothing that you hear, and only half what you see." The latter warning is eminently applicable, for instance, to the elusive appearances of waves.

Before proceeding further it may be as well to consider what were some of the principles taught and acted on by scientific workers for the advancement of science in the fifties and sixties of the nineteenth century.

(1) The Advancement of Science is entirely distinct from the diffusion of knowledge. For instance, the Society for

the Promotion of Christian Knowledge desires to increase the general knowledge of known and accepted doctrines. It has no intention of discovering some new gospel. Scientific men, as their name implies, seek to make or create new knowledge, to advance knowledge, and not merely to disseminate it.

(2) Carefully ascertained facts are of transcendental importance. "No fact is unimportant."

(3) The giving of opinions should be avoided. "We want to hear what Mr. X. knows, not what he thinks."

(4) The making of private natural history collections, except for special study, is undesirable.

(5) The knowledge of important facts is a trust for science. The possessor of such facts should "give them to the world," and thus free himself from responsibility for them.

(6) In writing papers, a previous fellow-worker must not be ignored.

If agreed with, he should be given the honour of priority; if disagreed with, he should be paid the compliment of a statement of the reasons for disagreement.

(7) Science pursued for practical advantage and, above all, for private gain, must be viewed with distrust. Great gain will come from science, but that must not be the primary motive of the votary of the temple of science. He must seek no reward or recompense.

(8) As members of one brotherhood, with a common object, every worker must be ready to assist his fellow; it being always a point of honour to observe the rights of priority in discovery or publication.

These were some of the rules which I learned either by direct teaching, or by observation, though, for nearly twenty years after I first, as a boy, became acquainted with Pengelly in the schoolroom, they did not concern me personally. My interest in science was that entirely of an outsider, and it was not until the year 1873 that I submitted my first attempt at work to the Devonshire Association. Then, and ever since, I have striven to follow these rules and act on these principles, believing them to be right. During the seventies I was a collector and sifter of facts, which I prepared as best I could, and "gave them to the world" for the service of other workers. A strange medley indeed they were—coins, sea-hares, notes on Torbay, cave-explorations. Indeed, during the seventies and eighties, I avoided as far as possible

transgressing Rule (3) by offering opinions or forming conclusions.

When my work was flouted and ridiculed by those who recognized not Rules (6) and (8), I further developed on my own account Rule (3) as to opinions. I determined to take a hint from the practice of the law, and to treat all my scientific subjects as clients, in whose causes I thoroughly believed, and therefore to argue their cases and defend them in entire detachment from any personal gain or satisfaction I might enjoy from their success. I do not know whether any worker has ever tried this simple device, but it has the merit of making the student absolutely and genuinely indifferent to personal attack ! If I felt I had done the best I could for my clients, the Waves, the Devonian Schists, the Channel Rocks, or the Granites, personal attack became really so great an amusement that it was not entirely devoid of pleasure. For instance, the following municipal stricture gave me unalloyed delight. I may premise that a Town Council were determined upon a scheme which I thought disloyal to the burgesses, so I opposed it. A supporter of the scheme at a Chamber of Commerce dinner referred to me in the following terms :—

“ I know we shall hear the big drum calling up the opposition. The very mention of ‘ progress ’ calls forth from the wilderness of his discontent the dear old Jeremiah sitting under his juniper tree [*sic*]. But Jeremiahs or no Jeremiahs, the Council must stiffen its back and go forward. Let us proceed with health and happiness and add a thousandfold to the prosperity of our fellow-burgesses, and leave the dear old carping critic crawling on his carping criticism.”

This was published in a local paper.

The next point I desire to emphasize is this : My eight rules of scientific practice were generally observed in the pre-Darwinian days, and Darwin himself was eminently a type of the old school of workers ; but, together with the storm that the doctrine of evolution raised, the old rules went by the board, except in certain provincial backwaters where they have continued to the present day.

These rules not only fell into disuse, but they were some of them openly challenged and repudiated. At the same time all sense of a common brotherhood was lost.

Now with respect to the important Rule (7), as to the disinterested motives of the true lover of science, we have an almost incredible official rejection of it in the address delivered to the Chemical Section at the Glasgow Meeting of the British Association in 1901.

The President therein declares that—

"In order that the academic world may attract the ablest men of ambition, as well as that *rara avis* the able enthusiast, it is necessary that the highest prizes for academic distinction should carry similar social prestige, similar remuneration, and similar opportunities of exerting public influence as are enjoyed by the leaders of other professional callings; they should be at least equal to those of the Archbishop of Canterbury or of the Lord Chancellor."

Observe, these great rewards are to be conferred, not for success in after life, but for academic distinction. The great gifts of inventiveness and of the spirit of research are to be obtained by bribes. A somewhat analogous case comes to mind in St. Peter's scathing condemnation, "Thy money perish with thee, because thou hast thought that the gift of God may be purchased with money." Of one thing, I think, we may be sure, viz., that such devotion as was shown by Mr. Pengelly's almost daily visit to Kent's Cavern for sixteen years could not be secured by £15,000 a year and a dukedom. However, Pengelly got his reward. The usual prophet's reward—nothing at all—not even one of the doctor's degrees which fall around like autumn leaves.

I once observed to a Cambridge professor that Pengelly ought to have an honorary degree. He replied that, if so, it ought to come from Oxford. However, perhaps the absence is now an almost equal distinction.

I was once much amused with the reply of one of the world's great men who had more foreign degrees than he could reckon, "It is not so much the degree itself; it is the going for it that is the mischief!" That man was amusingly devoid of self-seeking and ambition. He quite gave me the impression that a degree of itself could not seriously inconvenience him, but to have to go for it, which he would have to do lest he should give offence, that was the difficulty.

Now I desire to examine another point, viz., How did the old practice, and how does the new practice, respectively affect the Advancement of Science?

The old practice among scientific workers was to spare no pains in testing alleged facts, in every possible way ; and one of these ways was candid criticism.

On reference to the Guide to the Reports of our Association I learn that Pengelly wrote no less than eight purely critical papers, entitled "Notes on Slips connected with Devonshire," and thirteen papers entitled "Notes on Recent Notices of the Geology and Palæontology of Devonshire," making no less than twenty-one critical and corrective reviews of published works. Now I can, from personal experience, vouch for the value of such criticism in making authors careful to be exact. Not a single line did I publish in our *Transactions* without the consciousness of Pengelly's wholesome lash, as well as invaluable correction. On the one occasion when my revered master fell upon one of my "Channel Notes" rather severely, I felt it was the end of all my work unless I could justify myself. I replied in a separate paper with all the severity of despair. We were constantly meeting, but no allusion had been made to this public battle royal, until Pengelly one day curtly and incidentally referred to the situation as follows : "I have a right to a rejoinder, but I intend to let the matter drop." I almost wish that members of this Association would glance over this "Reply to a Recent Critique," etc., in our volume for 1883, now nearly thirty years old, and realize Pengelly's magnanimity. Mine was an unsparing defence, by way of counter-attack, and Pengelly, with his wonderful dialectical skill, could have made an equally scathing rejoinder. I doubt whether there is one man in a thousand in the position of a distinguished master with an obscure pupil, who would not only have refrained from a retort, but have gone so far as to inform his opponent of his intention so to do. Pengelly retired from that contest, leaving himself quoted in parallel columns in the *Transactions* of his beloved Devonshire Association silent. No one can say he considered a rejoinder beneath his notice. He announced that he forwent his undoubted right to reply.

No doubt the practice of candid criticism has been carried to unusual lengths in our Association, but I do not know of a single instance in which offence has been caused. In my own case my only regret is that my friends have dealt so tenderly with me, or shall I say with my clients !

In the old days and under the old practice, I used to think that the maxim was right, "*Magna est veritas, et praevalerebit*," but when I reflect on the absolute failure of Pengelly himself in even securing the acceptance of the simple facts as to Kent's Cavern, on which he was the sole authority, I must sorrowfully admit that the ultimate victory of truth may be long postponed indeed. In the present day, with its impatience of criticism, I fear that truth in many cases will be hopelessly defeated.

A recent instance of confusion will serve to illustrate my meaning.

A few years ago I was asked by a lady, as often before, to recommend some simple introduction to geology. I found what seemed what was wanted in the advertisement of a new shilling geological primer. It was not issued for about a year, when I bought it at once. On perusal, I found that many of the old received doctrines and technical terms had been abandoned, or varied, without comment; among them the fundamental term "Secondary." Now the term secondary is one of Lyell's major time-divisions for all rocks, including all strata from Trias to Cretaceous. A "secondary" rock is some rock between those two inclusive.

But in Petrology the term "secondary" is "applied to minerals which are derived from the alteration in situ of the original constituents of a rock" (Teall, *Brit. Petrography*, p. 447). There has been no confusion between these two different uses of the term "secondary." When I examined the new primer I found that the author stated that "secondary rocks are those which have been formed by the destruction of the primary rocks and the re-disposition of their material." This is an entirely new definition of "secondary," because a secondary mineral is formed in situ without the destruction of the original rock.

There were several other equally important lapses from accepted doctrines, and I could not possibly advise my friend to trust to such teaching; or, rather, I felt that I could not explain it, if asked to do so. In sending a reprint of my last year's paper to a leading geologist, I took the opportunity of mentioning my regret as to the primer in question. He replied:—

"In your letter you speak of X. in a disparaging manner because he has said that 'secondary rocks' are derived from

primary crystalline rocks. Surely he means, what has often been said, that all rocks of secondary or mechanical formation have been ultimately derived from crystalline rocks.”

But here is the exact point at issue—Lyell’s “primary” division included all strata from the Permian to the Laurentian, and did not refer especially to crystalline rocks. John Phillips, long before, had written:—

“With the cretaceous system ends the long series of deposits which are, by general consent, ranked as strata of the secondary periods of geology” (*Treatise on Geology*, Vol. I, p. 229).

Besides all this, it is not a fact that secondary strata are necessarily derived from primary, or even from crystalline rocks. There was plenty of secondary denudation and deposition, and chalks and other lime rocks are also largely of contemporaneous organic origin.

In a text-book of geology, published late in 1910, written by Messrs. Lake and Restall, with a preface by my friend Dr. Marr, I read as follows:—

“Classification of the stratified rocks. . . . According to the scheme which is usually adopted, the groups and systems are as follows (in descending order): Groups, Kainozoic or tertiary, Mesozoic or secondary, Palæozoic or primary, pre-Cambrian or Archæan” (loc. cit., pp. 285, 286).

There is apparently no suggestion that a secondary rock has any necessary relation to a primary rock, except in age; and no relation at all to a crystalline rock. The shilling text-book in question is undated, but is quite recent, and is, as I have shown, at variance with a contemporaneous text-book of even greater pretensions, to judge by the price, 16s.

I respectfully submit that if an introductory primer diverges materially from received geological doctrines, the fact may be justifiably commented upon without the critic being taxed with speaking “in a disparaging manner” of the author! I will just note one more discrepancy, among many. The shilling primer asserts, “Conglomerate and breccia are cemented gravel or pebble beds.”

Lake and Restall say, “If the fragments are rounded, the resulting rock is called a conglomerate, and if angular, a breccia.” This is a well-recognized distinction. Thus, no breccia can be formed either of cemented gravel or

pebbles. All the modern looseness of diction and of thought is diametrically opposed to the painful strivings of our geological fathers after accuracy of thought and accuracy of diction; and, above all, after accuracy of fact.

After perusing the proofs of my last year's paper on "Modern Science and Wave-Action," I appended a postscript to the effect that I foresaw that it would be misunderstood. The comments of the above-cited correspondent in acknowledging receipt of reprint are so valuable and important as indicating the change of practice and thought in geological science during the past fifty years that I have pleasure in citing it. I am sincerely grateful to the writer for his explicit candour.

"Your girding at professional men is useless and nonsensical, for there is no truth in your accusations. What you do not see is that the standard of geological work has risen greatly since you and I were young. No doubt the professionals have set the pace, but the papers, both of profs. and amateurs, are now much more thorough than they used to be, and quite right too.

"You say you will continue to 'press your argument until publicly refuted.' I could refute it crushingly, if it was worth while spending my time over it, but it is not, and I do not suppose anyone else will think so either. You are like Don Quixote tilting at a windmill, and only succeed in making yourself ridiculous, and in impressing the idea on *outsiders* that there is something very unjust and wrong in the geological world.

"Now I have eased my mind, and have really nothing more to say on the matter.

"Yours truly, "____,"

This is precisely the sort of misunderstanding I anticipated by my postscript, but it is far more explicit than I could have hoped for. I only regret my correspondent had "nothing more to say"!

On referring to my paragraph last year, commencing "Professionalism is the same all the world over," etc., I wrote those words with the knowledge that, a professional man myself, I should be probably addressing professional men—engineers, barristers, solicitors, and medical men. I believe most sincerely that in science professionalism and professorialism may be real dangers.

Professor Huxley was fully conscious of this danger, as is well shown in the following note in his *Life and Letters*, Vol. II, p. 312, viz. :—

"As for a government by professors only" (he writes in *The Times* of 6 Dec., 1892), "the fact of their being specialists is against them. Most of them are broad-minded, practical men; some are good administrators. But, unfortunately, there is among them, as in other professions, a fair sprinkling of one-idea'd fanatics, ignorant of the commonest conventions of official relation, and content with nothing if they cannot get their own way. It is these persons who, with the very highest and purest intentions, would ruin any administrative body unless they were counterpoised by non-professional, common-sense members of recognized weight and authority in the conduct of affairs."

This is, I think, far too severe condemnation—ignorant, one-idea'd fanatics!

However, Professor Huxley here covers rather different ground. My contention is that it is the *conditions* absolutely inseparable from professionalism which create the danger. It is really simply this, viz., that scientific inquiry demands both individual and co-operative work, with constant sifting of facts, correcting of errors, and checking of results. But the moment a man sets himself up as an authoritative teacher, or claims to be a professional expert, such a man cannot possibly readily accept contradiction from a pupil, or brook dissent from a layman, or, indeed, any dissent at all. *Per contra*, in this age of specialization, professionalism in science has become more and more necessary. All I can do is to point out that there are certain rocks to be avoided if the Advancement of Science is the object in view.

Ever since my own anxious schoolboy innings against the Exeter Cricket Club in 1859 I have been constantly playing all sorts of matches, both private, team, and club, in all sorts of competitions; and have for the last year been captain of a rifle team, shooting matches with all sorts of clubs. It is probably for this reason that I have often felt so keenly the post-Darwinian lack of the old *esprit du corps* in scientific circles. I cannot imagine, for instance, one member of any team saying to another, "I see the mistake you are making, but it is not worth my while to correct you, and I do not think anyone else will think so either." That, however, is constantly done

in science, in one form or other. But it was not so in the olden days, nor have we ever had a suspicion of it in our own Association.

This neglect of correcting a fellow-student is not usually prompted by unkindness, but perhaps rather by the idea of not interfering in other men's work, or of appearing unfriendly. The following is an interesting case. In my paper read at Launceston I incidentally stated that Mr. F. W. Clarke, in his *Data of Geochemistry*, cited Mr. J. H. Collins, F.G.S., for tin "as a cement in certain Cornish conglomerates, and as an impregnation in long-buried horns of deer." My authority is Mr. Clarke, *Data of Geochemistry*, p. 592. Mr. Clarke cites two papers in the *Mineralogical Magazine* by Mr. Collins.

A very friendly expert correspondent, in replying to my enclosure of a reprint, most kindly mentioned that the occurrence of tin in certain deer's horns had been disproved, but this was to be only a friendly hint, and not for publication. This put me into an awkward position, as having published it as a fact in my paper. Subsequently, in acknowledging receipt of Mr. Collins' book *On the West of England Mining Region*, in which the author refers to the permeation of deer's antlers with tin as an undoubted fact, I ventured to say in general terms that the occurrence of tin in deer's horns had been disputed. I counted, and rightly, on Mr. Collins being a West-countryman and not taking offence. I venture to quote a passage from his reply: "You need not withdraw the cassiterite statement; they failed to find tin in the British Museum specimen, and *assumed* there was none in the Penzance specimen which I analysed." This accounts for it all! Geologists seemed quite content to leave this question under the cloud of uncertainty; but it is really a most important one, as bearing on the recent deposit of tinstone from cold solution. The same sort of thing occurs with Australian precious opal which I have seen permeating bones, though I am not sure as to their ages. The special interest, as regards the tinstone, lies in the fact that cassiterite is also crystallized from vapour at a very high temperature.

Let me hasten to say that in this case the authorities applied to gave me all the information in their possession to clear up my doubt. I certainly proved an *alibi* for Mr. Collins' Penzance specimen. My fellow-students will

understand what a needless amount of correspondence was caused by the evidence of the deer's horns not having been challenged in public, and the question settled when it first arose. The case, as it remains at present, seems to be that Mr. Collins, a mining expert and ore analyst, vouches for the occurrence of tinstone in certain deer's horns at Penzance, and that someone else, to me unknown, has stated, with no doubt equal truth, that there is no tin in certain deer's horns in the British Museum. That is modern science all over, but it is as old as the time of Gashmu the Arabian, e.g., "It is reported among the heathen, and Gashmu saith it"!

My above-cited critical correspondent suggests that I have only succeeded in impressing on outsiders that there is something very unjust and wrong in the geological world. There is no suggestion of injustice, but I only wish I could impress on insiders as well as outsiders that there *is* or was something radically wrong. I am sure of it. I have probably enjoyed very exceptional opportunities of forming an unbiassed judgment, owing to the fact that I joined both the Geological Society and the British Association without the remotest intention of being an active worker with either, viz., in 1870 and 1877 respectively. The meeting of the British Association in that year was at Plymouth, where a distinguished member of Section A (president of that section three years later) proposed my spending the few days of the meeting together with him, and Pengelly was president of Section C.

Being thus on very intimate terms with acknowledged leaders of science, I did not feel at all overawed by the general run of British scientists, and indeed, next year at Dublin, Pengelly pointed out to me sundry of the leading men, often with a dry comment on their idiosyncrasies. One, he declared, always *looked* the wisest man he had ever seen. Another was remarkable for his skill in beating a retreat when forced to do so, a very charming and eminent man too. Further, before I submitted a line to that Association, I had been admitted a member of its General Committee for approved scientific publications, this being the qualification. I had thus already received far more recognition than I had ever dreamed of, before attempting work for the Association. Thus, whether fellow-workers agreed or whether they dissented, did not

trouble me in the least. I was indeed, thirty years ago, rather by way of being a critic of the Association's methods than a suppliant for its recognition. Now what I very soon noticed was this: There seemed a very irritable spirit pervading scientific circles, and an entire absence of the general good-fellowship to which we were accustomed in Devonshire. Men spoke unkindly of rivals, and there seemed a good deal of cliquism. I remember, on the occasion of the visit to the Cresswell Caves in 1879 (in which I, as a cave-worker, was, of course, much interested), that in one of the caves I spoke to a distinguished flint implement specialist. He seemed disposed to freeze me up! He might be good at implements, but I knew a deal more of practical cave-exploration than he ever did. There was the curious spirit apparent in one set of scientists, similar to that of Punch's coal-heavers, "'Ere's a stranger, let us 'eave 'alf a brick at 'im.'" Later on, when the half-bricks came my way, I was quite ready to return whole bricks. This, to me, previously unheard-of scientific unfriendliness was many years afterwards fully accounted for in Huxley's *Life and Letters*, which to me came as a great revelation. Science had begun to look down upon outsiders, whereas science had formerly always been famed for its humility. This fact is, I think, so important that I must prove it up to the hilt. Now, if we turn to the second volume of Professor Huxley's *Life and Letters*, we find the following two passages, viz. :—

(1) "The ignorance of the so-called educated classes in this country is stupendous" (1885, in letter to Lord Farrer, p. 115).

(2) "And the importance of scientific method in modern practical life—always growing and increasing—is the guarantee for the gradual emancipation of the ignorant upper and lower classes, the former of whom especially are the strength of the priests" (1894, in letter to Prof. Lewis Campbell, p. 379).

Professor Huxley regarded the whole nation as ignorant, viz., the upper, lower, and educated classes, except the few who practised what he termed "scientific method." Huxley was not only a representative man, but he was the great leader of the modern school, head and shoulders above his followers.

Here is another significant extract :—

(3) "I have no doubt there is a great deal in what you say about the origin of the myths in Genesis. But my sole point is

to get the people who persist in regarding them as statements of fact to understand that they are fools.

"The process is laborious, and not very fruitful of the desired conviction" (1890, in letter to Mr. Hyde Clarke).

This incidental remark, recorded in a private correspondence, affords an illuminating clue to the mental attitude of many leading scientists of the later decades of the nineteenth century towards the ignorant upper, lower, and educated classes. Professor Huxley's object was not merely to prove that he was right, and his dissentients wrong, but to bring them to confession that they were fools! This curious mental attitude was not exceptional, but ran like a connecting thread throughout what I may term the whole Huxleyan party and their disciples. As a representative of the latter's teaching, I may refer to that very interesting book by Mr. H. G. Wells, *Anticipations*, 1902. As the author informs us, "It bristles with pegs for discussion—vacant pegs; it is written to provoke." The author, like myself, protests against the lack of criticism; e.g., "one of the least satisfactory features of the intellectual atmosphere at the present time is the absence of good controversy. . . . A great number of people are expressing conflicting opinions upon all sorts of things, but there is a quite remarkable shirking of plain issues of debate. There is much indirect answering, depreciation of the adversary, attempts to limit his publicity, restatements of the opposing opinion in a new way, but no conflict in the lists. We no longer fight obnoxious views, but assassinate them." This passage might well be published in letters of gold. I could cite examples to prove every assertion. One example, I think, I must give. Our late member Mr. A. Somervail was a man of the highest honour, and extremely sensitive. Meeting him one day at the Torquay Natural History Society, conversation turned on to a scientific critic of his. This gentleman, it appeared, had suggested to Mr. Somervail that he might as well criticize a third party, a fellow-student in the same work. There really seems no reason why one scientific man should not suggest to a second the expediency of criticizing a third, all in the interests of truth; but this cut Somervail to the quick, and he protested to me, with much emotion, "He wanted me to assassinate X." I, much amused,

inquired, "And did you assassinate X.?" However, it was no joke to Somervail, whose sense of honour was too deeply wounded. Here now we see Mr. Wells, many years later, speaking of scientific "assassination" as a recognized practice. As for attempts made to limit publicity, I know of three editors, of papers or magazines, who have been taken to task and quasi-threatened for publishing my own communications, not always scientific.

Mr. H. G. Wells, by a totally different route, has arrived at the same conclusions as myself on the important question of the general shirking of controversy, and the shunning of criticism. Mr. Wells is a distinguished *alumnus* of Huxley's favourite college, the Royal College of Science, and a representative modern scientist and literary man; whereas I, so far as my interests in Natural History are concerned, am a direct descendant of the old school of science, and am an *alumnus* of Cambridge University and of Trinity College, for both of which institutions Professor Huxley, and some of his followers, had very scant respect. Moreover, I have never shrunk from the confession that if Cambridge and Trinity are, or were, educational failures, I was one of their worst specimens at their worst time, having failed in my college matriculation, and having had to work hard afterwards for a poll degree. Let me boldly confess that Trinity would have been only too glad had I gone elsewhere! Sad, but true. It was my tutor, the late Bishop Lightfoot, who yielded to my youthful pleadings to be allowed another attempt.

Now to return to the attitude of post-Darwinian scientists towards the general public.

Mr. Wells has some very pontifical remarks to make on the modern "proprietor class," created by the modern Joint Stock Company system. Their property he describes as absolutely irresponsible, "a thing that no old-world property ever was." This is perhaps not quite accurate, because a mortgage bond, or an IOU, is practically as irresponsible a property as a stock certificate in a limited company. Neither mortgagee nor stockholder usually interferes with the management of the respective properties. They both represent capital lent for the borrowers to use, subject to the payment of a fixed income or variable dividend to the lenders or investors. However, to Mr.

Wells the "proprietor class" is an undesirable class, and this is how he describes it, viz. :—

"It includes the millionaire snob, the political-minded plutocrat, the wealthy sensualist, open-handed, religious fanatics, the 'charitable,' the smart, the magnificently dull, the great army of timid creatures who tremble through life on a safe bare sufficiency, travellers, hunters, minor poets, sporting enthusiasts, many of the officers in the British Army, and all sorts and conditions of amateurs" (p. 73).

Later in the book Mr. Wells remarks :—

"The old-fashioned University, secure in its omniscience, merely taught; the University of the coming time will, as its larger function, criticize and learn" (p. 270).

This censorious tone is most characteristic of the age. If the "proprietor class" includes all sorts and conditions of amateurs, it equally includes all sorts and conditions of professionals, if fairly successful in life, and with something to invest. The alleged distinction between the old-fashioned and future Universities can never be endorsed by time. The old Universities did not teach. They examined. The exceptions only sufficed to prove the rule. My own experience was as follows: Cambridge examined me in the "Previous Examination," and for the degree. Cambridge taught me during a single term by one course of compulsory "professors' lectures," which I enjoyed extremely. These, however, were only compulsory for the ordinary degree. I have the venerable old paper still. Though attempting sixteen questions out of twenty, Alma Mater floored me with No. 14; e.g., "In boring tubes or cylinders it is necessary that the boring instrument should revolve at a moderate rate, and at the same time advance slowly in the axis of the bore. Show how this is effected by giving simultaneous motions to a screw and its nut." Probably I came to the mistaken conclusion from experience that the venerable mother was in error, as while the nut advances the screw remains stationary! Certainly that is so in ordinary slide-rests. A still more important "function" than criticism and learning is to make men think. That Cambridge has always done magnificently, and that is all the difference between training and mere instruction. It is, however, difficult to understand how a University,

which is a corporate body, can either criticize or learn. The learning as well as the teaching is individual. I feel sure that Cambridge University, as a corporation, would not have pledged itself to the relative motions of screw and nut in cylinder boring. Outside the professor and his class Cambridge was probably mentally inert on the subject of screws and nuts. No doubt, if Cambridge thought on the subject, Alma Mater was only regarding the case of the boring tool rotating.

But to return to early days. Probably no one thing did more to impede the Advancement of Science than the extremely irrelevant and preposterous lengths to which the assault by Science on Religion was carried. I had unusual opportunities for watching both parties. Scientists seemed to fancy that the religionists feared them. Nothing of the sort. Both parties had an equal contempt for each other's "blindness"! Let us for a moment consider the state of the case. During the first half of the nineteenth century the clergy, either from advantages of education or of leisure, were leaders in science, and that pre-eminently so. Who, for instance, were the protagonists as to the cavern evidence of the antiquity of man? Dean Buckland of Oxford, and Father McEnery, Roman Catholic Chaplain of Torre Abbey. Who was one of the leading lights in geology? The Rev. Dr. Sedgwick, D.D., of Cambridge. Numberless naturalists of the first rank accepted as a matter of course the orthodox views as to the history of the world; or, doubting, had no satisfactory explanation of the conflicting evidences. I well remember that stage, when the complete extinction of trilobites and goniatites, and the appearance of new fossil forms, seemed to indicate "catastrophes," "cataclysms," and all the heresies eschewed by modern scientists, who now possess information then withheld from possibly better men.

It is perhaps impossible now to realize what an exasperating nuisance the misuse of the theory of evolution was to earnest workers. It was impossible to stir without being tripped up either by a Darwinian or anti-Darwinian. Let me cite a few examples. In the seventies I was very keen at working out some little problems in zoology, which gradually took the form of the influence of waves upon sea-creatures.

In one case, by dredging at all times of the year, I

collected a series of individuals of the mollusc *Aplysia*, with the object of ascertaining whether Forbes and Hanley or Gwyn Jeffreys were right in their views as to species. The former thought there was one British species, and Gwyn Jeffreys thought there were two. I compared the odontophores, or lingual membranes, and the shells. The lingual membranes start with a very few teeth, which increase in number by age. One day, when reading and discussing a paper at Torquay on this problem, I spoke of the "development" of the sea-hares. Mr. Pengelly at once corrected me to "growth." I retorted that as a photographer I had used "development" as a technical term long before I had heard of Darwinism, and that the Darwinians should have no monopoly of that word! Moreover, I contend that the lingual membranes do develop rather than grow. They do both.

Then, again, when discussing the long spines of cockles, I said that the "use" of the spines was to anchor or moor the molluscs in the sea-bottom. Pengelly objected that that was "teleology," i.e., a question of "design." It was a mere statement of fact. The use of a nose is to smell, and the use of a cockle-spine is to anchor! This irrespective of origin.

Then, again, I had a very curious case of a gradual passage of two well-established species of gastropods into each other, both by way of outline of shell and also of sculpture, i.e., *Trochus granulatus* and *Trochus Zizyphinus*. Driving in a four-wheeler to the Linnean Society with Mr. Gwyn Jeffreys, I mooted the question to him. He promptly replied, "But a species is a species!"

One more incident as to the Darwinians and the antis. Pengelly, staunch Darwinian as he was, promoted a rule for the Torquay Natural History Society that no lecturer should be either introduced or thanked. That rule still survives. Its sole object was to prevent presidents making speeches and wasting time by discoursing pro or con on evolution!

By the time I had zoologically done with research, I had become a sort of scientific rogue-elephant, driven from the herd, and ready for any mischief! Thus, when not only in zoology, but when also in my pet subject of submarine physics, and later on in petrology, I was obstructed by authoritative people whose opinions were of little or no use to me, I found myself sometimes in

full pursuit of some foe, instead of in the more meritorious pursuit of some fact. Speaking to Devonshire men, and in Exeter, I may more fully explain my perhaps undue vexation with scientists for their often expressed contempt for the general run of Englishmen, whom Mr. Wells describes as the "Grey," or occasionally as the "Abyss"! In my own case, if it comes to a choice between scientists and the "Grey," I am most decidedly for the Grey, and even for the Abyss. As I showed in a paper read at Totnes in 1900, I fully believe that I am a direct descendant of Thomas Hunt, the woollen merchant, Mayor of Exeter in the year 1537. The descendants of my undoubted ancestor, whom I believe to have been Thomas' second son John, were yeoman farmers, settled in the South Hams before the year 1575. My great-uncle, Thomas Holdsworth Hunt, was a Newfoundland merchant and shipowner. My maternal grandfather was an Oporto merchant, and so was my father, and so should I have been had health permitted. Now what I affirm without hesitation is this: The observation, knowledge, and skill requisite to successful farming, to the successful conduct of the Newfoundland, shipping, wine-growing, and commission businesses, require a much higher type of man than is necessary to do humble, though still useful, research work in science. A successful merchant may turn in his leisure to science, and has done so, but a scientific man cannot as well turn in his leisure to business. The practical business and professional men of the world do not rate scientists at their own value.¹ The scientific expert can as often as not be balanced by another scientific expert *per contra*, and the specially trained and stimulated brain of the original and successful scientific investigator is usually too much specialized for the rough, practical, active, and varied work of this world. A great scientist once admitted to a friend that he had either to delegate the management of his estates and agricultural business to his agent, or give up research entirely. The incompatibility of scientific and business qualities is a very general belief. Indeed, on one occasion a Torquay Borough

¹ In his *Life of Gladstone*, Lord Morley quotes Gladstone as speaking of a scientific fraternity which, valuable as it is, has been unduly pampered of late from a variety of causes into a somewhat overweening idea of its own importance (*Life of Gladstone*, Vol. II, p. 420). I discussed this controversy in an article in the *Westminster Review*, October, 1905, "The Kew Gardens Feud."

Councillor suggested in the Press that attention to science had narrowed my own mind. I do not say that he was not right, but it had never occurred to me before in that light.

The assumption which seemed to be made by scientists in the later half of the nineteenth century, that the students of natural science were, as a race, superior to other mortals, was a dangerous doctrine indeed. Genius is born, not made, and some of the greatest discoverers of the nineteenth century would have been snuffed out at the start had they encountered the mephitic fog of mere trained and orthodox talent.

It is not often one has the chance of crossing the path of the great inventors who have revolutionized human affairs. When the privilege does present itself, the chances are in favour of the great man being unrecognized. Let me cite a few cases.

On arrival at an afternoon party in London, clad, no doubt, in the conventional frock-coat, lavender kids, and very possibly adorned by a purple tie with white spots, my hostess asked me if I would kindly go and talk to a gentleman who did not know many people present. Who was this unknown guest? Professor Wheatstone, of electric telegraph fame. Wheatstone was really in those days an electrical demigod in scientific circles. Any text-book referring to electricity would mention him, and some might possibly give his portrait.

When telephones were first introduced I was much bitten by the new scientific wonder, and made several telephones both with horseshoe and bar magnets. At one of the meetings of the British Association I happened to mention the subject at dinner in the hotel. A gentleman sitting opposite smiled. It was Professor Graham-Bell! The professor most generously and kindly gave me a pair of his telephones of the last new pattern. He, however, was, I believe, as much interested in the education of the deaf and dumb as in telephones. Dr. Sorby, though he did not revolutionize the ways of the world, created the science of micro-petrology. Once, when I humbly offered the incense of my worship with reference to one of his papers, he simply and sincerely replied that he was glad I thought well of it! Of Edison, as an inventor, it is needless to speak. Every phonograph and incandescent light proclaims the inventive genius.

One remark of my above-quoted critic is very important. He affirms that the standard of geological work has risen greatly since we were young, and that the papers of both "profs." and amateurs are now much more thorough than they used to be.

It is a remarkable tribute to the amazing thoroughness of Sir Henry De La Beche's classic Report on Devon and Cornwall (1839) that quite recently it has been indexed by, I believe, the Government authorities. The standard of work aimed at by such men as Darwin, Lyell, Sorby, De La Beche, Pengelly, Sedgwick, Murchison, and their great contemporaries, was apparently the highest attainable accuracy. Pengelly's standard was certainly that, and no less.

I entirely dissent from the view that modern scientific papers are more thorough than those of yore, though, of course, they have more information to deal with. I admit the larger quantity, but greatly doubt the superior quality. Besides which, both the objects in view and the means to attain them have often been entirely different. Let me take one of my own subjects as an illustration. Sir George Airy wrote a classic treatise on "Tides and Waves," in 1845, treated mathematically. Mr. Scott Russell sent in two reports on experiments and observations on Waves to the British Association in 1837 and 1844. I observed and experimented, and sent a paper to the Royal Society in 1882, and Mrs. Ayrton did the same in 1904. Mr. Scott Russell experimented by dropping weights into his tank, displacing water, and creating waves of translation. Mrs. Ayrton experimented with stationary waves, and I experimented with oscillating rolling waves, imitating swells at sea. I submit that neither Mr. Scott Russell's experiments nor Mrs. Ayrton's can be safely relied on to reproduce the action of *sea-waves* in an experimental tank, and that conclusions based on them would be misleading, if referred back to the sea.

It is, I think, obvious that so long as the elementary facts of this subject are in dispute, it would be labour lost to attempt a "more thorough" paper, developing and applying in detail the lessons learned at the tank. As soon as the first step is made good, the others can be taken at any time, with equal caution. Sir George Airy's treatise was "thorough" enough, and is still the recognized authority, after over sixty years. It was some

satisfaction in my own attempt that my paper was communicated to the Royal Society by Lord Rayleigh, when Sir G. G. Stokes was secretary, that it was commended by Sir George Darwin, and my efforts at wave-work approved by Sir George Airy.

I may explain that I have never attempted a "thorough" paper on experimental wave-work, but have concentrated the attack on one or two vulnerable points in what are apparently more or less erroneous theories. The very short paper offered to the Geological Society in 1887, and embodied in my paper last year, would have been quite sufficient to ignite the mine to blow up the enemy's fortress! Moreover, the chance of the acceptance of a paper by an unrecognized writer varies inversely as its length. I submit that it cannot be too strongly affirmed that a chief object in a research-paper, during the progress of the research, is not exhaustiveness, but some definite advance in knowledge, however small. When the research is complete, and the essential facts established, then the recording paper or book cannot well be too exhaustive or detailed. Prolixity is less to be avoided than brevity, as an original worker is very apt to skip links in his chain of demonstration, which, though obvious to himself, may be unrecognizable by the reader.

Mr. Wells has familiarized us with the appearance of the "Grey," as viewed from Science. It may interest and possibly amuse some of our members if I present the obverse impression of Science as viewed from the "Grey." I may say that in descent, connections, and avocations, my own environment has been the greyest of the grey. My earliest recollections date probably from the late forties, as I well remember the political excitement of 1848, and a still earlier general exodus from Oporto in the *Gladiator* frigate on account of some civil war in Portugal, which, I think, was in 1846. My first ideas of science were derived from pictures in the *Saturday Magazine*, and from overhearing my elders talking of mountains with lakes on their tops (extinct volcanoes) and hot springs. Also more particularly the wonder of Professor Owen's reconstructing an extinct bird from a single bone; but that was later. Then there was the devastating mildew which attacked the vines about 1851, which science cured with sulphur; and more generally the interest excited by the proposed Great Exhibition in 1851.

In the forties an ingenious relative conceived the idea of cleaning wine-bottles with scraps of iron with a view to roughening the glass to induce the crust to stick! Iron unfortunately will not touch glass, but fragments left behind will be dissolved by the acids in the wine. Some of the results of these injudicious experiments in chemistry and physics were subsequently unfavourably reported on from different parts of the world.

On my arrival in London, in 1852, the public seemed much impressed by science. The Polytechnic, with its lectures in chemistry and working models, was eminently adapted to interest children. The electric telegraph and rapid steam travelling were at that time really far more impressive to business men than Marconigrams, *Mauretianas* and *Olympics* are now.

The triumphs of science and engineering were obvious, and often palpable. The late Mr. P. H. Gosse, F.R.S., by his popular yet scientific books, excited the most practical interest in marine zoology. Marine aquaria were popular toys, and have been continued at the Zoological Gardens and elsewhere ever since. In Torquay, Kent's Cavern and the neighbouring caves brought to the forefront of popular thought the great question of the antiquity of man, and far and near the fame of Faraday inspired profound and universal respect, and intelligent interest. The rank and file of the British working classes (not the labouring classes), commercial and professional, were, as a nation, prepared to recognize and honour science and its great leaders; and they did so honour it. My father, a man with no pretensions to any scientific knowledge whatever, never spared money to give me, as a young boy, the most useful scientific presents. At the early age of thirteen I had Westwood and Humphrey's costly *British Moths*, and also the *Butterflies*. Later on I had Yarrell's *Birds* and Morris' *Nests and Eggs*. For astronomy I had a good telescope, for mechanics a lathe, and occasionally lessons in geology. All those in the fifties. All this science was, however, an extra, the hope was that I might follow on in the business, the practical work of life. The decision was long deferred, until after my Cambridge course. A trial of over two years was then made in the City, but there I realized, with regret, that two decades of weak health had left me physically unfit to undertake the responsibilities and the infinite

details of that commerce which has more than anything else created the character of Englishmen, and created the Empire too. I was unfit for the “Grey.”

As a waster and misfit, and for ordinary life a candidate for the scrap-heap, I tried to serve the cause of science in the lowest possible place. The first opportunity presented itself in 1870, when, being in London, I was able to investigate the gold coins found on Blackpool Beach, by books at hand in the Inner Temple Library, and by reference to the coin-room at the British Museum. At that time, in 1870, science in a great variety of forms had been present in my mind for nearly twenty years. My own bent, engineering, and my father’s bent, commerce, had both been barred to me by bad health. As a boy mechanic I had made a working model of a steam-engine by hand without a slide-rest, and the principles of geology I knew at any rate as well as I do now. Owing to these facts, and to this concatenation of circumstances, many of them adverse, my introduction to the outside world of science in the seventies provided for me a paralyzing shock. For one thing I took in the representative periodical, *Nature*, from the first, or, more strictly speaking, from the second number. Two things soon struck me very unfavourably, viz., the bitter and quarrelsome spirit manifested towards those differing in opinion, and the, to me, astounding clamour for honours and endowments. Had the missionaries of the Church Missionary Society, or any other society, started a magazine and clamoured for ribbons and gold, I could not have been more disgusted and indignant. With such aims I had absolutely nothing in common. Such doctrines I should treat as “vermin,” to be shot at sight, and at the first and every opportunity! The honour of discovering a single valuable addition to the temple of knowledge had, according to my early training, no equivalent in worldly honours and lucre. The greatest distinction a scientific worker can ever attain is to be known far and wide by his plain name; and the commoner the name the greater the distinction. Take, for instance, Faraday, Lister, Lyell, Sorby, Graham-Bell, Edison, and Thomson (though these names are not common). Titles cannot gild that gold or paint those lilies. In fact, a title may even cause some loss and confusion, say, between a Thomson and a nobleman of the title of Kelvin! Thomson invented

much, though, perhaps, Kelvin invented more. Science, however, clamoured, and science obtained. But what? As the greatest possible reward, science obtained the rank with which a Cabinet Minister commences, viz., a Barony. A very distinguished scientist may hope to equal a provincial mayor, and obtain a knighthood. The award of the military orders of knighthood to scientists, such as those of the Bath, is one of those incongruities that can only raise a smile. The only saving point is that, when official, a Civil knight is a servant of the Empire as much as a military or naval knight. But K.C.B.'s conferred on the world in general are quite a British idea. One real difficulty is this: Just as genius and worldly honours are incommensurable, so no Government can be capable of assessing the relative value of scientific performance. The attempt can only result in a rather comical marshalling of scientific men according to titular rank, with the certainty of numberless invidious omissions and distinctions between men of equal merit or lack of merit. For instance, why should a contented man be a Knight Bachelor or overlooked, and a discontented claimant be appeased with a K.C.B.? One cannot particularize, but there have been some very amusing cases. One most illustrious name was completely overlooked until the owner wrote an indignant article in the *Nineteenth Century*, in self-assertive defence of his splendid original work. He received his K.C.B. at the first opportunity! In his case it could add no lustre to the diamond. He will always be known by his plain name.

With special reference to geology, I have been much struck by the fact that when discussing such limited questions as beaches and sea-bottoms, I have been publicly reminded that "geology is not an exact science." This by an anonymous newspaper correspondent. Then, again, in the case of a special beach-paper, a local editorial dismissed me as a "smatterer in geology." In both cases geology was beside the question. These were just instances of a popular and general distrust of geology as a science. Geology and geologists seem of little public account. Take, for instance, our own late member Mr. Alexander Somervail. He was an active and well-known geologist, a member of the General Committee of the British Association, and for many years Hon.

Secretary of the Torquay Natural History Society, one of the oldest institutions in that town. Yet not even in scientific questions did he ever get any official or private municipal recognition, whether in the case of public scientific lectures, or when the borough wanted to secure a visit from the British Association, when, indeed, as I have mentioned, Mr. Somervail happened to be a member of the General Committee of that society. It is a curious fact, and one only to be regretted, that with the exception of advice on engineering questions, and occasionally in law, municipal bodies seem to have a total distrust of science. Aldermen and councillors seem to regard scientific expert knowledge as a mere question of untrained opinion of no particular value.

This is bad for the boroughs, but it is bad for the advancement and credit of accurate knowledge too. As an outsider myself, I note with sincere regret the public indifference to science, for its own sake, compared with the general interest which was manifested, say, half a century ago. Science, no doubt, progresses with leaps and bounds, but now chiefly where some material gain is probable. Knowledge for the sake of gold is more eagerly sought than ever, and more thoroughly attained; but the old principle of knowledge for its own sake is much more rarely practised. The public can be interested in clever detective stories, while many scientific workers seem quite insensitive to the precisely analogous charm of detective science, in which a baffled pursuit supplies its own incentive.

A good case in point is that of the Devon Schists, in which the available evidence is conflicting and contradictory.

Four of our members have written upon this subject; six papers in all, viz., Messrs. Pengelly, Somervail (three), Lowe, and myself; three being Fellows of the Geological Society. In illustration of the argument for the Devonian Age of the Schists, the authorities of the British Museum, South Kensington, accepted a collection of twenty-five specimens of the Schists, and twenty-five specimens of the admitted Devonian grits, fine sandstones and greenstones, in matched pairs; suggestive of what could have represented the various original and metamorphosed rocks. No one outside our own Association has considered this intensely interesting problem worth following up and, if possible,

elucidating ; and, so far as I am aware, no one has taken the trouble to examine the special collection placed at the service of geologists for this end in the national collection. Our member Mr. Hansford Worth, though he has not given us a paper on the schists, has done much in the way of collecting valuable collateral evidence in rocks dredged in the Channel, in the line of the Bolt Head, the Eddystone, and the Lizard. Problems such as these, which excited such intense curiosity and interest among our geological forefathers, cannot at the present time compete with the fashion for the elaboration of detail and the invention of new technical terms. No doubt the exact age of the Devon schists is in itself an unimportant detail, but the solution of the problem would probably throw great light on the collateral and most important major problem of rock-metamorphosis. I really sometimes lose all patience when geologists write as though it were a personal grievance of my own that these problems are not followed up or are even suppressed. Nothing could give me more sincere gratification than to have every error I have fallen into both exposed and exploded ! If there was one thing that Pengelly enjoyed next to defeating an opponent in argument, it was being neatly defeated himself. At the Dublin meeting of the British Association, in 1878, Pengelly had, in Section C, a keen tussle with that genial Irishman Dr. Haughton, based on fossil magnolias being evergreen trees, as affecting their occurrence in polar regions now exposed to long periods of darkness. Pengelly, having routed Dr. Haughton on the platform of Section C, Dr. Haughton, when too late, discovered that some magnolias were deciduous, and at once wrote to Pengelly. Pengelly was delighted at having the tables so neatly turned upon himself. The revelation of a weakness in botany in the protagonists of Section C did not qualify his pleasure in the least, nor his own defeat in argument.

It may be reasonably objected, as it no doubt will be objected, what is the use of constantly pointing out the hot bearings of the scientific machinery, if no oil can be supplied ? Or, is the legal maxim more accurate in law than in science, viz., "Where there is a wrong there is a remedy" ? Or is the remedy too costly, too theoretical, too difficult of access ? From much observation and repeated experience I am convinced that

one hot bearing is due to bad fitting. The moving parts are not carefully adjusted. The main shaft is out of line, or something less important is out of truth. Or there is some undue strain. I was once on a Government steamer which conveyed a large party of British Association excursionists round the Eddystone, including Lord Kelvin himself. The weight of these hundred and more scientists on the capacious bridge-deck seemed to strain the framework of the oscillating paddle engines under the bridge, heating the main bearings excessively, and necessitating a hose constantly playing on them. What with oil and salt water the engine-room staff must have blessed the weight of science on that Saturday night. Now in science, taken as a whole, not only are the “main eccentrics quarrelling on the sheaves,” which it is their bounden duty to do, but the slide-valves are quarrelling with the boilers and cylinders, the piston-rods with the guides and connecting-rods, and the whole lot with the cranks and main driving-shaft. Either friction or actual stoppage must ensue when the slide-valve vows it knows nothing of boiler or cylinder, or the crank declares it is quite immaterial for what length of stroke the cylinders and pistons are constructed. But, alas! how often do the scientific guides, eccentrics, and even cranks work in independence of, or even in opposition to, each other; and yet how infinitely important it is that they should co-operate with mathematical precision.

Unfortunately, just in proportion as science has been specialized, so have scientists failed to appreciate the weight of researches with which they are not familiar; and, not appreciating, they first judge and then condemn. Personally, in science, I had two masters, and I have sometimes wondered whether they ever possessed any other disciple!—Pengelly and Sorby. If they ever had other disciples, I have never met them. They have had many judges and critics.

Now Pengelly was a true philosopher, and of the strictest sect of the scientific pharisees who distrusted utilitarian science. I fear he would have been well pleased to suppress three whole sections of the British Association, viz., E, F, and even G, viz., Geography, Economics, and Engineering.

When I was elected to the Geological Society, Pengelly impressed upon me that F.G.S. represented science,

whereas F.R.G.S. meant nothing, or words to that effect ! Whereas they are both tarred with the same very general brush of a common interest in some particular study. Now Pengelly was a great man. When he once migrated from Section C it was to preside over Section H, anthropology. He was one of the principals in a great scientific house of business, in which I was an office boy, to sweep and dust all or any of the great men's rooms. In this humble position I had a flick at the dust of five of the British Association office parlours, viz., Geology, Zoology, Anthropology, Engineering, and even Geography, having had papers in the first three, and being on research committees of the last two. What did the office boy observe in the course of his work ? He observed this fact : He observed that the director in one parlour of the business often not only knew nothing of what was going on in the next parlour, but did not care to know anything about it. If perchance interested, he would as likely as not draw upon the bank of his own imagination. This is really the fact. When Lord Kelvin investigated the great problem of the antiquity of the earth, he could not entirely avoid geology, the science of the earth. He assumed that the molten globe consolidated from within outwards, instead of, as the old geologists believed, from without inwards, the first crust forming as a floating slag of light materials. Lord Kelvin, in order to prove his point, further assumed that the crystals of granite sank to the bottom of a liquid ocean of basalt, of much higher specific gravity. Just as well assume that cork will sink in water. With these premises Lord Kelvin arrived at the conclusion that the globe was 20,000,000 years old, and at least one eminent geologist agreed with him. What, then, becomes of the principles of mineralogy, and of specific gravity ?

Some years before, at a conference between physicists and chemists on this subject, the age of the earth, someone referred to the geological evidence. An eminent physicist dismissed the suggestion summarily with, "The geologists are mere mud-scrapers." Much later on radium came on the scene, and the eminent son of the "eminent physicist" adduced cogent evidence to show that the geologists had much under-estimated the age of the earth, far as they had exceeded Lord Kelvin. I am not competent to appreciate the radium evidence, but the "eminent physicist" seemed to think his son's evidence and argu-

ment quite sound. I was not unkind enough to ask, “How about the mud-scrapers?” However, no number of physicists or chemists would convince me that low specific gravity will sink in high, or higher, specific gravity. In the above case Sections A and B, to their cost, flouted and ignored C. But Section C is quite as prone to flout B, or A either, for that matter. I have already mentioned, in a previous paper, how an eminent past President of Section B wrote to me in the most casual way that he thought it quite likely the petrologists were all adrift, and so in very truth I believe that in certain points they are. Just as the great Lord Kelvin overlooked the elementary petrological or mineralogical fact that quartz and felspar are lighter than basalt, so apparently do the petrologists sometimes ignore the fact that water has an ascertained critical temperature, above which it cannot retain the liquid state or its properties under any pressure. It would appear that the several army corps of science have radiated so far from the common central starting-point that they have lost touch. Now, in our own Devon schists inquiry there were two specialists interested, viz., a petrological authority and a stratigraphical authority. The stratigraphist expressed regret to me that the petrologist would not so much as listen to the stratigraphical evidence. Yet, at the time, the two experts were holding conflicting views. Can we wonder that the problem still rests in obscurity?

The more we reflect on the question the more does the fact stand out, that one of the great factors in the Advancement of Science is co-operation, and that the absence of co-operation may well result in some needless check in the general advance.

There are three sections of the British Association in constant touch with each other, viz., A, B, and G, Mathematical Physics, Chemistry, and Engineering; and to one or more of these can be attributed the greater number of the marvellous discoveries of the past wonderful century. We may take Lord Kelvin and Professor Osborne Reynolds as good examples of the double-honour men in mathematical physics and engineering, and Lord Rayleigh as a good representative of mathematical physics and chemistry, he having discovered argon. Of course Zoology, Section D, can boast Darwin, Lister, and Pasteur. In my own elementary geological work I have had to rely

on Lord Rayleigh to keep me from blundering in questions concerning waves and currents ; and I have equally had to trespass on the kindness of Professors Noel Hartley and Sydney Young to prevent my blundering in the, to myself, obscure question of pressures and temperatures as affecting petrology ; and the same with every inquiry attempted—stratigraphical, petrological, cave-work, or zoological. In every research some collateral fact will be required for immediate use, which *some expert is sure to know*. If the information can be obtained, then the inquiry may be capable of further prosecution, otherwise often not. In nine cases out of ten, the inquiry itself will be of little interest to the expert consulted, or possibly none at all. Indeed, it very rarely is. The information is usually accorded out of pure benevolence, and often at the cost of some inconvenience and expenditure of time.

I may, perhaps, say in conclusion that as I approached my fiftieth year I determined, if possible, to break away from the innumerable nets and toils of scientific inquiry, as becoming too overwhelming a burden.

During the subsequent twenty years I have broken no new ground, but attempted solely to defend and strengthen my position, wherever it has seemed a sound one. The time has now come when the work even of defence must soon be laid down, *nolens volens*. I cannot sufficiently thank the members of the Devonshire Association for their absolutely invaluable support and long-suffering forbearance. Some of the papers submitted since 1873 would have been the better for greater experience and for severer revision, but to all of them there are the commercial cryptogram appended, in spirit, if not in letter, "E. and O.E.," "Errors and omissions excepted." Merchants were even more cautious than scientists. They insured even against clerical errors.

POSTSCRIPT.—*Bedrock* for October last contains two suggestive incidental comments on some of the views I have attempted to express.

One writer observes that—

"Practically *all* the uneducated classes believe in spirits ; so do the great majority of the semi-educated upper and lower classes ; and it is only when we reach the biologists and physiologists, who are in the best position to know, that we find widespread dissent" (p. 325).

Another writer expresses the following opinion :—

"The business man is also trained to habits of extreme accuracy. Here again his existence depends on it. . . . The man of science is less vitally affected by his mistakes, and his training to accuracy is consequently less severe" (p. 346).

I have no doubt that the training of the business man, whether merchant or lawyer, is far more conducive to strict mental accuracy than any biological training can be.

THE BOROUGH OF CLIFTON-DARTMOUTH-HARDNESS AND ITS MAYORS AND MAYORALTIES.

PART II.

BY EDWARD WINDEATT.

(Read at Exeter, 25th July, 1912.)

The numbers in brackets are from the Calendar of the Borough Archives.

1601. RICHARD HAYMAN.

Extract from an account dated A.D. 1601.

Richard Hayman Mayor, Thos Page Receiver.

Paid for a Preacher by Mr. Mayor's order	£0. 5. 0
Paid John Rotre for writing a Book to be sent to My Lord the Bishop . .	0. 6. 0
Paid the Vicar's wages 1 year . .	26. 13. 4
Ditto Clerk's ditto ditto	3. 4. 0
Ditto Sexton's ditto ditto	2. 0. 0
Paid Mr Leech for Preaching on Election days	0. 10. 0

Edward Seymour and the Mayor of Dartmouth. To the Council. 1602, October 31. Berry Castle. "We have upon notice given unto us of one Robert Drew brother unto Sergeant Drew, late the Queen's Sergeant that embarked himself at Dartmouth a man reported to be no Merchant nor factor to any : sent for him to examine him upon the particular points of the instructions conceived for such purpose, and severally offered to administer the oath of allegiance unto him which he for the present would not take, saying he would first be advised thereon, whereuppon we purposed to commit him to prison or otherwise bind him to answer before your honours, which perceiving he afterwards would have taken it, and then we

forebore to administer the same, the rather for that we doubted but his passage might prove dangerous to the estate of this realm being informed by certain Merchants that were to pass over with him that he is ill affected in religion, and during the time of his late being in France, he daily to their knowledge frequented Mass sequestered himself from the Company of his countrymen and such as were protestants and joined society with the most notorious Papists there, and therefore have taken bond with sufficient sureties to appear before your honours on the 20th November next."

1603. H.M.C., p. 55, 31st December. Copy of letter from the Lords of the Council to the Mayor respecting the arrest of a prize Ship of the Dunkirkers (1989).

1603-4. THOMAS GOURNEY.

(Col. Vivian's *Visitation* contains the pedigree of Gourney, of Dartmouth, p. 433.) Arms, Arg. a cross engrailed, Gu., in the first quarter a cinquefoil, Vert. One of the family was Sir Richard Gourney, of London. Thomas Gourney, M.P. for Dartmouth, 1558, 1572, 1614.

The Arms were in front of the gallery of St. Saviour's Church.

1604, 17 April. Account of Mr. Thomas Gourney of the expenses incurred for the procuring of a new Charter for the Town of Dartmouth (1413).

1605-6. R. M. MARTIN.

Note of expenses at Exeter in the conduct of a suit against John Roope (1414) :—

"August 4, 2nd year James I, Charter granting power to hold Sessions within the Borough. 7th Feb., 1604, a constitution made against washing at the conduits or in the Street (2003, f. 34). 1605-6, the Fishermen that fish in the Irish Seas to the High Court of Parliament praying to be released of a custom of 9d. a barrel upon herrings which had been charged on them" (1415).

1606-7.

1607-8.

1608-9. THOMAS PAGE (No. $\frac{1989}{f. 56}$, Mayor).

1609-10. JOHN SMYTH.

Col. Vivian's *Visitation of Devon* contains the pedigree of Smyth, of Dartmouth, p. 693 :—

“Arms, Barry Wavy of six Arg. and Az., on a chief Gu.”

Three pairs. It commences with John Smythe, of Dartmouth, buried 1591, and refers to John Smith, Mayor, 1608, who died 1629, and ends with Gilbert Smith, died 1663. This Mayor married Elizabeth, daughter of Richard Dyer, of Barnstaple.

1610-1. 7 January, 1611. There is a Certificate of the Mayor of Marseilles respecting the Ship of William Constable, of Dartmouth (1418).

20 August, 1611. Robert Perrott to the Mayor of Dartmouth, order to summon all trained Soldiers belonging to Sir Edward Seymour's band to muster at Totnes on 26 September (1419).

1612-3. There is a letter from Sir George Carey to the Mayor of Dartmouth and his brethren, asking them to bestow a Burgess-ship on a special friend of his (1420).

17 April, 1613. Also a letter from the French Consul at Lisbon respecting a ship belonging to one Isaac Porton laden with cod (1412).

There was at this time evidently fear of the plague, and there is preserved a certificate of Sir George Speke and other Justices of the Peace for Somerset, 9 October, 1613, that George Coxe, William Axoll, and William Crocker dwell at Wolmeston and Crewkerne, where there was no sickness of the plague, nor any suspicion thereof, and that they may travel to Dartmouth to sell goods (1421).

In the early part of the seventeenth century the trading with Newfoundland from Dartmouth was considerable. Reasons were recorded why those going to Newfoundland with ships should not be deprived of priority of places with the planters there (1424). Also reasons why the King would not grant a patent to any one man for making “treane” oil (1426).

There are also drafts of Petitions of the owners of the ships *Hand Maiden*, *William and Mary*, *Peter and George*, of Dartmouth, to the Duke of York, Lord High Admiral, for permission to go to the Newfoundland Fishery (1428). About the same time there were also difficulties as to trading with France, and the Merchants of London obtained a Charter and the Western Port Merchants endeavoured to restrain the Londoners (1429-1434). There were also difficulties as to trading with Spain and Portugal, and there is a letter from John Sher, Mayor of Exeter, to the Mayor of Dartmouth to send two Merchants to Exeter to confer

on the same matter, and the insatiable desire of the Londoners to exclude and debar all the kingdom but themselves from importing and exporting all commodities from Spain and Portugal (1437).

1613-4. There was an order of the Lords of the Council, 13 November, 1614, to the Earl of Bath respecting the erection of a compass with degree and Seats about it at Gallions Bower for keeping the Sea Watch (L 989, f. 22b).

1615. 5 July. Certificate by the Mayor and Bailiffs of Dartmouth that Thomas Newman was owner of a ship of 120 tons lately taken after some fighting by Turkish Pirates, and a note of the losses by the same Pirates by men of Dartmouth amounting to £8010 (1989).

1615-6. RECEIVER, ROGER MATTHEWS ($\frac{1670}{1}$).

In 1615 the Duchy of Cornwall Council sent a letter to the Mayor and Burgesses to show their title, which they alleged was by grant under the great seal, but after several meetings in 1616 they, the Dartmouth Corporation, are obliged to take a Lease for 21 years and pay a fine of £100 besides the annual rent of £14 13s. 4d. During the reign of Charles I there is another trial and decree in favour of the Corporation (who were the Duchy Lessees), and it is rather an extraordinary case, for the action was brought for petty customs against a party that had fitted out a ship called the *Endeavour*, of Topsham, as a letter of marque to go on a voyage of reprisal for taking the ships of the enemy, and they took the *Nostra Seniors de Candelarea* laden with Brazil tobacco, sugar, etc., belonging to the King of Spain and carried her into Dartmouth, where she was condemned as a lawful prize; yet it was declared that the owners were to pay the petty custom (Report on Water Bailiwick, of Dartmouth, from an old document relative to the Duchy dues, *Dartmouth Chronicle*, 17 May, 1872).

1616-7. THOMAS SPURWAY.

See Col. Vivian's *Visitation of Devon*, p. 724, pedigree, Spurway of Spurway.

Thomas Spurway, of Dartmouth, living 1620, married Luce, daughter and coheirress of Edward Liston, of Dartmouth, and widow of . . . Anthony.

RECEIVER, ROBERT FOLLETT ($\frac{1670}{2}$).

1617. March 24. Corporation accounts contain :—

For hooles and rings of iron to hang	
the King's Arms on	1. 2d.
To the Painter for painting them	3. 0
For making the Frame for the King's	
Arms	1. 0
Hogshead of Wine given to Sir John	
Southcot	4. 4. 0
To Mr. Maior and his companions for	
charges for being at Totnes	9. 4

There are also charges for a drum and two pairs of drumsticks ; also

“Laid out for the New Window in the East end of the Chancel of the Church of St. Saviours.”

Among the Corporation documents was a letter from this Mayor to the Earl of Bath “for practising shooting at Totnes ” :—

“My hunble dutie unto yor honar with most dutifull acknowledgment of yor honorable respect upon all manifest occasions to the good state of this town evermore remembered. I have presumed at the request some Townsmen here to make known unto your honner their humble desire with your honourable allowance to exercise themselves with their muskets by a shooting match with some of our neighbours of Totnes, both in the town of Totnes and here, for that their purpose therein tendeth only to the bettering of their skill in light exercise and the increase of neighbourlie love and amitie. I have the rather embolden myself in their behalf to become also hereby an humble sutor to your honour for tolleration and allowance of their intended enterprise. In all humbleness herein assuringe your honor that all possible care shall be taken in this place that noe hurt or danger happen thereby and so I humbly reast and remainge evermore your honor to be commanded,

“THOMAS SPURWAIE, Mayor of Dartmouth,
“20th July 1616.”

1617–8. William Plumleigh, Mayor of Dartmouth, married Jone, daughter of Thomas Spurwaie, of Exminster..

William Plumleigh, who died in 1647, gave 24s. a year to be paid yearly out of land in the North Churchyard to 12 poor widows of St. Petrock's parish at Shrovetide. All trace of this is gone.

William Plumleigh, M.P. 1625, described as merchant.

RECEIVER, PASCHO JAGO ($\frac{1670}{3}$).

17 October, 1617. A declaration was made by the Corporation that the Shipwrights of Dartmouth and the West parts were not able to conform with certain constitutions published by the Company of Shipwrights of Rotherliethe, who claimed that the men should not work except by Licence of the Company, to which they must pay 3d. out of every day's wages (3328).

1618-9. JOHN SMITH.

1619-20. JOHN PLUMLEIGH.

Col. Vivian's *Visitation of Devon* gives John Plumleigh, married Margaret, dau. of Even Touse, of Dartmouth, 26 March, 1597, bur. 2 January, 1603-4, at Dartmouth.

In St. Petrock's Church is a monumental brass representing Barbara Plumleigh, her two sons and four daughters. The inscription shows her to have been the wife of John Plumleigh. She died 3 September, 1610, and was evidently the first wife of the Mayor of 1619-20. There is in the same church a tablet with the inscription that it is to the memory of Margaret, the second wife of John Plumleigh, of Dartmouth, daughter of Nicholas Martin, of Exon, died 25 February, 1638.

In 1641, John Plumleigh by deed gave the town a close of land at Ford Head as a place for the inhabitants to dry and bleach their clothes in, and the herbage for the poor.

RECEIVER, ANDREW WAKEHAM ($\frac{1670}{4}$).

Extracts from the accounts :—

1619-20.	To a grave in the Church for a fleming	26s. 8d.
	For using the bells for his knell	7s.
	Paid for removing the poor man's box in the Church	4d.
	For the keys for the same	10d.
Novr. 5.	Paid the Ringers	5s.
	For a lock for the Stocks	
	Mr Wm Plumleigh, for his Kitchen	
		£16. 6. 8

This would be towards the expense of feasts he gave during his mayoralty.

1620. August. Pd. To Bowden for setting the
Armes over the Church Porch 10s.
Pd the Heralds on their nutation
registering the Townes Armes 10s.

Also payment made for gilding the Townes Armes over the Church porch ; for making the tables of Armes in the Church, and for drawing the four plotts for the Town.

1620-1. Paid the "Heralds on their visitation in 1620 for registering the Townes Arms 10s." Same year paid Nicholas Townsend for gilding the Town Arms over the porch and for making the table of Arms in the Church (Worthy's *Devonshire Parishes*, Vol. 2, p. 18).

RECEIVER, ANDREW VOYSEY ($\frac{1670}{5}$).

1621-2. The Mayor of Dartmouth wrote, 20 June, 1622, the Lords of the Council, sending a list of contributions made by the inhabitants amounting to £30, and excusing the smallness thereof because of the loss of the Town of six ships of 160 tons each taken by the Turks and 130 men carried into captivity at Argier (Algiers), besides many that have been robbed by the Turks and French (1445).

1622-3. THOMAS SPURWAIE.

WILLIAM KENT, RECEIVER ($\frac{1670}{6}$).

This Mayor, 5 May, 1623, petitioned with many others the Lords of the Council, setting forth that the New Light erected at the Lizard by Sir John Killigrew and which they say "can in no waie be beneficial in that place neither will any experienced maryner trust thereto," and that the due of 1s. 2d. a ton would be burdensome (1447).

1623-4. Entries in the accounts :—

Mr Bastard, his fee as Recorder	£3. 0. 0
For a barrell of wine for Mr Bastard	34s. 4d.
pd. for the preacher's horses att three several tymes	14s.
pd. for preacher's dyett (no amount)	
pd. for making cleane of the armoure	12s. 6d.
pd. Mr. Maior for his kitchen	£15. 6. 8.

pd. the Gunour (Gunner) on the Coronation day	2s.
pd. for a new bible and booke of Comon prayer	35s. 3d.

1624-5.

1625-6. WILLIAM PLUMLEIGH.

The Plumleigh Arms were on front of the gallery of St. Saviour's Church.

In the accounts of Mr. Wm. Plumleigh, 1625-26, are entries for sicke soldiers in Dartmouth, and to send them to Brent and Totnes ; also charges for a new Almshouse ; the following are also of interest :—

Item—pd. Judith Follett and John Cole for carrying of sick soldiers to Totnes	4s.
pd. to Henry Penny towards the making of the Town Chain .	£42. 00. 00

(This is the chain put across the harbour in time of war, agreed by Henry VIII's charter to be put across from a tower to be built.)

pd. James, the Cutler, for trimming the Town Armour .	15s.
pd. to John Crewkerne, to give unto a preacher of the King's fleet, which did preach twice the 26th of Nov.	2s.
pd. for a barrel of wyne for Mr. Bastard	£2. 7. 6
Horse hire and man to carry it to his house	2s. 6d.
pd. Triggs for a Lock and Key for Kingswear Castle	1s. 3d.

(This would be opposite the tower from which the chain went across, and not what is now known as Kingswear Castle.)

pd. John Hollman, for going to Sallcombe to warn them to mete the Justices about setting forthe of 3 shippes	1s. 3d.
pd. for $\frac{1}{2}$ a quarterne of faggots to lay under the chain	1s. 11d.

pd. a footman to convey a letter
to the Maior of Totnes 1s.
Given to a footman that brought
a letter from the Maior of
Totnes 6d.

(These preparations for fitting out ships and putting the defences in order must have been in consequence of the Spanish War of 1625, when a fleet of 90 vessels left Plymouth and made a "frutless decent" on Cadiz.)

1627-8. Dartmouth was visited by the plague, as appears by St. Saviour's Register.

1627, June 17. A number of burials are marked P ("that died w^t ye Plague"). Those so marked are 17 June, 8 July, 9 August, 11 September, 8 October, 3 November. In all 56 marked P. There is an account of money for "shrowds" for the poor in the time of the plague.

In 1590-1 there was also an outbreak, and in 1590 there was an outbreak in Totnes, and the first entry is "22 July, 1590, was buried Margary, the daughter of Mr Nic^o Wycke of Dartmouth, the first plague," so it would appear to have spread from Dartmouth.

26 August, 1627. John Tailler, senr., of Exeter, sent the Mayor of Dartmouth £30 15s. 5½d. collected for the poor of Dartmouth, when oppressed with the plague (1450).

The General Muster Book of the inhabitants is as follows :—

Dartmouth.—The general Muster booke of all the Inhabitants of Dartmouth, penned the last of June, 1628 :

Innerward

John Bagwell, sen.	a Muskett performed
Gilbert Wreighford	a calliver performed
William Laby	a calliver performed
Richard Palmer	a bill
Clement Pallmer	a muskett performed
John Hill, sen.	a Bill
Thomas Gylles	a holbert performed
Michael Babage	a Bill
Robert Hollabombe	a Bill
William Roberts, sen.	a Bill
William Roberts, jun.	a Bill
Phillipp Boyes	a muskett performed
Christopher Dick	a Bill

Robert Caley	a Bill
John Jefferie	a Bill
Jane Jefferye, wid.	a holbert
Edward Johnson	a Bill
John Lash, jun.	a holbert
John Francis	a muskett performed
Thomas Eick	a calliver performed
Thomas Beere	a muskett performed
Richard Cosens	a Bill
John salter	a Bill
Charles Good	a Bill
John Chope	a Muskett performed
James Farr	Bill
Walter Tucker	Bill
Samuel Wills	Bill
John Hill, jun.	Bill
Thomas Woodaford	a Bill
Edmond Davye	a Bill
Eron Ford	a Bill
John Jarvis, als. Lovett	a holbert
Pascho Mathew	a Calliver
James Prowte	a Bill
Edward Winget	a Bill
William Shillabere	a Bill
Roger Yeoman	a holbert
John Trickey	a Muskett performed
John O'Mealie	a Bill
John Carter	a holbert
William Symons, sen.	a Muskett performed
Richard Fowle	a Caliver
William Ellett	a Muskett performed
John Owke	a Calliver
Alexander Withicombe	a Bill
Thomas Tewiss	a Bill
Thomas Welter, sen.	a holbert
Willm. Winchester	a Calliver
Christopher Cottager	a holbert and sword
John Wheeler	a calliver performed

Then follows a long list of more names, one being :—

Widow Lovett a holbert and sword

Against many names no weapon at all is entered.

Total number of names, 104.

Callivers	.	.	10
Bills	.	.	40
Halberts	.	.	26
Swords	.	.	4
Muskets	.	.	20
Dagger	.	.	1

101

Ten names, nothing carried out against them.

Memo. :—

Abraham Kellyr
 Wilton Canter
 John Anneriday
 Bennett Watts
 Walter Winget.

The Recorder, Mr. Bastard, 25 October, 1628 writes the Mayor respecting the Town's right to foreshore, and advises making a reasonable composition, if they can, to perfect their title, "for that we all see in what tymes we now live" (1449).

1628-9.

1629-30.

1630-1. The date 1631 is in ironwork on the door of St. Saviour's Church, with, in ironwork, two quaint lions and a tree. This ironwork is said to date from the reign of Edward III. The date, 1631, is a puzzle. Either this style of ironwork lingered for a considerable time longer than generally thought, or the ironwork belonged to an older door and was brought there in that year.

Among the accounts is :—

1630-1. Account of the costs of building the Church Tower and the Pinnacles with a list of Subscribers towards the work ($\frac{3050}{1}$).

1633-4. ALEXANDER STAPLETON.

Account is preserved for building the North side of St. Saviour's Chapel (3051).

1634-5. WILLIAM GURNEYE.

Col. Vivian's *Visitation of Devon* gives William Gurneye, buried 1646-7 at Townstell, married Grace, dau. Robert Ball, of Tor.

Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, 1877, p. 130, has reference to Burton's *Judgment on Sabbath Breakers*, published 1641, which has this reference to the Maypole at Dartmouth: "At Dartmouth 1634 upon the coming forth and publishing of the Book of Sports a company of youngers on May Day morning before day, went into the Country to fetch home a May Pole with drumme and Trumpet whereat the neighbouring inhabitants were affrighted, supposing some enemies had landed to sack them. The Pole being thus brought home and set up they began to drink healths about it and to it, till they could not stand so steady as the Pole did, whereupon the Mayor and Justices bound the ringleaders over to the Sessions whereupon those complaining to the Archbishop's Vicar Generall, then in his visitation, he prohibited the Justices to proceed against them in regard of the King's Book. But the Justices acquainted him they did it for their disorder in transgressing the bounds of the book. Hereupon these libertines scorning at authority one of them fell suddenly into a consumption whereof he shortly afterwards died. Now although this revelling was not on the Lord's day, yet being upon any other day and specially May Day, the May Pole set up thereon giving occasion to the prophanation of the Lord's Day the whole year after it was sufficient to provoke God to send plagues and judgment among them."

1635. 21 July. Sir George Chudleigh writes the Mayor desiring them to retain Capt. Langdon as Commander of the Town Company (1453).

1635-6. The Piazzas, or Butterwalk, are said to have been erected by a person bearing the name of Hayman, in the years 1635-40, and the letters M. H. may still be seen on the carved oak frieze of one of the fronts. A Richard Hayman was Mayor 1641. All the five houses are supported on a row of 12 stone pillars, on the tops of which the signs of the zodiac are curiously carved. All the houses formerly communicated with each other, and it is said, in July, 1671, Charles II held his Court here for a week. His arms, carved in oak, still exist in one of the houses. The houses are ornamented with grotesque figures curiously carved in wood. In one house is a remarkable ceiling; it represents the "Root of Jesse," with his descendants branching from him in succession until the genealogy ends in the Virgin Mary and our Saviour. All

the figures are strangely shaped in plaster, and to those who were kings are given crowned heads. At the four corners of the ceiling are the four Evangelists with their symbols, and it is said that the room was formerly surrounded with life-size figures of the twelve Apostles carved in oak. Over the chimney-piece was a fine representation of "The Judgment of Solomon."

There is a chimney-piece in another of the houses, in plaster, in a quaint design intended to illustrate the descent of the Holy Ghost (Acts II. 1-4).

1636-7. THOMAS SPURWAY.

Lord Mandevill was paid, 17 March, 1636, £12 for three years' fees as Steward of Dartmouth.

1638. JOHN BUDLEY.

1638-9. ANDREW VOYSEY.

Col. Vivian, p. 764, pedigree of Voysey, of Dartmouth, gives Andrew Voysey, Mayor of Dartmouth, buried 22 May, 1653, at Townstal, married Thomasine, dau. of Robt. Martin, of Dartmouth; he married, secondly, Mary, dau. of Richard Wakeham, of Dartmouth. Andrew Voysey was M.P. 1640; described as merchant.

1639-40. ROGER MATHEW.

A Roger Mathew, merchant, was M.P. 1620, 1625, 1626, 1628, and 1640. In 1646 Thomas Boone was elected M.P. for Dartmouth, vice Mathew, disabled.

1640. WILLIAM BARNES.

1640-1. ROBERT FOLLETT.

Silphine, dau. of John Follet, of Dartmouth, on 1 February, 1603-4, married Aldred Staplehill, of Dartmouth, at Tounstall. Administratrix to her husband's estate, 1650. They had a son, Thomas, born 1618, married Joan, dau. of — Follett, 17 January, 1641-2, Tounstall.

1641-2. WILLIAM PLUMLEIGH.

1642. There is an account of disbursements made by Laurence Wheeler towards "fortefying and maintaining the Garison of the Town to the use of the Parliament" (3068); also, an account of disbursements "in the service of the Parliament against the violence of the Sheriff Sir

Edmond Fortescue his posse comitatus and Sir Ralph Hopton's army being at Totnes " (3069).

1641-2. ALEXANDER STAPLEHILL.

3 November, 1642. "A constitution made against the excesse of feasting and banquetting of the Mayor and Chief Officers of the Town " (2004, f. 8).

In 1643 Dartmouth, which favoured the Parliament, was taken for the King by Prince Maurice There is the following entry in St. Saviour's Register :—

"DARTMOUTH : ST. SAVIOUR'S.

BURIALLS 1643.

Slayne in The	Densum Luscombe
fight of Dart-	Alice wife of John Elliot
mouth, the 30th	Nicholas Castell
September 1643	Richard Moore
Common Soldiers	Richard Bowden
Townsmen	Walter Trewicke Were
	Peter Woredeford Buried the Octo-
	ber 4th
	Robert Parrat
	Thomas Gibbons
	Nicholas James

CAPTAIN WILLIAM BROOKING

Steven Bondman

Colonel JAMES CHUDLY the 4th of October

Ensigne George Buckman

Soldiers	Robert Austin	} October 9th."
	Philip Bulley	
	Philip Roope	

Note in the Register Book, by the Vicar :—

"N.B. Colonel J. Chudleigh was Eldest son of George Chudleigh and served in the Parliament Army until within a few months of the siege of Dartmouth when having joined the Royal cause he was killed on the day the town was taken. Col. J. Chudleigh assisted in the siege under Prince Maurice.

See Dugdale. 5 March, 1821. R. H. Vicar."

1642-3. There is preserved a receipt by Col. Ruthven, Lieut.-General of the Western Forces, for "two pieces of Brass Ordenance."

1643-4. JOHN BUDLEY.

There is also preserved Thomas Newcomen's Receiver's account of disbursements for the town and expenses for Coals and Candles for the Garrison. Among them for strong beer and wine carried to Prince Maurice (3071). And there is a book with claims by Burgesses of Dartmouth for expenditure in defending the Town for the Parliament, and the losses sustained by the siege and occupation by the Royalist army (3070).

1643. H.M.C., p. 67, 19 November. Joseph James to Edward Seymour. As to the good affection of Mr. William Coode who is in the harbour of Dartmouth and his desire of visiting his friends before he goes on his voyage.

1643. H.M.C., p. 67, 22 November. The Garrison at Dartmouth. "A particular of the list of the Soldiers in Garrison at Dartmouth and the sums paid them."

1644-5. JOHN GOURNEY.

John Gourney, 1613, gave £5 for the poor.

1645-6. JOHN BUDLEY.

Dartmouth occupied by Lord George Goring, and he was defeated by Fairfax after nearly a month's defence, and the Mayor's son killed Mr. Budley and also Capt. Brooking.

The following is a copy of :—

"Sir Thomas Fairfax's letter to both Houses of Parliament, more exactly and fully relating the Storming and Taking of Dartmouth, with the Castles, Forts, Officers in Chief, and Soldiers therein; together with a List of the names of the several Commanders, and Soldiers, taken in the said Town, Castle and Forts."

"TO THE
RIGHT HONOURABLE THE SPEAKER
OF THE
HOUSE OF PEERS pro Tempore.

"MY LORDS,

"After my coming to Totnes, the Enemy rising in great disorder from their Siege at Plymouth, leaving their Guns and some Ammunition behind them, I considered with those about me of attempting upon Dartmouth; and it being concluded affirmatively, I caused two Regiments of Foot to march to Ditsam, and two to Stoke

Flemming, being on the West side of the Dart River. I having summoned the Place before, resolved upon Sunday night to Attempt it by Storm, which was agreed to be done in three Places : The first post was on the west gate by Colonel Hammond : on the North end of the Town by Lieut. Colonel Pride ; and on Tunstall Church and Works by Col. Fortescue. The Time resolved on, was in the Evening ; our men fell on with great Resolution (to whom Colonel Lambert's Regiment was a Reserve, and to alarm the Enemy elsewhere) Colonel Hammond entering the West Gate where four guns were planted, and two upon the Mill Pool upon his flank. The Enemy firing his great guns but once, his men that had the Forlorn-Hope did very gallantly (as indeed they did all) and went freely on and beat off the Enemy, and possessed one Fort after another ; viz : Mount-Flaggon, West-Gate, Paradise-Fort, and beat off the main Guard ; where were taken four Lieutenant Colonels ; and so possessed the Town from the West Gate to little Dartmouth. In the Interim, Lieutenant Colonel Pride attempted the North part of the Town, called Hardness, where beating off the enemy he entered it, and took about 80 Prisoners in it, and by it possessed all the north part of the Town unto the Draw Bridge, which divided the North part from the rest of the Town ; where Colonel Hamond's men and his met Colonel Fortescue with his men, attempted Tunstall Church, which was very well man'd with above One Hundred Men, and having in it ten Guns. His men after some dispute, with good Resolution entered the Place and possessed it, so that the Enemy was beaten out of all except the great Fort, in the East Side of the River, called Kingsworth Fort, and the Castle with the Fort which lay over the Castle at the Mouth of the Harbour, called Gallant's Bower to which last the Governor with the Earl of Newport, and as many as escaped us fled. After they were forced from their strengths out of the town, the Governor coming back from the Castle to see in what posture the town was, had a remarkable shot, as he was in the Boat, one sitting by him, a Musket shot was made at the Boat, which pierced the Boat, and through both the thighs of one that was next unto him, and about three inches into his own thigh, upon which he retreated to the Castle. Our Dragoons, with two Companies of our firelocks and some Seamen, were ordered only to Alarm Kingsworth Fort, wherein was Sir Henry

Cary with his Regiment, having in it twelve guns and Twelve barrels of powder, and convenient proportion of Ammunition. This had a very strong Bulwark, strong enough to have made a troublesome Resistance ; but the Enemy came willingly to Terms ; and to save time I willingly condescended to let Sir Henry Cary march away with the rest, leaving the Arms, Ordnance, Ammunition, with all Provisions in the Fort to me, and all engaging themselves never to take up Arms more against the Parliament, which was accordingly performed. Next Morning, being thus Master of all but the Castle and Gallant's Bower, I summoned that, the Governor was willing to listen to me, but I held him to those terms, upon which, after some dispute he yielded, which was, to deliver himself, and all Officers and Soldiers upon Quarter ; he sent me out Colonel Seymour and Mr Denham, for Hostages, with whom came out the Earl of Newport, and all was this day performed accordingly. In this Fort and Castle were eleven guns, with proportion of ammunition and Provisions. We have taken in the Harbour two Men of War, one belonging to the Governor of Barnstaple, with twelve guns, burden two hundred tuns ; the other belonging to Newcastle, formerly Capt. Johnson's of ten Guns : In the Town, one hundred and three pieces of ordnance, and about six hundred Prisoners, and one hundred Horse, with good proportion of Arms and Ammunition, an exact Particular whereof I am not able to give your Lordship at present an Account thereof : there being many of the Inhabitants of this Town, Soldiers in Plymouth, and some Officers. And understanding that the Town had two thousand five hundred and Garrison besides Townsmen, I have sent thither for five hundred Foot for this place, who quickly will increase to more ; and to this I desire your Approbation : for having found more work to do, I held it not fit to weaken my Army, especially considering the Recruits designed by you, I doubt will be too long before they come. I have given your Lordship a brief Account of this Service, which I desire may be accounted a sweet Mercy of God in a very fitting season, and only ascribed unto him who truly did direct and act it, and made all the Preparations to it, both in the ordering our Hearts and giving health to the Army, which laboured two months ago extremely of sickness, but is now in good Disposition generally to Health. I can say I find it in the Hearts of all

Officers, all the common Soldiers, being betwixt eight hundred and a thousand, are set at liberty to repair to here, in all integrity to serve you ; And that it is so, is still the mercy of God ; for surely the success of your affairs, only depends upon the ordering of a gracious Providence, which is no less visible in your Councils (which we congratulate) than amongst us ; that being the common Root and Spring of all, and which can and will carry you through the greatest Difficulties, and us in serving you, until God hath finished his own work : Wherein to possess the Obligation and readiness of my self and the Army, by the same good Hand of God is all the undertaking of

“ Your Lordships most humble Servant,

“ THOMAS FAIRFAX.”

“ Dartmouth, Jan. 20, 1645-6.”

“ For a further relation of particulars I refer you to this bearer, Mr. Peters, who was present upon the place, and did much encourage the Soldiers to do their duty.

“ Prisoners taken at Dartmouth, 19 January, 1645 :—

Sir Hugh Pollard (Governor).

Earl of Newport.

Colonel Seymour.

MAJORS.

Fulford	Colefin	Raynolds
Hooper	Ford	Lee
Powell	Blewet	Phillips.

LIEUT.-COLONELS.

Codrington	Blunt	Wadland	Searle.
------------	-------	---------	---------

CAPTAINS.

Pollard	Sampson	Start	Horton
Woodly	Duke	Downing	Conway.

LIEUTENANTS.

King	Eldon	Drew
Pollard	Blee	Williams
Hunt	Libull	Hinlay
Duncalf	Slanner	Searle.
Kigán	Johnson	

ENSIGNS.

Richard	Praed	Waggin	Fitz James
Upton	Dode	Vichering.	

“ Many Country Gentlemen, Ministers, and inferior Officers, all the Common Soldiers, being betwixt eight hundred and a thousand, are set at liberty to their

Dwellings. Ordnance about a hundred and twenty mounted. Two Men of War in the Harbour.”

This fight is said to have taken place the Sunday after 12 January, 1646, after the soldiers had been exhorted by the celebrated Hugh Peters, who himself wrote a full account of the engagement.

1646-7. LAWRENCE WHEELER.

Wheeler's Arms were on front of the gallery of St. Saviour's Church.

Lawrence Wheeler, by will dated 20 April, 1662, gave a yearly charge of £2 12s. to be distributed amongst the poor in one dozen penny loaves.

1647-8.

1648-9. JOHN STAPLEHILL.

Col. Vivian's *Visitation*, p. 710, Staplehill, of Dartmouth, Arms, Arg. a Chevron Sa.

Col. Vivian also mentions Gilbert Staplehill, of Exeter, and Mayor of Dartmouth, bur. 18 October, 1612, Toun-stall. There is a brass to his memory in St. Saviour's Church (Worthy's *Devon Parishes*, Vol. II, p. 11).

In "Some Account of the Monumental Brasses of Devon" (*Exeter Diocesan Archl. Soc.*, Vol. VI, p. 119) it is said he died 15 February, 1637. J. S. Arthwood, in the *Antiquary*, gave the date 13 February, 1637. The account is :—

"S. Saviour's Dartmouth. Here is the fine figure of Gilbert Staplehill once Mayor of the Town of Dartmouth, though of late date the execution is very good. He is represented bareheaded with the hands joined in prayer and arrayed in the Mayor's furred robe. Over his head are three shields, the first bearing quarterly first and fourth, Argent, a chevron Sable, for Staplehill ; second and third, Azure, three roaches in pale naiant, Argent, for Roach ; second, Azure, three butterflies volant, Argent, two and one, for Muschamp of Surrey, and third, Argent, on a bend Sable, three horseshoes of the Field, for Ferrers. At the foot of the figure is this inscription :

"Behold Thyself By mee
I was as Thou art now
And thou in time shalt be
Even dust as I am now
So doth this figure paint to thee
The form and state of eche degree."

The height of the figure is 2 feet 7 inches.

1649-50. WALTER JAGO.

Alice, dau. of Richard Jago, of Dartmouth, married Zachary Gould, of Dartmouth, 8 February, 1601-2, at Dartmouth, his second wife. The Goulds were of Dartington, Rattery, and Staverton. Thomas Gould, of Rattery, born at Dartmouth, 4 August, 1605, was a merchant at Lisbon.

1651-2. JOSEPH CUBITT.

1652-3.

1653-4. LAURENCE WHEELER.

In April, 1653, a Release was made by Bathsheba Newcomen, executrix of Thomas Newcomen of the family of Newcomen, the inventor, to the Corporation Feoffees, of a tenement on the New Key.

1654-5. WILLIAM BARNES.

1655-6. WILLIAM SPURWAY.

1659-60. LAURENCE WHEELER.

1660-1. In October and November, 1660, the Mayors of Plymouth, Barnstaple, Weymouth wrote the Mayor of Dartmouth as to the proposals of the Londoners for the regulation of Trade (1461-3).

1661-2.

1662-3. WILLIAM SPURWAIE.

Certificates are preserved of numbers of persons not attending Church ($\frac{1460}{1 \& 2}$).

12 June, 1663. There is a copy of a certificate touching the *Adventurer*, frigate, 70 tons, of Dartmouth, which was taken by the Turks to Argier (Algiers), and of her cargo.

1663-4.

1664-5.

1665-6. THOMAS JAGO.

30 October, 1665. There was a Petition of the Shoemakers of Dartmouth to prevent one Philip Masters, of Jersey, from plying the Trade of a Shoemaker in the Town (3338).

1666-7. The Dutch were besieging Dartmouth.

Among the papers of the Corporation of Totnes are the accounts during the Mayoralty of John Ley, Mayor in 1666-7, which show how Totnes assisted Dartmouth when

it was attacked by the Dutch. The entries are as follows :—

For as much paid Richard Punchard for his journies to Dartmouth, 3 days, the Dutch being before it	0 : 6 : 0
For 6 leather bags for powder	0 : 5 : 0
For John Chaffe to go to Dartmouth as a Drummer	0 : 1 : 0
For a boat for Volunteers to pass down there	0 : 4 : 0
For John Dolbeare to go thrice to Black-down Beacon	0 : 1 : 0
For twine and making three bullet bags	0 : 0 : 6
For boat hire for William Tiller, who came with a letter from the Deputy Lieutenants at Dartmouth	0 : 1 : 6
For John Sanders and his horse 1 day to attend to carry ammunition if occasion presented	0 : 1 : 6
For brown paper to wrap powder in	0 : 0 : 10
For monies paid to Mr John Brooking for the Volunteers at Dartmouth	10 : 0 : 0
For charges expended by the Constables to carry masons at Plymouth by Sir John Skelton's order	2 : 7 : 0
For making up the Beacon	0 : 17 : 0
For 6 Pyoneers 2 days at Dartmouth	0 : 12 : 0
For 6 Pyoneers 3 days at Dartmouth	0 : 18 : 0
For the Constables charges several times to conduct them	0 : 10 : 6
For the Ringers at the proclamation of peace	0 : 10 : 6

Sir John Skelton was Governor of Plymouth Citadel. There is a monument to his memory in St. Andrew's Church, Plymouth, and in the *Western Antiquary*, Vol. II, 1882-3, p. 169, is a view of it, and at p. 175 an account of him.

1667-8.

1668-9.

1669-70.

1670-1. EMANUEL WOLLEY.

King Charles II visited Dartmouth and was entertained for a week ; the following is the account :—

"The three and twentieth day of July, 1671, Our Sovereign Lord King Charles the second over England, &c.

"These particular sums of money herein-under mentioned were paid by Emanuel Woolley, then Mayor for this Corporation unto His said Majesty's Servants then attending his Majesty in this place.

"A Bill of Homage Fees, due to the King's Servants, from all Towns Corporate unto which His Majesty shall come :

To the Gentlemen Ushers daily Waiters .	£5.	0.	0
To the Gentlemen Ushers of the Privy Chambers	5.	0.	0
To the Gentlemen Ushers Quarter Waiters .	1.	0.	0
To the Sergeant at Arms	3.	6.	8
To the Sewers of the Chamber	1.	0.	0
To the King's Barbers	1.	0.	0
To the King's Harbinger	3.	6.	8
To the King's Marshall	1.	0.	0
To the Yeoman Ushers	1.	0.	0
To the Grooms of the Chamber	1.	0.	0
To the Yeomen Harbingers	1.	0.	0
To the Footmen	2.	0.	0
To the Sergeant and Office of Trumpets .	3.	6.	8
To the Sergeant Porter	1.	0.	0
To the Yeomen of the Month	2.	0.	0
To the Page of the Presence	10.	0.	
To the Porters at the Gate	1.	0.	0
To the Yeomen of the Fields	10.	0.	
To the Boatmen	16.	8.	
To the Surveyors of the Ways	1.	10.	0
	36.	6.	8

The receipt for the money was as follows :—

"Received then of Emanuel Wolley Esq, Mayor of the Towne of Dartmouth, in full discharge of the homage fees, within monsoned, payable to his Maties servants the sume of Thirty six pounds six shil- lings eight pence.	}	£36 : 6 : 8
---	---	-------------

"I say recd as above said.

"THO. DUPPY. GEN. USHER COLL."

The above sum was not sufficient to settle every charge, the following further entries appearing :—

“Above demanded and received of the said Mr. Mayor some Forty shillings.

“I say recd by me

“THO. DONLELEY. Closet Keeper.”

“Paid the King’s Waterman 00. 11. 00.”

The last payment may have been to take his Majesty and suite across to Kingswear, from whence they, no doubt, proceeded to Exeter.

Mr. John Lovering, in 1671, founded an Almshouse for decayed Fishermen or their widows, and gave the sum of £200 to be laid out in land for the repairs, and towards the support of the pensioners. His son of the same name gave a sum of money for the augmentation of its endowment. The Almshouse was, says Lysons, burnt down, there were no funds for the rebuilding, and the Charity was entirely lost.

A memorial of this visit of Charles II was discovered some years ago when the Butter Row houses were under repair, viz. some square wax candles with the Royal Arms painted on them (Worthy’s *Devonshire Parishes*, Vol. II, p. 20).

1671–2. ROBERT CLAPP.

26 January, 1671. There is a Charter of Laws for Newfoundland, giving powers to the Mayors of Plymouth, Dartmouth, and other Western Towns to try offences committed in Newfoundland. This document is in a box with a seal (3344).

1672–3. ARTHUR HOLDSWORTH.

Holdsworth : In St. Petrock’s Church, Dartmouth, on the floor of the nave a memorial of this family.

Arthur Holdsworth, this Mayor, died 22 June, 1690, aged 66.

Holdsworth Arms were on the front of the gallery of St. Saviour’s Church. This is the first member of this family who is mentioned as Mayor. The family is referred to before under the Mayoralty of 1504, when they first came to Dartmouth.

1673-4.

1674-5.

1675-6. THOS. NEWMAN.

The Newmans were merchants in Dartmouth, and were connected with the Newfoundland trade. Several times members of this family were Mayors.

1676-7.

1677-8. AMBROSE MUDD.

1678-9. In 1679 Walter Jago and Arthur Holdsworth (probably the Mayors of 1649 and 1672), and John Haynes gave a Rent Charge of £18 per annum to the parish of St. Saviour's, £3 12s. of which was to be given to a Latin Master and £3 12s. to a Master for teaching Arithmetic (Lysons).

1679-1680.

1680-1. An order was made, 1681, 11 August, that Councillors may vote by proxy in the Election of Mayor, if they be sick or disabled from attending (1990).

1681-2.

1682-3. JOHN WHITROW.

Col. Vivian, p. 644, Rebecca, 2nd dau. Thomas Reynell, of East Ogwell, ma. John Whitrow, of Dartmouth, both living with issue, 1695.

1683-4. BENJAMIN ROOKE.

1684-5. ARTHUR HOLDSWORTH.

1685-6. THOMAS JAGO.

ORDINANCES AND BYE-LAWS.

A very long roll of parchment is preserved, signed at the end by Sir Francis Nythers and Sir Richard Heath, Judges of the Western Circuit, and allowed 19 March, 1686.

“Burroughs of Clifton Dartmouth Hardness
in the County of Devon.

“Ordinances, Constitutions, Laws, and Statutes, made, ordained, constituted, and established by Thomas Jago, the now Mayor, John Beare, Esq., Recorder, Roger Pomeroy, Esq., Ambrose Roope, Esq., Edward Roope, Arthur Holdsworth, Robert Clapp, Thomas Baddiford,

Nicholas Paynton, and Thomas Floud, Burgesses : Symon Lumley, Richard Hingston, George Dotton, Peter Burd, William Manoway, Roger Matthew, John Sparke, Thomas Jago, junr., Nicholas Elliott, and John Bulley, Assistants, being the Common Council of the said Burrough and Corporation, the five and twentieth day of December, in the 2nd year of the reign of our most gracious Sovereign Lord, James the Second, by the Grace of God of Eng., Scot., France and Ireland, King Defender of the Faith, An. Dom. 1686."

The following are those of interest :—

1. Non-attendance at Election of Mair, 20s. Fine.
 " other times, 3s. 4d.
 (Without reasonable excuse.)
2. Elec. of Mair, two burgesses named, and Freemen to elect.
3. No one once elected eligible for three years as Mair, except in case of death of Mair, then former Mair to be Mair and oldest Justice.
4. Resident Burgess elected Mair fined not exceeding £20 if does not accept office.
5. Assistants not exceeding £20.
6. Fine 3s. 4d. on Burgesses or Common Councilmen (except Mair, Recorder, or Justices) speaking in any debate unless his head be uncovered.
7. Fine not exceeding 20s. for discovering any debate or discourse to outsiders, whereby the secrets of such meetings and assemblies are made known and exposed to the various interpretations of factious and disaffected persons (as by too frequent experience hath been manifested), proved before the Mair by two Witnesses.
8. Fine on Freemen resident for non-attendance when summoned 3s. 4d.
9. " Item, to the intent that the said Burgesses and Common Councilmen, for the tyme being, inhabiting within the said Corporation, may hereafter be and appeare in decent and comely habitt, according to their degree and calling. It is ordered that every one of the said Burgesses and Common Councilmen shall, upon all Sundays, without notice, and upon festivall dayes in the yeare, and at all other solemn and special assemblies, use and weare a decent and comely gown, and shall attend the said Mair,

for the time being upon Sundays without notice, and upon festivall dayes, (having prev. notice thereof from the Mair) to the Church, and into and through the body of the Church to their respective seats, and soe back again in their gowns."

Fine for not doing so, 3s. 4d.

10. Son of Freeman, not Eldest, to pay 2s. 6d., and others to be free, and not to sell till free.

11. Is as to Strangers being made free.

12. Apprentice of Freeman to pay 2s. 6d. before can sell.

13. Inhabitants to repair the street from their houses to centre of street in front, where gutter runs. Fine 12d. if not done.

14. Fine of 5s., Strangers or Foreigners, not being free, selling victuals and other wares in the Borough, other than in gross or on Market days.

15. Fine of 3s. 4d. on butchers exposing meat for sale on Saturdays after 10 in the afternoon.

16. Inhabitants on appointed days to clear up dung, &c., in front of houses, and heaps to be taken away, 3s. 4d. fine if not done.

21. Persons between 18 and 60, when required by the Mayor, &c., to watch, or find a watch.

26. Item. It is ordained and established that if any person shall kill or procure to be killed, any Bull without beating (baiting) the same at the Bull post or ring, on the day next before the killing thereof. Fine 3s. 4d.

30. Workmen to be paid in ready money only.

34. Mayor, &c., to appoint a Paymaster.

1686-7. GEORGE KINNICOTT.

1687-8. JOHN WHITROW.

COURT OF PIE POWDER.

The following were the fees payable in this Court in Dartmouth :—

The fees of the Court of Pye Powder, as it was given in by Mr. Arthur Kelly, the Town Clerk, in July, 1688, and transcribed 18 November, 1717, by Mr. Thomas Newman, Town Clerke :—

	s.	d.
To the Mayor	6	8
To the Town's Bayliffe	3	4
To the Jurors	6	0
To the King's bayliffe		8
To the Town Clerke	3	6
To the sets	1	4
	— 1 : 1 : 6	

The Court of Pie Powder was a special Court held during a Fair for the trial of causes and offences arising during the Fair.

1688-9. WILLIAM MANNOWAY.

1689-90. Mr. William Wotton in 1689 gave a rent-charge of £5 per annum for the purpose of teaching poor children of the parish of St. Saviour's, Dartmouth, to read the Bible. The endowment has not been paid since 1805.

1689-90.

1690-1. WILLIAM VOYSEY.

Probably of same family as the Mayor of 1638-9.

1691-2. THOMAS BADDIFORD.

1692-3. 20 November, 1693. There was an Order imposing a toll of a half-penny a bushell on Barley and a penny on wheat in the Market-place (3339).

1692-3.

1693-4.

1694-5. WILLIAM VOYSEY.

The writer has an original order of this year as follows :—

“Uppon ye Peticon of Mr John Hodge of ye Towne off Dartmouth in the said County setting forth that when ye French Fleet lay on our Coasts and ye Regimt of ye Hono^d Coll. Samuel Rolle quartered in or near the said Towne one Charles Singe a Soldier of his by firing his muskett hurt and wounded his hand and being committed to ye care of ye said Mr Hodge he in sometime perfected the cure for which he has yet received no reward or satisfaction we do therefore order you forthwith to pay to ye said Mr John Hodge ye summe of eight pounds which shall be allowed you uppon the passing your account.

“Given under our hands and seals this 9th day of January in the 7th year of his Majties Raigne Anno Domi 1695.

WILLIAM STAWELL.

S^{LL}. ROLLE.

JOHN BARRINGTON.

FRAN. COURTNEY.”

1695-6. JOHN PALMER.

Arms of Palmer were on front of the gallery of St. Saviour's Church.

1696-7. THOMAS FLOUD.

1697-8. WILLIAM PALMER.

1698-9. WILLIAM VOYSEY.

1699-1700.

H.M.C., 1893. Papers of Sir William Fitzherbert, Bart. Martyn Ryder to Sir G. Treby, Attorney-General.

1700. 23 August. Exeter. "I came hither last night and found the Judge trying our Dartmouth cause. It lasted from 2 to 9 o'clock and then the Jury was sent out but with harsh directions as Sir. W. Y. and Sir. John E. and Mr D. told me. And being willing to know more, and that from the lawyers I went this morning while the Jury was at the Crown Bar to Mr Pratt in the same and other like Company and he told me in general that he never heard such law in his lifetime."

The case was about the Corporation and its constitution.

THE PETROGRAPHY OF DARTMOOR AND ITS BORDERS.

PART III.

BY R. HANSFORD WORTH, M.INST.C.E., F.G.S.

(Read at Exeter, 25th July, 1912.)

IN the nine years which have elapsed since Part II. of this series was read at Sidmouth, the writer has found no opportunity for continuing the work systematically. None the less, individual observations of interest have been made, and, although the scheme of work may be interrupted thereby, it is possibly better to sacrifice rigid continuity than to leave "finds" of geological significance unrecorded.

In accordance with this want of principle the present contribution, after a brief reference to Felsite "A," will be wholly illogically devoted to the record of a discovery of the mineral *Pinite* in Dartmoor granite.

A TYPICAL DARTMOOR FELSITE (FELSITE "A")

(continued).

The gap between the last two recorded localities for this felsite must now be subdivided by the interpolation of another *in situ* exposure, on the east bank of the Avon, CXIII, S.E., 10a., *lon.* $3^{\circ} 51' 30''$, *lat.* $50^{\circ} 27' 44\frac{1}{2}''$. This point is half a mile, or thereabouts, up-stream from Brent Moor House, and about 100 feet from the river. It is the greater part of a mile inside the junction of the granite and the sedimentaries, but from the presence of altered slate at the same spot it is evidently associated with an inlier of slate. The felsite is somewhat rougher in texture than typical specimens of this material, but otherwise requires no discrimination from it.

In passing, it may be well to remark that inliers of slate

are much more frequent on Dartmoor than is generally known: they are found as far in toward the heart of the granite as Brown Heath over Erme Pound, and Tor Royal Newtake, near Princetown; later the writer hopes to record these in detail.

ON THE OCCURRENCE OF PINITE IN DARTMOOR GRANITE.

The works of the China Clay Corporation, Ltd., although extending from Cantrell on the south to Redlake on the north, have brought little of novelty to our knowledge.

The pipe-trench to the west of the light railway, between the $2\frac{1}{2}$ and $2\frac{3}{4}$ mile-posts, has, however, yielded a granite in which *pinite* is quite a common mineral.

Thus one hand specimen shows on a face 3 inches by 4 inches at least fourteen crystals of *pinite*, and there are probably many smaller crystals not clearly identifiable on the same face. The type specimen has been labelled Devon, CXIX, S.E. 24, *lon.* $3^{\circ} 53' 28''$, *lat.* $50^{\circ} 25' 34\frac{1}{2}''$.

The *pinite* is pseudomorphous after *iolite*. The largest crystal found as yet is a twelve-sided prism of at least $15\frac{1}{2}$ mm. in length, and having a greatest diameter of 12 mm. and a least of 10 mm. There is a perfect cleavage parallel to the base of the prism, and there are cleavages parallel to the alternate sides, giving a six-sided form.

More usual dimensions for the crystals are $9\frac{1}{2}$ mm. long by 5 mm. diameter; 6 mm. long by $2\frac{3}{4}$ mm. diameter; and others in which the length cannot be ascertained, but of which the diameters average about 4 mm. There are also smaller crystals. Six-sided prisms are the more usual, but all agree with the largest specimen as to the direction of their cleavages.

Every cleavage parallel to the base is marked by the development of mica, and accordingly the cross sections of the crystals, which occur in any hand specimen of the granite, mostly present the appearance of well-developed hexagonal plates of dark mica. In a micro-section of a large crystal, taken somewhat obliquely to the longitudinal axis, there are 38 cross sections of such plates of mica in a length of 14 mm. The average distance apart, and thus the average thickness of the platy structure of the crystal, would probably be 0.33 mm. in a direction parallel to the

long axis of the prism. This structure is discontinuous, and does not always extend across the whole width of the prisms.

The general colour of the mineral in the micro-section is olive-green. There are inclusions of quartz, of dark mica, with crystal direction other than that described above, and of tourmaline. All tourmaline, wholly surrounded by *pinite*, is bright blue; one mass, which lies partly without the *pinite*, is olive-brown where outside that crystal, and blue as to that portion within.

The granite in which the *pinite* occurs is of medium grain; the other porphyritic constituents are feldspar (chiefly, but not exclusively, orthoclase), quartz, and dark mica, with a little tourmaline. The interstitial matter, or groundmass, varies both in texture and quantity; on the whole it is fine-grained, and where finest it forms a larger proportion of the whole rock. The colour of the feldspar divides the rock into two classes; in some specimens the feldspars are all white, in others they are flesh-coloured; the larger feldspars stronger in colour in their outer parts, the smaller rather bright in colour throughout.

The quartz is thickly strewn with fluid enclosures, most of which have a bubble, and many a cubic crystal inclusion also.

The rock is fresh and hard, but some specimens have an occasional bright ochreous patch of fairly firm texture, which has possibly been derived from the partial kaolinization of a feldspar (?).

There is no reason to believe that the rock with flesh-coloured feldspars is other than identical in origin with that having uncoloured feldspar. Local colouration of feldspars near joints and veins is a common secondary character on Dartmoor.

The discovery of *pinite* is interesting as a further link between the granites of Dartmoor and Cornwall. With sufficient patience and care it is possible to match practically all varieties of Cornish granite on Dartmoor.

Since this paper was read the writer has found *pinite* in granite from the China Clay Corporation's quarry on the southern slope of Western Beacon (Devon, CXXV, N.E. 8, *lon.* $3^{\circ} 53' 45\frac{1}{2}''$, *lat.* $50^{\circ} 23' 53\frac{1}{2}''$). The mineral is present in considerable quantity. In addition, there are also crystals of pale grey iolite, the alteration of which is confined to

a mere outer film, with some slight invasions along cleavage planes. The cleavage parallel to the base is well marked. In the same quarry patches of almandine garnet associated with dark mica occur in the granite. (Wherever garnet of any size has been found in Dartmoor granite it has always, so far, been mingled with dark mica.)

On the banks of the Butter Brook above Addicombe, in trial pits for the new Ivybridge reservoir, boulders containing *pinite* and garnet have also been found.

Further search shows that the *pinite* occurs over an area the length of which from north to south is at least two miles, while its width has not been ascertained.

The China Clay Corporation's quarry has yielded two crystals measuring 22 mm. by 11 mm. and 22 mm. by 12 mm. respectively, besides very many of smaller size.

SOME OF THE ROTIFERA OF DEVON.

BY J. STEVENS, F.R.M.S.

(Read at Exeter, 25th July, 1912.)

THE Rotifera is a class of aquatic animals inhabiting our ponds, ditches, bog-pools, lakes, reservoirs, and slowly running streams.

A few species are marine, but the great majority belong to fresh water.

With the exception of a paper—written by myself—in the *Proceedings of the Royal Albert Memorial Field Club and Natural History Society, Exeter* (1907), nothing has been written on the subject for the county of Devon.

I therefore propose to give a list of the species occurring, so far as my personal observations have gone, during the last seventeen years.

I have no thought of attempting a history of the group (which is a very big subject), but will indicate the principal literature for the information of the student.

In the year 1889 a great work was published by Dr. C. T. Hudson, LL.D. Cantab., F.R.S., and P. H. Gosse, F.R.S., entitled *The Rotifera ; or Wheel-Animalcules*. In this magnificent work is gathered together the knowledge of all previous workers, both British and foreign. This, with their own work, formed all that was known up to that date.

The pages of the journals of the Royal Microscopical Society and of the Quekett Microscopical Club must be consulted for nearly all that has been written since 1889. Therein will be found monographs on the genera *Synchaeta*, by Mr. C. F. Rousselet, F.R.M.S. (London), and *Diaschiza*, by Mr. F. R. Dixon-Nuttall, F.R.M.S., and Rev. R. Freeman, M.A. (Lancashire). Also a great deal on the *Bdelloida*, by Mr. D. Bryce (London) and Mr. James Murray (late of Edinburgh). The same gentlemen, together with other authors, have added greatly to our knowledge of the subject.

My list numbers 217 species, and when I say that, ac-

According to a recent computation by Mr. Rousselet, the rotiferous population of the world amounts to 850 species, it will be seen that there is plenty of work still left for Devon naturalists to do.

Not that any amount of work will result in the discovery of all the known species, for many are peculiar to certain parts of the world, and have been found nowhere else.

The measurements of these little creatures vary from $\frac{1}{16}$ to $\frac{1}{100}$ of an inch in length. It will be seen, then, that the identification of the species is no easy matter. I have, however, had the ready help of the gentlemen named.

Devon, being so hilly, with streams hurrying down the valleys, is not ideal for the pond-hunter. Much minute life must be rushed away to sea. However, the Fauna of the county should be recorded as completely as possible, and it is the duty of every naturalist to supply a list of any group on which he may be engaged.

No picture of our beautiful scenery would be perfect without every degree of light and shade. Equally, no account of the Fauna of Devon would be satisfactory without as full a catalogue as possible of its Rotifera.

In the list are a few which are exceedingly rare. I will name four only.

Floscularia mutabilis, Bolton.

This wonderful little creature I have found in one place only in Devon, viz. Burrator Reservoir. It had been previously recorded from three or four stations only. It was first discovered by Bolton in Sutton Park, Birmingham, May, 1884. Later it was recorded by the Scottish Lake Survey from Loch Morar (Murray), and last year from Achill Island, Ireland. I also found it in Lake Windermere, June, 1910.

Proales gigantea, Glascott.

This is a very rare species, discovered by Miss Glascott (1891) in a pond in County Wexford, Ireland, and until June of last year had not been observed by any other worker until I met with it in the Exeter Canal. I had specimens under general observation for nearly four months, and during thirteen days I isolated a group of seven, carefully watching their life-history, taking notes many times during each twenty-four hours. They are parasitic in the ova of the water-snail. The snail ova are found embedded in a jelly-like substance adhering to the underside of the leaves of water-weeds. The Rotifer is a true parasite, spending the whole of

its life inside the host, with the exception of the time taken in journeying from ovum to ovum. She enters by boring into the rather tough envelope, taking two hours to do so, in the case of one I timed. She then floats about in the fluid contents, along with the embryo snail. The latter soon shows signs of distress, and is ultimately partially devoured by the Rotifer. Meanwhile, she has deposited her eggs, varying from three to thirteen in number. She then leaves the ovum and scrambles to an adjoining one, entering as before. The eggs when about twenty-four hours old begin to show signs of life, and one by one in the order in which they were deposited come to life, and are soon full-grown Rotifers, having by now eaten the remains of the snail, together with the albuminous supply of food intended for the snail's use. This little creature is about $\frac{1}{10}$ of an inch in length.

Plasoma lenticulare, Herrick.

This is another rare organism. It occurred on Lee Moor, Dartmoor.

Distyla Stokesii, Pell.

I have found this Rotifer in the Exeter Canal many times this year from June to September. It is an extremely rare species, and until now found only in America. It is, therefore, new to Britain.

Dinops longipes, Western.

This was first discovered in July, 1890, at Guildford, by members of the Quekett Microscopical Club. They have, however, not met with the species since, neither, so far as I am aware, has it been found elsewhere. I have found it many times in the Exeter Canal, and several other places in the Exe Valley, ranging from Countess Weir up to Silverton.¹

Rotifers are very uncertain in their occurrence. There is a pond near Clyst St. Mary which I had worked several years without much result until August, 1908, when I found it simply crowded with *Pedalion mirum*, a rare Rotifer, generally, but a reference to the table will show

¹ Since the above was written I find Dr. de Beauchamp, of Paris, has been giving this species considerable attention, having had some mounted specimens sent him by Mr. Rousselet, which came from the Exeter Canal. He has decided that this is the same animal as that described by Gosse (1889), under the name of *Asplanchnopus eupoda*, and has given it a new generic name, calling it "*Harringia eupoda*," which will be its name in future, the name *Dinops* being already preoccupied in Zoology, and therefore cannot be used.

that I have made its acquaintance in several localities. I have never found it in this pond since.

In the following table each group of localities represent many other bodies of water—big and small—coming within their radius.

LOCALITIES.

- No. 1. Exeter Canal. Ponds at Countess Weir. Exminster Marshes. Turf. Cockwood. Starcross.
 „ 2. Exwick pond. Ornamental waters at Streatham Hall. Shobrooke Park. Creedy Park. Cowley ponds. Stoke Marshes. The Exe Valley to Tiverton, and Burlescombe Canal. Dulverton.
 „ 3. Woodbury Common. Squabmoor fish-pond and neighbouring bog-waters of the Exmouth Reservoir. Waters near Exmouth.
 „ 4. Clyst St. Mary and near Digbys.
 „ 5. Dartmoor—Bridestowe. By the Lyd. Tiger's Marsh. Doe Tor Bottom.
 „ 6. Dartmoor—Belstone. Brinnimore Common. Taw Marsh and the East Okement bogs. Bradford Pool. Mardon Down.
 „ 7. Dartmoor—Yelverton. Burrator Reservoir. Classenwell Pool. Princetown. Sheepstor. Wigford Down. Shaugh Moor. Lee Moor. Legis Mire. Horrabridge.
 „ 8. Kingsteignton and Chudleigh Knighton, old china-clay pits. Heathfield. Stover Lake.
 „ 9. Cockington Court pond. Slapton Ley.
 „ 10. North Devon—Venn Quarry. Goodleigh.
 „ 11. Marsh at Seaton.

LIST OF SPECIES.

Order—RHIZOTA.

Family—FLOSCULARIADÆ.

Genus—FLOSCULARIA.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
<i>Floscularia ambigua</i> , Hudson	×	×	×	×	×	—	—	×	—	—	—
<i>F. coronetta</i> , Cubitt	.	.	×	×	×	×	—	—	×	—	—
<i>F. cornuta</i> , Dobie	.	.	×	×	×	×	×	—	×	—	×
<i>F. ornata</i> , Ehrbg.	.	.	×	×	—	×	×	—	×	×	—
<i>F. regalis</i> , Hudson	.	.	×	—	—	×	—	—	×	—	—
<i>F. campanulata</i> , Dobie	.	.	×	×	—	×	—	—	×	—	—
<i>F. trilobata</i> , Collins	.	.	—	×	—	×	×	—	×	—	—
<i>F. algicola</i> , Hudson	.	.	—	×	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
<i>F. longicaudata</i> , Hudson	.	×	—	—	×	—	—	—	×	—	—
<i>F. mutabilis</i> , Bolton	.	.	—	—	—	—	—	×	—	—	—

Genus—STEPHANOCEROS.

<i>Stephanoceros Eichhornii</i> , Ehrbg.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
	×	×	—	×	—	—	—	×	—	—	—

Family—MELICERTADÆ.

Genus—MELICERTA.

<i>Melicerta ringens</i> , Schrank	×	×	×	×	—	—	—	×	—	—	—
<i>M. tubicularia</i> , Ehrbg.	×	—	—	—	—	—	—	×	—	—	—
<i>M. conifera</i> , Hudson	×	×	×	—	—	—	—	×	—	—	—

Genus—LIMNIAS.

<i>Limnias ceratophylli</i> , Schrank	×	×	—	×	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
<i>L. myriophylli</i> , Tatem	—	—	—	—	×	—	—	—	—	—	—

Genus—CEPHALOSIPHON.

<i>Cephalosiphon limnias</i> , Ehrbg.	×	×	—	×	—	—	—	×	—	—	—
---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

Genus—ECISTES.

<i>Æ. umbella</i> , Hudson	×	×	—	—	×	×	—	×	—	—	—
<i>Æ. stygis</i> , Gosse	×	×	—	×	—	—	—	×	—	—	—
<i>Æ. longicornis</i> , Davis	×	×	—	—	—	—	—	×	—	—	—
<i>Æ. pilula</i> , Wills	—	—	×	—	—	×	—	—	—	—	—
<i>Æ. velatus</i> , Gosse	×	×	—	×	×	—	—	—	—	—	—
<i>Æ. mucicola</i> , Kellicott	×	×	—	—	—	—	—	×	—	—	—
<i>Æ. brachiatus</i> , Hudson	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	×	—	—	—
<i>Æ. crystallinus</i> , Ehrbg.	×	×	—	—	×	×	—	×	—	—	—

Genus—LACINULARIA.

<i>Lacinularia socialis</i> , Ehrbg.	×	—	—	—	—	×	—	—	—	—	—
--	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

Genus—CONOCHILUS.

<i>Conochilus volvox</i> , Ehrbg.	×	×	×	—	—	×	—	×	—	—	—
---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

Order—BDELLOIDA.

Family—PHILODINADÆ.

Genus—PHILODINA.

<i>Philodina citrina</i> , Ehrbg.	×	×	×	—	×	×	×	×	×	×	—
<i>P. megalotrocha</i> , Ehrbg.	×	×	×	×	×	—	—	×	×	—	—
<i>P. roseola</i> , Ehrbg.	—	—	×	—	—	—	—	×	—	—	—
<i>P. vorax</i> (Janson)	×	—	—	—	×	—	—	—	—	—	—
<i>P. plena</i> (Bryce)	×	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
<i>P. nemoralis</i> , Bryce	×	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

Genus—ROTIFER.

<i>Rotifer macroceros</i> , Gosse	×	×	×	×	—	×	—	×	—	—	—
<i>R. vulgaris</i> , Schrank	×	×	—	×	×	×	—	×	—	×	—
<i>R. tardigradus</i> , Ehrbg.	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	—	—	—	—
<i>R. macrurus</i> , Schrank	×	×	×	—	—	×	×	—	—	—	—
<i>R. elongatus</i> , Weber	×	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
<i>R. actinurus</i> , Ehrbg.	×	×	×	×	—	×	—	—	—	—	—
<i>R. longirostris</i> , Janson	×	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
<i>R. citrinus</i> , Ehrbg.	—	—	—	—	×	—	—	—	—	—	—

Genus—HABROTROCHA.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
<i>Habrotrocha bidens</i> , Gosse	×	—	×	—	—	×	—	—	—	—	—
<i>H. constricta</i> , Dujardin	×	—	—	—	×	—	—	—	×	—	—
<i>H. munda</i> (Bryce in manu- script)	—	—	—	—	×	—	—	—	—	—	—
Genus—CALLIDINA.											
<i>Callidina quadricornifera</i> , Milne	—	—	—	—	×	—	—	—	—	—	—
<i>C. crucicornis</i> , Murray	—	—	—	—	×	—	—	—	—	—	—
Genus—DISSOTROCHA.											
<i>Dissotrocha spinosa</i> , Bryce	×	—	—	—	×	—	—	—	—	—	—
<i>D. macrostyla</i> , Ehrbg.	—	—	×	—	×	—	—	—	—	—	—
<i>D. aculeata</i> , Ehrbg.	×	×	—	×	×	—	—	—	—	—	—
Family—ADINETIDÆ.											
Genus—ADINETA.											
<i>Adineta vaga</i> , Davis	×	×	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
<i>A. vaga</i> , var. <i>major</i>	×	×	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
<i>A. barbata</i> , Janson	×	×	—	—	×	—	—	—	—	—	—
Order—PLOIMA.											
Sub-order—ILLORICATA.											
Family—MICROCODIDÆ.											
Genus—MICROCODON.											
<i>Microcodon clavus</i> , Ehrbg.	×	×	×	—	—	×	×	×	—	—	—
Genus—MICROCODIDES.											
<i>Microcodides doliaris</i> , Rousset	—	—	×	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
<i>M. chlæna</i> (Gosse)	×	×	×	—	×	×	×	×	—	—	—
Family—ASPLANCHNADÆ.											
Genus—ASPLANCHNA.											
<i>Asplanchna priodonta</i> , Gosse	×	×	×	—	—	×	—	—	—	—	—
<i>A. amphora</i> , Hudson	×	×	—	—	—	×	—	—	—	—	—
Genus—DINOPS.											
<i>Dinops longipes</i> , Western	×	×	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Genus—ASCOMORPHA.											
<i>Ascomorpha ecaudis</i> , Perty	×	×	×	×	×	×	—	×	—	—	—
<i>A. saltans</i> , Bartsch	—	×	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Family—SYNCHÆTADÆ.											
Genus—SYNCHÆTA.											
<i>Synchaeta pectinata</i> , Ehrbg.	×	×	×	×	—	×	×	—	—	×	—
<i>S. tremula</i> , Ehrbg.	×	×	×	×	—	×	×	×	×	—	—
<i>S. gyrina</i> , Hood	×	—	×	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
<i>S. oblonga</i> , Ehrbg.	×	×	×	×	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
<i>S. grandis</i> , Zacharias	×	×	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
<i>S. triophthalma</i> , Lauterborn	×	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

Family—TRIARTHRADE.

Genus—POLYARTHRA.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
<i>Polyarthra platyptera</i> , Ehrbg.	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×
<i>P. platyptera</i> , var. <i>minor</i> , Voigt	—	—	—	—	×	—	—	—	—	—	—

Genus—TRIARTHRA.

<i>Triarthra longiseta</i> , Ehrbg. .	×	×	×	—	—	×	×	×	—	—	—
<i>T. mystacina</i> , Ehrbg. . .	×	×	×	×	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
<i>T. breviseta</i> , Gosse . . .	×	×	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

Family—HYDATINADE.

Genus—HYDATINA.

<i>Hydatina senta</i> , Ehrbg. . .	×	×	×	—	×	—	—	—	—	—	—
------------------------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

Genus—PLÆSOMA.

<i>Plæsoma lenticulare</i> , Herrick	—	—	—	—	—	—	×	—	—	—	—
--------------------------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

Genus—RHINOPS.

<i>Rhinops vitrea</i> , Hudson . .	—	×	×	×	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
------------------------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

Genus—NOTOPS.

<i>Notops brachionus</i> , Ehrbg. .	×	—	×	×	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
<i>N. hyptopus</i> , Ehrbg. . .	×	×	×	—	—	×	—	—	—	—	—
<i>N. minor</i> , Rousselet . . .	×	×	—	×	—	×	—	×	—	—	—

Family—NOTOMMATADE.

Genus—TAPHROCAMPA.

<i>Taphrocampa annulosa</i> , Gosse	×	×	×	×	×	×	—	—	—	—	—
<i>T. selenura</i> , Gosse . . .	×	×	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
<i>T. Saundersiæ</i> , Gosse . .	—	—	×	—	×	—	×	×	—	—	×

Genus—PLEUROTROCHA.

<i>Pleurotrocha leptura</i> , Ehrbg.	—	—	—	—	—	×	—	—	—	—	—
--------------------------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

Genus—NOTOMMATA.

<i>Notommata aurita</i> , Ehrbg. .	×	×	×	—	×	×	×	—	×	—	—
<i>N. cyrtopus</i> , Gosse . . .	×	×	×	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
<i>N. saccigera</i> , Ehrbg. . .	×	×	—	—	×	—	—	×	—	—	—
<i>N. tripus</i> , Ehrbg. . . .	×	×	×	×	—	—	—	×	—	—	—
<i>N. pilarius</i> , Gosse . . .	×	×	×	—	—	—	—	×	—	—	—
<i>N. naias</i> , Ehrbg. . . .	—	×	—	—	—	—	—	×	—	—	—
<i>N. forcipata</i> , Ehrbg. . .	—	—	×	—	×	—	—	—	—	—	—
<i>N. brachyota</i> , Ehrbg. . .	—	—	×	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

Genus—COPEUS.

<i>Copeus spicatus</i> , Hudson .	—	—	×	—	×	×	×	×	—	—	—
<i>C. copeus</i> , Ehrbg. . . .	—	—	×	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
<i>C. cerberus</i> , Gosse . . .	—	—	×	×	—	×	—	—	—	—	—
<i>C. pachyurus</i> , Gosse . .	—	—	×	—	×	×	×	×	—	—	—
<i>C. caudatus</i> , Collins . .	—	—	×	—	×	—	×	×	—	—	—

Genus—PROALES.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
<i>Proales petromyzon</i> , Ehrbg.	×	×	×	×	—	—	—	×	×	—	—
<i>P. decipiens</i> , Ehrbg.	×	—	×	×	×	—	—	×	×	—	—
<i>P. parasita</i> , Ehrbg.	×	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
<i>P. Werneckii</i> , Ehrbg.	×	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
<i>P. gigantea</i> , Glascott	×	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Genus—FURCULARIA.											
<i>Furcularia ensifera</i> , Gosse	×	×	×	—	×	×	—	—	×	—	—
<i>F. sterea</i> , Gosse	×	×	—	—	—	—	—	—	×	—	—
<i>F. longiseta</i> , Ehrbg.	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	—	—	—
<i>F. forficula</i> , Ehrbg.	×	—	×	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Genus—EOSPHORA.											
<i>Eosphora aurita</i> , Ehrbg.	—	—	×	—	×	—	—	×	—	—	—
<i>E. elongata</i> , Ehrbg.	—	—	—	—	×	—	—	—	—	—	—
Genus—DIGLENA.											
<i>Diglena forcipata</i> , Ehrbg.	×	×	×	—	—	—	—	×	—	—	—
<i>D. ferox</i> , Western	×	×	—	×	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
<i>D. permollis</i> , Gosse	×	×	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
<i>D. grandis</i> , Ehrbg.	—	—	×	—	×	—	—	—	—	—	—
<i>D. catellina</i> , Ehrbg.	×	×	—	×	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
<i>D. caudata</i> , Ehrbg.	—	—	—	—	×	—	—	—	—	—	—
<i>D. clastopus</i> , Gosse	—	—	—	—	—	—	×	—	—	—	—
<i>D. uncinata</i> , Milne	×	—	—	—	—	—	×	—	—	—	—
<i>D. circinator</i> , Gosse	—	—	—	—	×	—	—	—	—	—	—
Genus—DISTEMMA.											
<i>Distemma raptor</i> , Gosse	—	—	×	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Sub-order—LORICATA.											
Family—RATTULIDÆ.											
Genus—RATTULUS.											
<i>Rattulus carinatus</i> , Ehrbg.	×	×	—	—	×	×	×	×	×	—	—
<i>R. elongatus</i> , Gosse	×	×	×	×	—	×	—	×	—	—	—
<i>R. longiseta</i> , Schrank	×	×	×	—	×	×	—	×	—	—	—
<i>R. rattus</i> , Ehrbg.	×	×	—	×	×	—	—	—	—	—	—
<i>R. bicristatus</i> , Gosse	—	—	×	—	×	×	×	×	—	—	—
<i>R. stylatus</i> , Gosse	—	×	—	—	—	×	—	—	—	—	—
<i>R. gracilis</i> , Tessin	—	—	—	—	—	×	—	—	—	—	—
<i>R. scipio</i> , Gosse	×	—	—	×	—	—	×	—	—	—	—
<i>R. pusillus</i> , Lauterborn	×	×	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
<i>R. multirinus</i> , Kellicott	×	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Genus—DIURELLA.											
<i>Diurella sulcata</i> , Jennings	—	—	—	—	×	—	—	—	—	—	—
<i>D. tigris</i> , Müller	—	—	×	—	×	—	—	—	—	—	—
<i>D. marina</i> , Daday	×	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
<i>D. Dixon-Nuttalli</i> , Jennings	×	×	—	×	—	—	×	×	—	×	—
<i>D. brachyura</i> , Gosse	—	×	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
<i>D. collaris</i> , Rousselet	×	—	×	—	×	—	×	×	—	—	—
<i>D. tenuior</i> , Gosse	×	×	—	—	—	—	—	×	—	—	—

Genus—DIURELLA (*continued*). 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

<i>D. insignis</i> , Herrick . . .	×	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
<i>D. sejunctipes</i> , Gosse . . .	×	×	×	—	×	×	—	×	—	—	—
<i>D. porcellus</i> , Gosse . . .	×	×	×	—	×	—	—	—	—	—	—
<i>D. cavia</i> , Gosse . . .	—	×	—	—	—	×	—	—	—	—	—

Family—DINOCHARIDÆ.

Genus—DINOCHARIS.

<i>Dinocharis pocillum</i> , Ehrbg. . .	×	×	×	—	—	×	—	×	×	—	—
<i>D. tetractis</i> , Ehrbg. . .	×	×	×	×	×	×	—	×	—	—	—

Genus—POLYCHÆTUS.

<i>Polychætus Collinsii</i> , Gosse . . .	—	—	×	—	×	×	—	—	—	—	—
---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

Genus—SCARIDIUM.

<i>Scaridium longicaudum</i> , Ehrbg.	×	×	—	×	×	—	—	×	—	—	—
--	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

Genus—STEPHANOPS.

<i>Stephanops lamellaris</i> , Ehrbg. . .	×	×	×	—	—	—	—	×	—	—	—
<i>S. armatus</i> , Hood . . .	×	×	×	—	—	×	—	×	—	—	—
<i>S. unisetatus</i> , Collins . . .	×	×	—	—	—	—	—	×	—	—	—
<i>S. muticus</i> , Ehrbg. . .	—	—	×	—	×	×	—	×	—	—	—
<i>S. stylatus</i> , Milne . . .	×	—	—	×	×	—	—	×	—	—	—

Family—SALPINADÆ.

Genus—DIASCHIZA.

<i>Diaschiza gibba</i> , Gosse . . .	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	—	—	×
<i>D. exigua</i> , Gosse . . .	×	×	×	×	×	—	—	×	—	—	—
<i>D. ramphigera</i> , Gosse . . .	×	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
<i>D. cæca</i> , Gosse . . .	×	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
<i>D. globata</i> , Gosse . . .	—	×	×	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
<i>D. eva</i> , Gosse . . .	×	—	×	—	—	—	—	×	—	—	—
<i>D. lacinulata</i> , Müller . . .	×	×	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

Genus—DIPLAX.

<i>Diplax compressa</i> , Gosse . . .	—	—	—	×	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
---------------------------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

Genus—SALPINA.

<i>Salpina mucronata</i> , Ehrbg. . .											
<i>S. macracantha</i> , Gosse . . .	×	×	×	—	—	—	—	×	—	—	—
<i>S. eustala</i> , Gosse . . .	×	×	×	×	—	—	—	×	×	—	▲
<i>S. spinigera</i> , Ehrbg. . .	×	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
<i>S. brevispina</i> , Ehrbg. . .	×	×	—	—	—	—	—	×	—	×	—

Family—EUCHLANIDÆ.

GENUS—EUCHLANIS.

<i>Euchlanis dilatata</i> , Ehrbg. . .	×	×	×	×	×	×	—	×	×	×	—
<i>E. lyra</i> , Hudson . . .	×	×	×	—	×	×	×	—	—	—	—
<i>E. deflexa</i> , Gosse . . .	×	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
<i>E. triquetra</i> , Ehrbg. . .	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	—	—	—
<i>E. oropha</i> , Gosse . . .	×	×	×	×	×	—	×	×	×	—	—
<i>E. hyalina</i> , Leydig . . .	×	×	—	—	—	—	—	×	—	—	—
<i>E. propatula</i> , Gosse . . .	—	—	×	—	×	×	—	×	—	—	—
<i>E. pyriformis</i> , Gosse . . .	×	×	×	—	—	—	—	×	×	—	—

Family—CATHYPNADÆ.

Genus—CATHYPNA.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
<i>Cathypna luna</i> , Ehrbg.	×	×	×	—	×	×	—	×	—	—	—
<i>C. ligona</i> , Dunlop	—	—	—	—	—	×	—	—	—	—	—
<i>C. rusticula</i> , Gosse	×	×	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
<i>C. sulcata</i> , Gosse	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	×	—	—

Genus—DISTYLA.

<i>Distyla gissensis</i> , Eckstein	—	×	×	×	×	×	—	—	—	—	—
<i>D. flexilis</i> , Gosse	—	×	×	—	×	×	—	—	—	—	—
<i>D. plænensis</i> , Voigt	—	—	×	—	×	—	—	×	—	—	—
<i>D. muscicola</i> , Bryce	—	—	—	—	×	—	—	—	—	—	—
<i>D. inermis</i> , Bryce	—	—	—	—	×	—	—	—	—	—	—
<i>D. Stokesii</i> , Pell	×	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

Genus—MONOSTYLA.

<i>Monostyla cornuta</i> , Ehrbg.	×	×	×	—	×	×	—	×	—	—	—
<i>M. bulla</i> , Gosse	×	—	×	—	×	×	×	×	—	—	—
<i>M. lunaris</i> , Ehrbg.	×	—	×	—	×	—	×	×	×	—	—

Family—COLURIDÆ.

Genus—COLURUS.

<i>Colurus bicuspidatus</i> , Ehrbg.	×	×	—	—	—	—	—	×	×	—	—
<i>C. leptus</i> , Gosse	×	×	×	×	×	×	—	×	×	—	—
<i>C. dicentrus</i> , Gosse	×	—	×	—	—	—	×	—	—	—	—

Genus—METOPIDIA.

<i>Metopidia lepadella</i> , Ehrbg.	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	—
<i>M. oxysternon</i> , Gosse	×	×	×	×	—	—	—	×	×	—	—
<i>M. salpina</i> , Ehrbg.	×	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
<i>M. solidus</i> , Gosse	×	×	×	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
<i>M. triptera</i> , Ehrbg.	—	×	—	—	—	—	—	×	—	—	—

Genus—MONURA.

<i>Monura dulcis</i> , Ehrbg.	—	—	—	×	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
<i>M. bartonia</i> , Gosse	—	×	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
<i>M. colurus</i> , Ehrbg.	×	—	—	—	×	—	—	—	—	—	—

Genus—MYTILIA.

<i>Mytilia producta</i> , Gosse	—	—	×	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

Family—PTERODINADÆ.

Genus—PTERODINA.

<i>Pterodina patina</i> , Ehrbg.	×	×	×	×	—	×	×	×	×	—	—
<i>P. trilobata</i> , Shephard	×	×	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
<i>P. clypeata</i> , Ehrbg.	×	—	×	—	—	—	—	×	—	—	—
<i>P. reflexa</i> , Gosse	×	×	×	×	×	×	—	—	—	—	—
<i>P. bidentata</i> , Ternetz	—	—	×	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

Genus—POMPHOLYX.

<i>Pompholyx complanata</i> , Gosse	×	×	—	—	—	—	×	×	—	—	—
<i>P. sulcata</i> , Hudson	—	—	×	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

Family—BRACHIONIDÆ.

Genus—BRACHIONUS.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
<i>Brachionus pala</i> , Ehrbg.	.	×	×	×	—	—	×	—	×	—	×
<i>B. Bakeri</i> , Ehrbg.	.	.	×	×	×	×	—	×	—	—	—
<i>B. rubens</i> , Ehrbg.	.	.	×	×	×	×	—	×	×	—	×
<i>B. sericus</i> , Rousselet	.	.	—	—	—	—	—	×	×	—	—
<i>B. angularis</i> , Gosse	.	.	×	×	×	—	—	×	—	—	×
<i>B. quadratus</i> , Rousselet	.	.	×	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

Genus—NOTEUS.

<i>Noteus quadricornis</i> , Ehrbg.	.	×	×	—	—	—	—	—	×	—	—
-------------------------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

Family—ANURÆADÆ.

Genus—ANURÆA.

<i>A. aculeata</i> , Ehrbg.	.	.	×	×	×	—	—	×	×	×	—
<i>A. cochlearis</i> , Gosse	.	.	—	×	×	—	×	×	—	×	×
<i>A. brevispina</i> , Gosse	.	.	×	—	×	×	×	×	×	×	—
<i>A. tecta</i> , Gosse	.	.	×	×	×	×	—	—	×	—	—
<i>A. hypelasma</i> , Gosse	.	.	×	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

Genus—NOTHOLCA.

Notholca acuminata, Ehrbg.

<i>N. spinifera</i> , Gosse	.	.	×	×	×	—	—	—	—	—	×
<i>N. thalassia</i> , Gosse	.	.	×	×	×	—	—	—	—	—	—
<i>N. scapha</i> , Gosse	.	.	×	×	—	×	—	—	—	—	×
<i>N. heptodon</i> , Perty	.	.	×	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
<i>N. labis</i> , Gosse	.	.	×	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

Order—SCIPTOPODA.

Family—PEDALIONIDÆ.

GENUS—PEDALION.

<i>Pedalion mirum</i> , Hudson	.	—	×	×	×	—	—	×	×	—	—
--------------------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

SAND FORMATION AGAINST THE SAUNTON DOWN CLIFFS, NORTH DEVON.

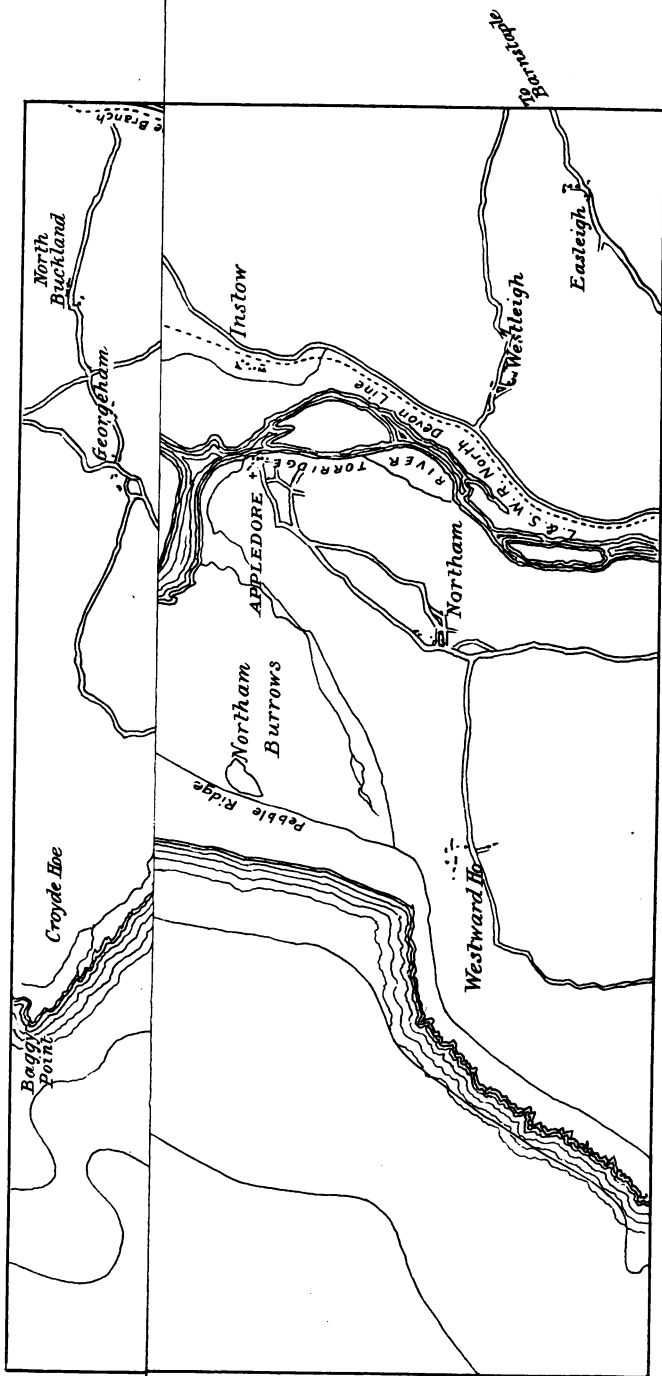
BY H. MONTAGU EVANS.

(Read at Exeter, 25th July, 1912.)

As long ago as 1836 Prof. Sedgwick and Sir R. I. Murchison first drew attention to what they considered to be raised beaches on the north shore of Barnstaple Bay, describing them as the finest specimens of their kind (*vide Proc. Geol. Soc.*, Vol. 2, pp. 441-3).

This was followed (*idem*, p. 535) by Rev. D. Williams defining their situation and mentioning the existence of a large red granite boulder lying against the same cliff at its foot. Sir H. de la Beche, in report of 1839, emphasized the above conclusions *re* change of level.

In 1866 Mr. C. Spence Bate, of Plymouth, in a paper to the Devonshire Association on the Flint Flakes of Devon and Cornwall, announces the finding of some flakes in the accumulated surface soil capping "the so-called raised beach"; and with a view to determining the age of their deposit, he enters into a detailed description of the sand formations between Downend Point and Braunton Burrows, remarking that, *re* the granite boulder, it is certain it was lodged in its present position before the so-called raised beach was first deposited; and further, that the so-called raised beach is in reality the undestroyed remnant of an extensive district of wind-borne sand formerly extending from Braunton Burrows to Baggy Point, and which, from a study of the various modes of stratification exhibited there, can only be attributed to the varying direction of the wind, that "builds, destroys, and restores again"; and further, that as the flints are in the soil surmounting the ancient sand-bed, and as that bed has been deposited since the present beach has been at its present level, the



SAND FORMATION, ETC.

flints are more recent than the latest elevation of land on that portion of the coast.

Mr. Bate supported his argument by strong facts, among them that barnacles remain attached to the rocks on which the so-called raised beach rests, and therefore before the sand was deposited ; that their normal habitat is a belt of rock between half-tide and high water, disproving any elevation of the coast-line since the raised beach was formed ; also, that the stratification exhibited corresponds with no sedimentary deposit, but shows false and contorted bedding.

In 1867 Mr. William Pengelly, the well-known geologist of Torquay, contributed to the same Society a rejoinder to Mr. Bate's arguments, admitting that accumulations of sand, even when stratified and well above the existing strand, do not necessarily prove the elevation implied by the term "raised beaches," but urging that terraces of denudation and an accumulation of pebbles and boulders, or of sand replete with large shells above reach of waves at existing levels, can be interpreted in no other way. In that part of his paper dealing with the Saunton cliffs (Downend Point to Braunton Burrows), Mr. Pengelly describes one particular terrace 10 feet above existing strand, and projecting 10 feet seaward from the cliff, as follows :—

First or lowest, sand 9 feet thick in firmly cemented, horizontal layers, containing pebbles in lower part ; next above, similar sand strata without pebbles, 12 feet thick, with curved layers, some inclined at 30°. Still higher, horizontal layers 6 feet "lying unconformably on second series." Capping the whole, 20 feet of "Stony head." Mr. Pengelly describes, also, another instance where the cliff joins the north end of the Burrows, viz. massive beds of sand cemented into very hard sandstone, but with no rocky strand beneath. Above and behind, a yellowish drab clay cliff 114 feet high with 40 to 50% angular stones, 103 being "Head" alone. This cliff extends back as a somewhat broad plain, behind which rises the lofty higher slope of Saunton Down. In the stratified sand there is nothing incompatible, he says, with upheaval, but, on the other hand, the well-defined bedding alone prompts the suggestion of any change of level. Mr. Pengelly reads the clay as *overlying* the sand (!), and therefore concludes the sand as of great antiquity, the stratification as a

result of sedimentation from water in motion, and the contorted or diagonal layers to concretion. *Re* the barnacles, Mr. Pengelly quotes Mr. Darwin (*Monogr. Cirrrepedia*, Pub. Ray Soc., p. 272, 1854) as saying that this species lives on rocks at both the uppermost and lowest limits of the tides, but never below the lowest. Mr. Pengelly found that the lowest edge of the *balanus* zone was 10 feet vertically above the reach of heavy waves at equinoctial spring tides high water; and by digging away the sand he exposed *balani* higher up, and failed to find the upper verge of the zone. Finally, he concludes there has been an elevation of 24 to 30 feet. He also remarks on the granite boulder as confirming this, as the present depth of water at highest tides could not have floated an iceberg carrying it to its present site, and no waves could move such a mass, viz. of at least 10 tons and probably more. Mr. Pengelly, in conclusion, describes a phenomenon in this raised beach which he has not met with on any other in Devonshire, viz. cylindrical or slightly conical shafts (locally chimneys) varying from 1 foot to 3 feet across, beginning at the top of the sand beds and penetrating vertically downward, some a few inches, some several feet, others quite through them. Though doubtfully, Mr. Pengelly suggests as a possible explanation that carbonic acid in rain lodges in chance surface depressions, dissolves a little of the cemented sand, and on evaporation the wind gives a rotary motion to this, and by repetition gradually deepens the shaft. Finally he, though glad to have reconsidered his former conclusion that upheaval has occurred, declares himself unable to concur in Mr. Bate's view.

In 1873 Mr. Pengelly contributed a further paper dealing almost entirely with the granite block I have referred to, describing it still as under and therefore previous to the so-called raised beach, but probably deposited at a time when the Devonshire climate was much colder, and when the land was 90 feet below the present level, thus rendering it possible that the boulder was brought on floating ice.

In 1874 Mr. Pengelly, in a paper on the geology and palæontology of Devonshire, refers further to this boulder as undoubtedly ice-borne, and mentions the beds at Braunton and Croyde Bay as "Upper Devonian."

Unless I have overlooked it, nothing further has been

contributed by the Devonshire Association to the alleged raised beach of Saunton Down in Barnstaple Bay.

In September last year, 1911, I was kindly taken by a friend to see this red granite erratic boulder; and though I was naturally interested in the points raised by its presence there, it was not sufficiently in the light to make sure it was of red granite; and the extraordinary sand formations concealing it, built out as they are from the ordinary line of shore, impressed me so much more than the boulder, not only in point of interest, but as of greater scientific importance; and though I am not a geologist, I venture to describe what I saw sketched and noted on that occasion, as well as on a subsequent visit specially made in May, 1912, to enable me to examine more particularly the whole line of cliff a mile long, from Downend Point to Braunton Burrows, in order to understand the whole phenomenon in the light of more recent science.

The hill runs E. and W., and the recent cutting of a horizontal road round it, well above the cliff fronting the sea, displays at the Point the structure of the hill above, viz. an argillaceous soil in and over closely packed blue slate alternating with brownish grit, in lateral bands. At perhaps 20 feet below is the grassy plain, sloping down to the rocks, which there reappear in the same bands as above on the road, running E. and W. in ridges with their edges at a high inclination; these rocks form a wide fringe seaward the whole length of the hill, but excepting at the Point at a low level throughout. The so-called plain and its face may, I suggest, very well be a landslip from the hill, consisting, as the cliff shows, of pale yellow and drab soil, classed as a clay, but certainly not a tenacious one. On the sea-face of this cliff, in front of it, but mainly beginning at a low level, are built up the curious sand formations. In places the cliff soil has slid forward and covered the consolidated sand as with an envelope, in others great masses of the latter have slipped on the clay backing and broken on the beach, which is thickly strewn with debris of this kind in great variety of form.

Beginning at the Point, all above the slate is of the light clayey deposit, excepting small, isolated patches of sand, compressed, but not cemented. Just S. of this begins the stratified sand on a long, high ridge of slate projecting from the clayey cliff. Against the clay a deep depression

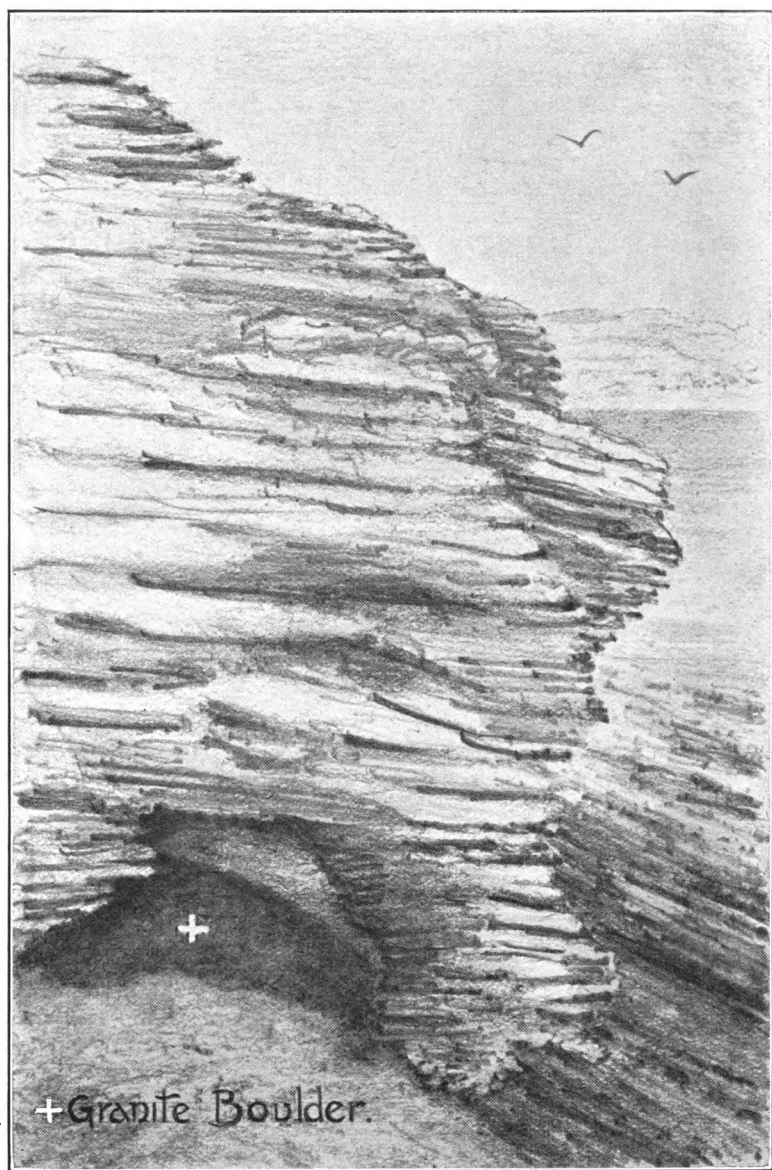
of the ridge is filled with stratified sand almost down to the beach-level. Further along the tongue only the cemented platform remains of sand erections destroyed by waves, their broken blocks strewing the beach below.

Passing on eastward occurs an ordinary beach inlet about 40 by 50 yards in area. Here extraordinary destruction is displayed, and, as I am informed by a resident, within the last two years. All one side consists of cement platform, from which sand formations have been hurled; while the innermost side shows a landslip of the clayey cliff partly enveloping, but where broken away subsequently exposing 11 feet high of cemented and stratified sand rock. The clay envelope at about 10 feet up was nearly a foot thick, but not in contact with the sand rock by a space of an inch or more, and only temporarily prevented by its own cohesive paste from falling heavily away.

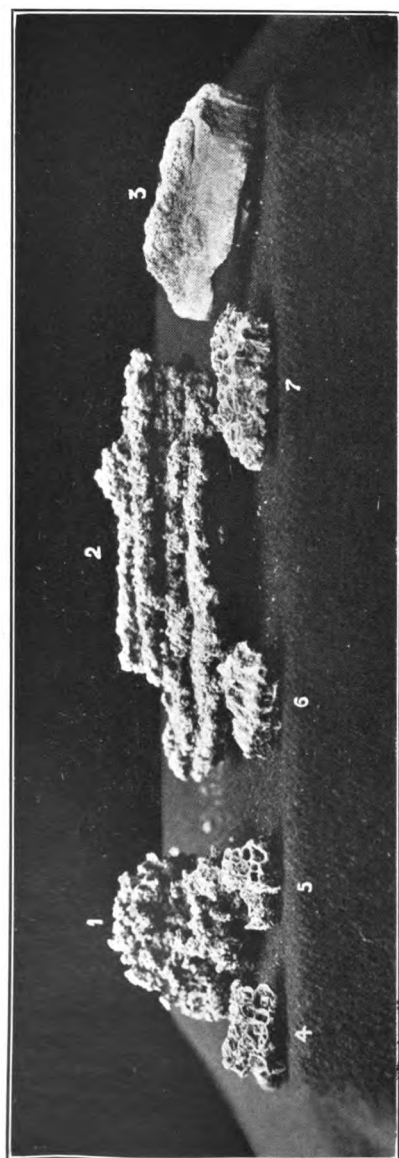
Proceeding eastward appears at a high inclination a cliff of some 50 to 60 feet, composed of light, dry, sandy earth, held together by tufts of grass, etc., forming here and there foothold to climb by, and showing about halfway up a small patch of sand in *partially* stratified condition.

Eastward again, an overhanging cliff of stratified sand rock (see rough sketch), supported by stratified tree-shaped columns resting on and filling the irregular edges of the beach slate ridges, and forming the built-out, porch-like structure within which, embedded in soft, dry sand, above high-water mark, lies the red granite boulder, which last September was almost in the dark, but now, in a much altered position (turned and pushed inward), is in good daylight, from great masses of the sand structure on its further side having since fallen. The west side of the porch, with its columns as sketched, is so far intact. I will revert to this further.

Eastward of the boulder the stratified formations reach almost, or quite, to the beach. In one place a former beach 18 inches thick rests on stratified sand 3 feet high among the blue slate ridges. It is exposed by the falling away of large masses of sand rock which faced it. Here or near it is one of the cylindrical chimneys, or blow-holes, referred to by Mr. Pengelly; and by almost lying down I looked up from its open basal termination and clearly saw the



SAND FORMATION, ETC.—To face p. 696.



1. Sand lightly consolidated by slight percolation of rain-water charged with carbonate of lime in solution; on evaporation the loose sand has dropped out.
2. Stratification in sand layers from which loose sand has escaped.
3. The upper half is sand lightly cemented; the lower a deposit of white crystalline bicarbonate.
- 4 to 7. Cellular formation found fringing sand dropped on horizontal beach slate from above, in a pasty condition, possibly due to concretion of surplus fluid carbonate of lime around grains of sand.

grass, etc., growing at the top 20 to 30 feet up. It might be about a foot across, its size bored as by a rose bit, quite regular, but not smooth.

Further on I found cemented sand spread out on the slate ridges, and edged all round by a cellular, honeycomb-like structure, each cell lined with calcareous deposit; of this I submit a photograph and exhibit specimens. Still further I found a landslip of the clay backing has reached and spread out, evidently in a pasty condition, on the beach. Also a large surface of the clay exposed at a high angle by stratified masses of sandstone having slipped and fallen from in front of it on the beach intact. A little further an area some 20 by 60 feet of stratified sand rock platform 4 to 5 feet high, dotted about on the top surface of which, front to back, are the basal remains of many round sand cylinders. The high loose cliff at back of it all gone. Finally, about under the hotel on the road above, the light buff clayey paste of the cliff has flowed over the surface of stratified sand cliff, but is now dry. Here, too, the shingle beach and broken slate are now piled, and filled caves which I am assured were empty a few years ago. Where the large sand-tunnelled cavern is, occurs a light, hard vein 2 to 3 inches thick at 3 to 4 feet up; and only 8 to 9 inches up is a flat cement vein, brown internally, of 1 inch even all over, and about a quarter-mile west of it, and 9 feet above the present beach, is a line of pebbles cemented in sand stratum.

The recent destruction along this line of cliff exposes in one or two places vertical sections of cylindrical chimneys which do not reach the base of the formation. In these the bottom of the hole is basin-shaped, which led me above to use the word "rose bit." Mr. Pengelly has drawn attention to the internal want of smoothness from the harder laminae resisting the excavating agent more than the intervening sand did.

I must add that just west of the granite boulder the cement laminae are 8 inches or more apart, and the sand between them soft or very slightly affected by the indurating material.

Having armed myself with the best specimens of each form I was able to find, I submitted three pieces of cement layer, very different from each other, to Dr. G. T. Prior, of the British Museum, who had kindly consented to test them, in order to clearly ascertain what is the material

composing them. His finding is as follows, viz.: "The three specimens you have sent to the Museum are very calcareous sandstones or grits consisting of sub-angular grains of quartz, calcareous matter, etc., in a calcareous cement. They contain so much calcareous matter that they might almost be described as siliceous limestone."

I should describe the line of phenomena further by saying that the Saunton sandstone formations generally consist of cement layers of various thicknesses ($\frac{1}{4}$ inch to 3 inches), alternating with sand layers in very varied stages of consolidation, the sand layers themselves varying in thickness from $\frac{1}{8}$ inch upwards (see illustration). It is remarkable that within only about 50 yards of the boulder and its consolidated shelter, nearly the whole height of the cliff is composed of entirely incoherent light, dry, sandy dust; even the small patch of stratified sand already referred to among it, being feebly consolidated.

As a basis for explanation of all the foregoing:—

I. There is no limestone anywhere near, I believe.

II. There is no local percolating water.

III. With the exception of the shingle beach next the Burrows, there are practically no shells at all along the base of the whole line of cliff, excepting in the sand thrown in the spray from the waves direct on the formations now in question.

IV. S.W. and W. winds blow direct on to Saunton cliffs over the wide expanse of Barnstaple Bay, Hartland Point lying about W.S.W., 14 miles off, of which only 6 miles are outside the 10-fathom line.

V. The only sources of moisture on these cliffs are rain-water and spray from the waves, which in strong winds is dashed against and over them in great volume.

VI. In the "data of geochemistry," U.S. Geol. Survey, 1908, it is shown, after elaborate experiments:—

(a) That in sea-water concentrated to one-fifth of its volume, one-ninth of a gram of CaCO_3 is deposited; i.e. that one part in nine thousand of sea-water is carbonate of lime. That in tons means very large quantities.

(b) That 86%¹ of the mechanical deposits on the ocean floor at depths under 500 fathoms is calcium carbonate,

¹ This is a wide range for an average. In an area off Devon shores in 30 fathoms the highest was 72½%.

but it rapidly diminishes at greater depths, and at over 3500 fathoms there is none.

(c) That the ocean contains from 18 to 27 times as much carbon dioxide as the atmosphere, and that it is therefore the "great regulative reservoir of that omnipresent gas." The average amount of free carbonic acid in sea-water at various depths is 44 milligrams per litre, i.e. .0044%, and is much greater in cold latitudes than in warm ones.

(d) That calcium and carbonic acid are of inestimable importance, "that they are the chief additions made by rivers to the ocean, and the substances most largely withdrawn from it by living organisms," both plant and animal; that carbonate of lime is much more soluble in sea-water than in fresh; that the amorphous carbonate is five times more soluble than the crystalline form; that the living organisms secrete part of the amorphous carbonate, but after death the decay of their organic matter not only generates abundant carbonic acid, but the carbonate absorbed in shell, etc., formation partially or wholly redissolves. That normal carbonate and bicarbonate are both present in the ocean, and a large quantity is maintained there in a fluid state.

Sir A. Geikie (*Text-book of Geology*, p. 39) remarks that for some 230 miles west of the British Isles the slope of the Atlantic bottom is very gentle, being only 6 feet in the mile. Also that in specimens of surface water taken from various oceans the amount of mechanically suspended silicates (clay) was 1604 tons per cubic mile of water in 51° 20' lat. and 31° W. long. in the Atlantic (*id.*, p. 576). Also that, by their decay, plants supply organic acids which will dissolve silica and redeposit it in a colloid or jelly-like form in rivers and in the ocean. They are grouped as humus or humic acids, which by assimilation of nitrogen assume the name of azohumic (*id.*, pp. 598 and 612; also U.S. *Geochemistry*, pp. 84, 92, and 409).

With partially dissolved silica and carbonate of lime, clay in suspension and finely shelly sand without limit, there seem to be close at hand the ingredients for not only the sand formations at Saunton Down, but for replacement of the surface wearing away of its clayey cliffs; and all that is wanting is the force for placing them in position. This I suggest is the wind-driven action of the waves. "The height and force of waves," says Sir A. Geikie (p. 561),

“depend upon the strength and continuance of the wind, the breadth and depth of sea and height of the tides, and on the form and direction of the coast-line.” “In ground swell,” he continues, “where the water shallows, the superficial part of the swell, travelling faster than the lower, which encounters the friction of the bottom, begins to curl and crest as a huge billow or wall of water, that finally bursts against the shore. Such billows, even when no wind is blowing, often cover the cliffs of the North of Scotland with sheets of water and foam up to the heights of 100 feet, or even nearly 200 feet. During N.W. gales the windows of the Dunnet Head lighthouse, at a height of upwards of 300 feet above high-water mark, are said to be sometimes broken by stones swept up the cliffs by the sheets of sea-water which then deluge the building.”

At Saunton cliffs such waves would churn up everything on the bottom, not only between low and high tide, a longish distance, but practically all along the wide space between that shore and Hartland Point, about 14 miles. That, as already stated, is almost all within the 10-fathom line, of which Sir G. Airy says, “It is common to find boulders and shingle disturbed at a depth of 10 fathoms, and even driven from that depth to the shore, and waves may be noticed to become muddy from the working up of the silt at the bottom, when they have reached water of 7 or 8 fathoms in depth.”

Reverting to the porch over the granite boulder, a strong light is thrown on the condition of the sand when first deposited and previous to stratification or consolidation, by the bottom edges of the sand columns, as well as those of a deposit near it.

These edges are exactly similar in form to the edges of mortar protruding between laths in a ceiling expanding after being squeezed through. It is palpable that each layer of sand is deposited in a wet and plastic condition; and by gravitation has worked forward on the cliff edge, causing it to overhang more and more till portions drop on the beach below. These have filled the interstices of the beach ridges and spread out on them, the deposit accumulating upwards as with stalagmites. When these met the overhanging mass, a porch in front of the cliff resting on either columns, or on a solid wall, would be and has been formed.

It is clear, too, that the formative force causing the hardened strata in all these formations is in the sand when it is carried by the wind in rain and in the spray from the waves. I am assured by residents that in a gale the wet sand is so carried, almost as readily as when dry ; but, as shown in sand dunes elsewhere, no stratification of dry-blown sand occurs on the surface, but only lower down at or below the point of saturation. Of course, the carbonic acid in rain added to that in the spray dissolves more fully the carbonate of lime, and on evaporation the hard crusts forming the horizontal strata would result ; the excess of sand remaining only partially coagulated in alternate layers, exactly what is found.

The vertical chimneys still await elucidation ; and I think they may be explained as follows : So far as I can judge, the sand cliff wherever they are found is capped by earth and vegetation ; and plants in several ways promote the disintegration of rocks ; among them, by supplying the organic acids already referred to, at page 699, and to which are believed to be due the initial attacks on many common minerals usually attributed to carbonic acid alone. Prof. Sollas (Brit. Assoc., 1880, Sects., p. 586) has noticed minute hemispherical pits on limestone formed by the solvent action of a lichen ; and Sir A. Geikie states that it has recently been proposed to ascribe mainly to humus acids the decomposition of certain masses of rock to the depth of 100 feet ; this in addition to the solvent action of rain-water containing carbonic acid. To produce the chimneys now in question, the softening of the cemented layers in the stratified sand one after another, carrying down further and further the intervening sand, would bring about with certainty the phenomenon which at first sight appears so inexplicable, and the occasional exposure of the chimneys to view, some perfect, others in sections, is caused by the mechanical destruction of the formations by waves.

As regards alleged change in the relative levels of beach and sea, I can only say that the Saunton cliffs show at least half a dozen beaches at different heights ; that at any one point on the strand an elevation of 3 to 4 feet can occur in a day ; and that each of the cemented sand beaches has, I venture to believe, only been raised in the sense that a new house has, viz. by building it up layer after layer. This conclusion is confirmed by Prof. M'Kenny

Hughes, who in the quarterly journal of the Geological Society, 1887 or 1888, said: "The ancient beach of Saunton Down and Croyde is not a raised beach." Also in March, 1910, the Geological Association visited the cliffs in question, and the director of the party, Mr. J. G. Hamling, F.G.S., submitted as a theory that in all probability only the lower portion of the sand deposit was beach material, the upper being blown sand, as shown by the presence in that upper portion of land shells, including *Helix virgata*.

A SURVEY OF OLD BURROW CAMP, EXMOOR.
WITH NOTES ON THE EXCAVATIONS CONDUCTED
THERE IN 1911.

BY H. ST. GEORGE GRAY.

Communicated by MAXWELL ADAMS.

(Read at Exeter, 25th July, 1912.)

I. INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

EXMOOR, unlike Dartmoor, has not been the scene of much activity in the way of archæological excavations, but considerable attention has been paid to the description of its rude stone monuments by the Rev. J. F. Chanter and Mr. R. Hansford Worth,¹ and its earthworks have briefly been put upon record by Mr. J. Charles Wall² and Mr. A. Hadrian Allcroft.³ On the Somerset side of the moor the stone circle on Withypool Hill has been surveyed and described by the writer.⁴

Mr. W. M. Tapp, LL.D., F.S.A., a member of the Earthworks Committee of the Congress of Archæological Societies, and the writer, having carried out a successful exploration at the earthwork at Butley, in Suffolk, 1910,⁵ joined hands again in 1911 in the examination of the earthwork known as Old Burrow (or Barrow) Camp on Exmoor. It was decided that the writer should make a complete survey of the earthwork (Plates I and II), and that a partial excavation should be undertaken with a view to ascertain the date of its construction if possible.

Miss C. C. Halliday, of Glenthorne, who owns the pro-

¹ *Trans. Devon. Assoc.*, 1905, XXXVII, 375-97; 1906, XXXVIII, 538-52.

² "Ancient Earthworks," *Vict. Co. Hist., Devon*, I, 573-630.

³ *Earthwork of England*, 1908.

⁴ *Proc. Som. Arch. Soc.*, 1906, LII, pt. ii, 42-50.

⁵ "The Earthwork near Butley," by H. St. George Gray, *Suffolk Inst. of Archæology and Nat. Hist.*, XIV, 69-90.

perty, very readily consented to the investigations being carried out ; and the tenant, Mr. Ettery, of Ashton Farm, offered us every facility. The surveying¹ and digging were begun on 31 August, the work being completed on 9 September. Throughout this period the weather was brilliantly fine, but the ground was very hard and dusty owing to the lengthened drought.²

II. SITUATION OF THE EARTHWORK.

“ Old Burrow Camp ” is situated at an elevation of just over 1100 feet above sea-level, on the eastern side of the large parish of Countisbury. Countisbury village is $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles west of the earthwork, Lynton $4\frac{1}{4}$ miles to the west, and Brendon $2\frac{3}{8}$ miles to the S.W., whilst Oare is $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles in a bee-line to the S.E. Further eastward is Porlock at a distance of $6\frac{1}{4}$ miles, Minehead $11\frac{1}{4}$ miles distant, and Dulverton 15 miles to the S.E.

Coming to closer quarters, it is seen by the Ordnance Survey map that Glenthorne House, reached by a tortuous road from the coach-road, is 1200 yards to the E.N.E. of the earthwork in a bee-line. The nearest spring is 530 yards to the E.S.E.

The earthwork is in Devon, but its centre is only 800 yards to the west of the nearest point of the Somerset border at Coscombe Linhay. Cosgate Feet, or County Gate, is at a slightly greater distance to the S.E. In the space of 430 yards intervening between the sea-cliffs and the north and the middle of the earthwork there is a rise of 500 feet in the level of the ground. The fall on the east is, of course, very much greater towards the combe of Glenthorne ; on the west the fall is slight, while on the south the “ camp ” is little raised above the run of the surrounding country, and there is a fall of only 100 feet in the distance of 800 yards to the nearest farm (Ashton Farm). The nearest group of tumuli is that on Cosgate Hill just within the Devon boundary.

¹ The Director-General of Ordnance Surveys informed me that the magnetic declination of the compass at Brendon on 1 September, 1911, was $17^{\circ} 20'$ west of true north.

² Mr. Tapp and the writer stayed at “ The Stag Hunters,” Brendon, and one, or more often both, watched the whole of the operations. The men employed for the digging were : T. Paul, Glastonbury (foreman of the Lake Village excavations), Wm. Slaymaker (Carshalton, Surrey), and two local men, Frank Ash and Wm. Parkins.

From the "camp" a charming view is obtained; to the north the wide expanse of the Bristol Channel with the mountains of South Wales in the distance; on the south the bare undulating hills of the heart of Exmoor; on the west the Great Hangman, and at closer quarters Countisbury Foreland; and on the east the slopes of Yenworthy, and Porlock Bay with Hurtstone Point beyond (see Plate III).

III. DESCRIPTION OF THE EARTHWORK.

A brief account of "Old Burrow Camp" with sketch plan was given by Mr. J. C. Wall in the *Victoria County History, Devon*, I, 594, where he speaks of it as being one of the most perfect camps in Devon. The Rev. J. F. Chanter also gives a short description of this complex earthwork, with a section, in *The History of the Parishes of Lynton and Countisbury*, 1907, p. 18.¹ Again, the site is mentioned by Mr. J. L. Warden Page in *An Exploration of Exmoor*, 1890, p. 133.

Mr. Allcroft devotes a paragraph or two to this earthwork in his *Earthwork of England*, 1908, and gives a small hill-shaded plan of it on page 117. The following is his description:—

"The camp—if it really be a camp—crests a gently rounded hill overlooking the Riviera-like combe of Glen-thorne and the Channel Sea. Entering from the seaward side (north), by the original entrance, one passes an outer fosse 4 feet wide and 4 feet deep and a 9-foot vallum, to an interspace some 16 yards in width, in the centre of which lies another enclosure. This, in shape approximately square with boldly rounded angles, and having an area only some 30 yards across, is defended by two valla and two ditches immediately contiguous. The inmost vallum rises in places 10 feet to 12 feet² above the area, with a fosse 15 feet wide³ from lip to lip. The second fosse has a width of 9 feet³ only from lip to lip, and the intervening vallum is nothing but a narrow bank of soil left *in situ*, its crest only 4 feet³ above the bottom of the fosse on either side. The whole work has a diameter of no more than 100 yards, and the measure of the defences over all is only about 100 feet. There is a gap in the outer ceinture at the south which is, perhaps, not

¹ See also *Trans. Devon. Assoc.*, XXXVIII, 119.

² This will be seen by what follows to be an exaggerated estimate.

³ All these measurements appear to be excessive.

an original entrance. . . . Very possibly Old Burrow is rather sepulchral than military in character, as the alleged central mound would suggest.¹ That it is of considerable age is shown by the manner in which it has been used as the central point of a whole series of enclosures, with the remains of which the hill is seamed. When the writer saw it, a large area of ground immediately adjoining it to the south-east had been recently stripped by peat-diggers, but the soil showed not the slightest trace of human handiwork, whether in stone or in pottery."

My plan (Plate I), plotted to a scale of 24 feet to an inch, and covering over $3\frac{1}{2}$ acres of ground, has margins measuring 409 feet from S.W. to N.E., and 401 feet from N.W. to S.E. The area surveyed is represented by contours of 1 foot vertical height, entailing the taking of some 1200 levels, which show a fall of 29 feet from the crest of the vallum on the S.W. to the northern corner of the plan.

The outer earthwork has the general appearance of being circular, but after making a careful survey it is seen (Plate I) that there is a decided flattening on the north, south, east, and west, the minimum diameter from crest to crest being about 258 feet, the maximum diameters, each about 285 feet, being from N.W. to S.E. and from N.E. to S.W. The circumference of the outer vallum measured along the crest (see dotted line on plan) is 860 feet. The height of the vallum above the space between it and the inner earthworks varies from 1 to 5 feet. Outside the bank is a well-defined fosse, which, before excavation, varied in depth from 3 to 6.8 feet below the crest of the vallum (Plate V, fig. 1). The maximum external diameter of the encircling fosse is 322 feet.

The line of the vallum is broken in two places, viz. on the north and on the S.W. ; the latter opening is the more pronounced. In the same positions are evidences of entrances across the fosse, that on the S.W. being very clearly defined. In spite of this, it is somewhat surprising that Mr. Allcroft should have regarded the northern gap as the original one. Mr. Chanter speaks of the " present entrance " being on the north, and Mr. Page speaks only of an " insignificant modern breach " in the rampart on the south. Mr. Wall, however, says (*Vict. Co. Hist., Devon*, I, 595), "The entrance to the outer court is on the south-

¹ Mentioned by J. C. Wall (*Vict. Co. Hist., Devon*, I, 595).

The diagram illustrates a cross-section of a fortification with the following features and measurements:

- Section A:** Measurements from 0 to 13 feet. Features include a **FOSSÉ** (ditch) and a **SQUARE ENCLOSURE**. Measurements: 3.0, 5.2, 6.6, 9.7, 8.0, 5.2, 3.6.
- Section B:** Measurements from 0 to 13 feet. Features include a **FOSSÉ** and a **SQUARE ENCLOSURE**. Measurements: 3.6, 5.2, 6.4, 8.0, 9.7, 5.2, 3.6.
- Section C:** Measurements from 0 to 13 feet. Features include a **FOSSÉ** and a **SQUARE ENCLOSURE**. Measurements: 3.6, 4.75, 5.3, 9.8, 8.7, 7.45, 6.1, 3.8.
- Section D:** Measurements from 0 to 12 feet. Features include a **FOSSÉ** and a **SQUARE ENCLOSURE**. Measurements: 3.8, 6.1, 7.45, 9.8, 8.7, 7.45, 6.1, 3.8.
- Section E:** Measurements from 0 to 28.75 feet. Features include a **FOSSÉ**, a **CAUSEWAY**, and a **FOSSÉ**. Measurements: 3.0, 5.2, 6.6, 9.7, 8.0, 5.2, 3.6, 4.0, 4.4, 4.6, 9.0, 9.5, 3.55, 4.1, 5.6, 6.8, 9.5, 9.7, 6.3.

The diagram also shows a **VALLUM** (wall) and a **FOSSÉ** (ditch) running along the top of the fortification. A **SCALE OF FEET** is provided at the bottom right, ranging from 0 to 100 feet.

SECTIONAL DIAGRAMS OF OLD BURROW CAMP, EXMOOR.

THE LINES ARE INDICATED ON THE PLAN BY LETTERS, —A.B., C.D., E.F., G.H., J.K., L.M., AND N.P.

H. ST. GEORGE GRAY, Mems. et Delt., 1911.

west, but that leading into the inner camp is at the north." As will be seen later, it was proved that there was no ancient entrance through the outer earthwork on the north, whilst on the S.W. a solid causeway, 9.5 feet wide, was discovered across the fosse (Plate III, and Plate IV, fig. 1).

A large part of the area enclosed by the outer vallum was occupied by a square enclosure having double defences and rounded corners (Plate V, fig. 2). Between the foot of the interior slope of the vallum of the outer ring and the outer ditch of the square enclosure about 47 feet of ground intervened. It had a fairly even surface and there were no indications of the existence of pits. The "square" was found to be of slighter relief than the enclosing outer earthwork. In the centre there is a little mound only 10 feet in diameter and 15 inches high (shown by a dotted line on the plan, and seen in the section on line NP, Plate II). Surrounding this is an almost square and level area, gradually rising at its margins and forming a small rampart, the crest of which was nowhere higher than 3 feet above the level area, and in most parts far less. The measurements from corner to corner of this "square" taken along the inner rampart are about 78 feet from north to south and 80 feet from east to west (shown by a dotted line on the plan, Plate I).

The outer rampart is decidedly more feeble than the inner one (Plate V, fig. 2), the crest being represented by the natural level of the surrounding ground, a fosse having been excavated on either side of it—the wider between the two ramparts, the narrower on the outer side. The maximum height of the crest of the inner vallum above the surface of the silting of its ditch is 5 feet, and that of the outer vallum above the outer ditch only 2.3 feet. The sides of the "square" practically correspond with the lines of flattening of the outside earthwork. The total average width covered by the "square" and the double earthwork is 144 feet.

The entrance into the "square" is clearly marked on the north, and excavation proved the existence of a solid causeway here. The inner rampart of the "square," like the outside earthwork (Plate V, fig. 1), is higher on the south and west than on the north and east, where the natural fall of the surrounding ground is more considerable.

IV. THE EXCAVATIONS.

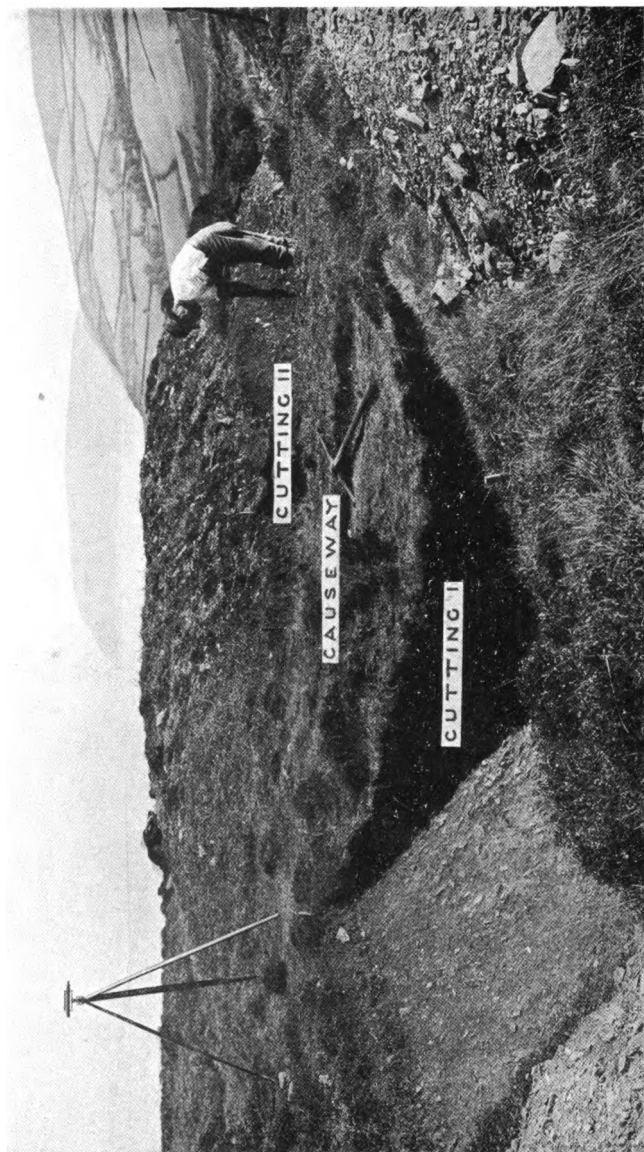
Eleven cuttings were made; their position is clearly indicated on the plan, and they are numbered by large Roman numerals. The letters on the plan give the lines of the sections (Plate II). The small upright figures show the position of the few objects discovered, and the small sloping figures number the 1-foot contours, from 0' to 29'.

All the cuttings made into the ditches and through the ramparts produced a large amount of fine-grained stone, and the writer sent a typical piece to Mr. W. A. E. Ussher, F.G.S., for examination. He reports as follows: "The rocks of Countisbury are the Foreland grits, apparently the oldest group of Devonshire rocks in North Devon.¹ The rock specimen you send me from Old Burrow Camp is fine grit or greywacke, composed of quartz and apparently felspar with particles of white mica, and is more or less ferruginous, weathering brown."

(a) Cuttings I and II, Fosse of Outer Earthwork, on S.W. (Plan, Plate I; Sectional Diagrams on lines AB, CD, and EF, Plate II; and Photographs, Plate III, and Plate IV, fig. 1.)

These cuttings, measuring 13 feet by 8 feet and 12 feet by 11 feet respectively, were made across the outer fosse to ascertain whether the supposed causeway across the ditch and the gap in the vallum marked the position of an ancient entrance. A glance at the three sectional diagrams (Plate II) clearly shows the peculiar profile of the fosse revealed by the removal of the silting which had gradually accumulated; also the undisturbed solid rock causeway which here broke the continuation of the ancient fosse. The vertical shading in these diagrams represents rock untouched by the constructors of the "camp," and in all the cuttings made the natural Lower Devonian grit was laid bare. In both these cuttings, as in Cutting III, the lower part of the counterscarp of the fosse was much steeper than any part of the escarp, the angle of inclination varying from 74 to 87 degrees; the angle of the escarp, on the other hand, averaged 37 degrees in Cuttings I and II. The causeway proved to be 9.5 feet wide at the level of the turf—at the floor of the cuttings, 14 feet. The cause-

¹ See *Geological Map of North Devon*, by J. G. Hamling, F.G.S.



OLD BURROW CAMP, EXMOOR, DEVON, 1911.

View, looking East, of the ancient Entrance-Causeway on the S.S.W. of the Outer Earthwork, showing the position of Cuttings I. and II. In the distance Porlock Bay and Hurststone Point (Somerset).

way is well seen in Plate III and in Plate IV, fig. 1. The latter plate shows the profile and bottom of the fosse and its solid rock termination against the causeway. The fosse on the line AB was 4·2 feet deep ; on the line CD 5 feet deep, the difference being accounted for from the fact that one part of the fosse had for some reason silted up to a greater extent than the other. The first foot of silting consisted of mould with small stones ; below that the silting was much coarser with stones sometimes 6 inches long ; seams of dark peaty mould were sometimes met with.

(b) Cutting III, Fosse of Outer Earthwork, on North. (Plan, Plate I ; Sectional Diagram on line LM, Plate II ; and Photograph, Plate IV, fig. 2.)

This cutting, measuring 16 feet by 12 feet, was made to ascertain whether an ancient entrance existed here (as supposed in one or two former accounts given of the earthwork), especially as outward appearances did not, in the writer's opinion, favour the assumption that the constructors left a solid causeway here. The cutting was begun on the west and continued far enough eastward to make sure that no solid causeway existed. As will be seen by the photograph, Plate IV, fig. 2, there was no indication of the walls of the fosse coming to a termination. The silting, consisting, as in Cuttings I and II, of stone with a small proportion of mould, was found to reach to a maximum depth of 5·5 feet below the surface of the turf. Large stones were observed in the middle and at the bottom of the silting.

(c) Cutting IV in the "Square," East side. (Plan, Plate I.)

This area, measuring 48 feet by 6 feet, was trenched over to a depth of 1 foot, i.e. to the undisturbed ground. In the overlying mould two small pieces of flint were found at "4" on plan, depth 0·6 foot, one bearing a conchoidal fracture. At "5," a little charcoal was noticed at a depth of 0·5 foot.

(d) Cutting V in the "Square," West side. (Plan, Plate I.)

This cutting corresponded to Cutting IV and was of the same dimensions, the undisturbed ground being reached at the same depth. The following "finds" were made :—

At "3" on plan, depth 0·7 foot, a small piece of black

pottery, weathered, containing small grains of quartz in its composition, and perhaps of Romano-British type.

At "6" on plan, depth 0.4 foot, a flat disc of fine grit or greywacke, weathered, nearly circular; maximum diameter $1\frac{7}{8}$ inches; thickness $\frac{3}{8}$ inch.

At "7" on plan, depth 0.8 foot, a small piece of buff-coloured pottery, much weathered, and apparently of Romano-British type.

(e) Cutting VI, across the S.W. corner of the Earthworks of the "Square." (Plan, Plate I; Sectional Diagram on the line JK, Plate II; and Photograph, Plate V, fig. 2.)

This cutting, 46 feet long and 6 feet wide, extended from the outer enclosure across both the ditches and ramparts of the "square," and was subsequently joined to the southern end of Cutting V. The section on the line JK (Plate II) clearly shows that the crest of the outer vallum was on the same general level as the run of the natural surface of the moor, and that the material obtained in forming the two V-shaped ditches had been used for the raising and formation of the inner vallum, the crest of which was at a height of 3.5 feet above the undisturbed ground. The top of the inner vallum consisted of about 3 inches of turf and turf mould, whilst the body of the bank was made up of pieces of stone and occasional patches of ochreous earth. Below this, in most places, was a streaked blackish-grey deposit of a sandy nature, generally in horizontal layers. The inner fosse proved to be 3.25 feet deep, and the outer one 2.9 feet deep below the surface of the silting.

An old turf line under the vallum could not be clearly traced either here or in Cutting VII, but on the level at which it would be expected two "finds" were made, viz., Nos. 1 and 2, marked on the plan and in the section. At "2," two flakes of black flint, bearing evidence of slight secondary chipping, were found at a depth of 2.4 feet below the surface.

At "1," at a depth of 2.2 feet below the surface, the iron axe-adze, figured in the accompanying illustration, was discovered. The implement is much corroded and broken across the oval socket, to which the remains of a wooden handle still adhere. In the middle is what is known as a "slip eye," with side clips. Its total length is $17\frac{1}{4}$ inches, the axe end being much longer than the adze. In the

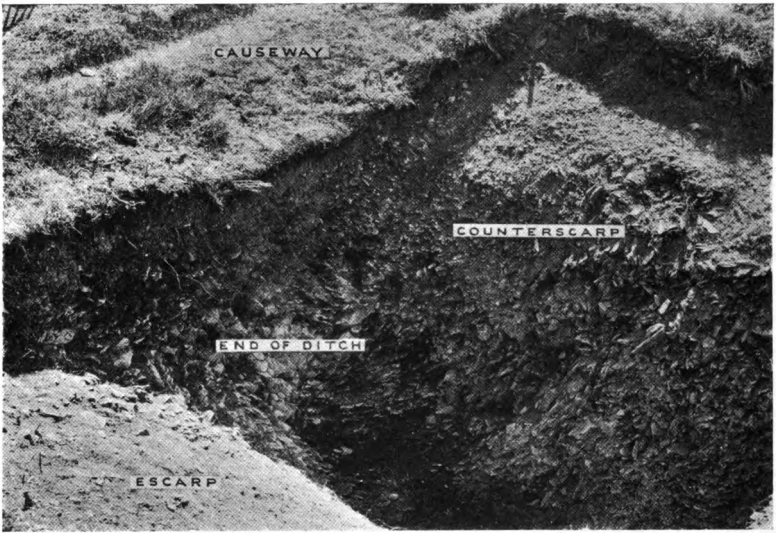


FIG. 1.—Cutting I. across the Fosse of the Outer Earthwork on the S.S.W., showing the bottom of the Fosse and its termination against the W. side of the solid Causeway. View looking S.S.E.

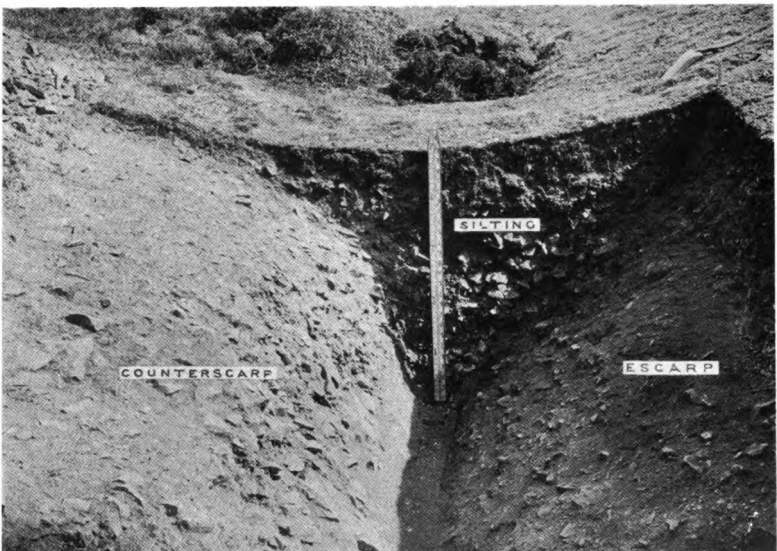
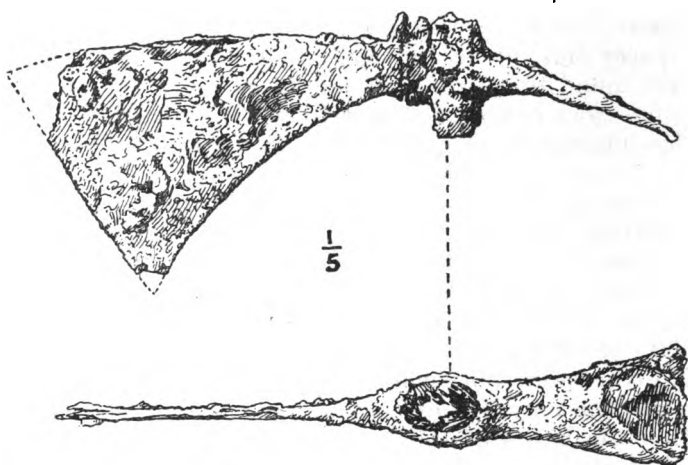


FIG. 2.—Cutting III. across the Fosse of the Outer Earthwork on the N., showing the solid bottom and sides of the Fosse. The silting continued towards the E., and it was proved that no Entrance existed here.

OLD BURROW CAMP, EXMOOR, DEVON, 1911.

perfect implement the cutting-edge of the axe had a length of $6\frac{3}{4}$ inches, and the adze $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches. Its present weight is 3 lbs. 9 ozs. avoirdupois.

Judging from the position in which it was found it is quite probable that it was used in connection with the construction of the earthworks forming the "square," and it may have been discarded in the very place where it was broken and covered over in throwing up the inner vallum. There is no reason to suppose that the implement was at one time nearer the surface and had reached the depth at which it was found from the burrowing of animals



Iron Axe-adze found on the level of the old turf line under the inner vallum of the "Square," Cutting VI, Old Burrow Camp, Exmoor, 1911.

From a Drawing by Mr. E. Sprankling.

or other causes. Mr. Tapp, Mrs. Gray, and myself were all on the spot when the implement was discovered.

Large implements having an axe at one end and a pick at the other have been frequently found with Roman remains (the axe-hammer also), but the axe-adze was a much more uncommon tool; it is, however, still in use in the South and West of England, where it is known as a "cross-axe," and is distinctively a ditcher's tool, the axe end being used for cutting roots met with. There is little difference between the present and ancient forms. A Dorset specimen now in use measures $14\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length, the axe blade, now much ground down, being 4 inches and

the adze blade $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length respectively. Another example has the blades of about equal length, and in both these cases the width of the blade at the cutting-edge is 3 inches. The tool is so perfectly adapted to trenching work in rough soil that it would be more surprising not to find very early examples of the sort than that it should not have persisted till the present day.

(f) Cutting VII, across the Earthworks of the "Square" on the North. (Plan, Plate I; and Sectional Diagram on the line GH, Plate II.)

This excavation was similar to Cutting VI, 62 feet long and 6 feet wide, and extended from the interior of the "square" at the northern end of Cutting V across both ramparts and ditches of the inner work. Here, again, it was found that the outer vallum had not been thrown up, but was represented merely by the natural surface of the ground, a V-shaped fosse having been cut out of the rock on either side of it. The outer fosse was 2.1 feet deep and the inner 3.5 feet deep below the surface of the silting. The former was 1.6 feet wide at the bottom. The crest of the vallum proved to be at a height of 3.4 feet above the undisturbed ground. This rampart was composed of the same sort of material as that of the inner vallum at Cutting VI.

No relics were obtained from the inner bank or in the ditches, the only "finds" from the cutting coming from within the limits of the "square," where the rock was reached at the same level as elsewhere.

At "8" on plan and section, two pieces of the rim of a brown pottery vessel were found at a depth of 1.1 feet. Like the other fragments of pottery these were also much weathered, but the quality, form, and surface have all the appearance of Romano-British ware, apparently lathe-turned, or, at any rate, thrown on a wheel.

The two fragments of pottery found at "9" at a depth of 1.1 feet are of the same quality as No. 7 from Cutting V.

At "10" a flint flake was found, depth 1 foot.

(g) Cutting VIII, Outer Fosse on the North side of the "Square." (Plan, Plate I.)

This cutting was extended from Cutting VII to the termination of the fosse against the western side of the northern entrance into the "square" from the outer enclosure. In the 20 feet of fosse dug no relics were found. The average depth of the silting was 2 feet.

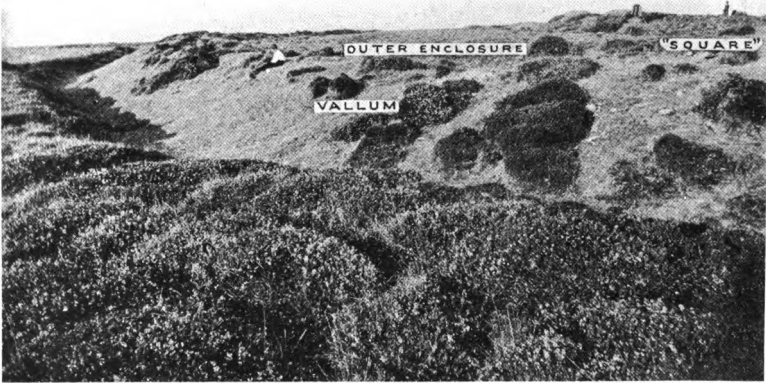


FIG. 1.—The western half of the "Camp"; from the exterior, looking N.E. The view includes the N.W. corner of the "Square." The Outer Earthwork is well preserved here, the crest of the vallum being about $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet above the surface of the silting of the fosse.

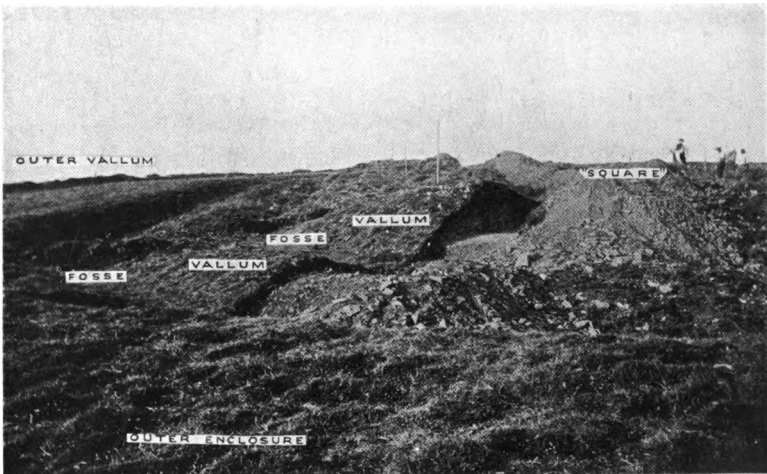


FIG. 2.—View, looking N.N.E., of the S.W. corner of the "Square," showing its two valla and fosses. Cutting VI. across the inner Earthworks in the foreground; the men working at Cutting V. in the central enclosure.

OLD BURROW CAMP, EXMOOR, DEVON, 1911.

(h) Cutting IX, Outer Fosse of the "Square" on the N., N.E., and E. (Plan, Plate I.)

In the first place a cutting 13 feet by 8 feet was dug on the east side of the ancient entrance into the "square," to find the termination of the fosse and to ascertain the original width of the entrance-way, which proved to be 13 feet. The position of the bottom of the fosse is shown by dotted lines on the plan. At a depth of 2.5 feet, at the bottom of the ditch, part of a flint pebble was found at "11," one face showing conchoidal fractures, the other side being the outer crust of the pebble.

In continuation of Cutting IX, the outer fosse of the "square" on the north and east was re-excavated, its course and width being shown on the plan. A length of 124 feet was dug. In one place traces of charcoal were observed ; but no relics were found.

(j) Cutting X, small mound in the centre of the "Square," indicated by a dotted circle on the Plan (Plate I), and shown in the Section on the line NP (Plate II).

As previously stated, this slight mound had a diameter of only 10 feet and a height of 1.25 feet. It had the appearance of having been dug into previously in one part.¹ An excavation, measuring 16 feet by 13 feet, was made in this position, including the whole of the mound. All the material was cleared out down to the usual level of the undisturbed ground, average depth 1 foot below the surface of the "square," but nothing of structural interest was found, nor any archæological remains.

(k) Cutting XI, Outer Enclosure on the North. (Plan, Plate I.)

This cutting, measuring 25 feet by 6 feet, was dug in continuation of Cuttings V and VII, and revealed nothing of interest ; the undisturbed ground was reached at an average depth of 1 foot.

¹ Miss Halliday, of Glenthorne, wrote to me as follows (22 Feb., 1912) : —" My aunt, Miss Cosway, niece of Walter Stevenson Halliday, is now 82, and she told me that in her uncle's time, Mr. Arthur Tupper, cousin of the poet, dug in the camp for old keys ; he was a collector of old keys ; he did not find any ; this occurred about sixty or seventy years ago, and there has been no tradition that the camp has ever been touched since then. My aunt thinks no one but Mr. Tupper dug in the camp ; no notes were made on the subject."

V. CONCLUDING REMARKS.

The scarcity of archæological remains at Old Burrow was very disappointing, and leaves us in some doubt as to the precise date of this ancient site. The chief value of the exploration is undoubtedly the exact record of the form and structure of the earthwork by the elaborate contoured plan and the sheet of sectional diagrams. The form of the various ditches has been ascertained, and it is clearly seen that the outer fosse is of quite a different type from the V-shaped ditches which encompass the "square." These features, it might be argued, suggest a different date for the inner and the outer earthworks. It is therefore most unfortunate that no relics were found in the three cuttings made in the outer fosse, while the time at our disposal did not permit of further cuttings being made.

Structurally, one of the most interesting results of the work was the determination that the gap in the outer earthwork on the north was modern, and that the larger opening on the S.W. was the ancient entrance into the outer enclosure. The solid causeway, previously described, afforded conclusive evidence on this point.

It is just possible that the "square" may be of a later period than the outer earthwork, but even the relics discovered there do not satisfactorily solve the question of date. All the pottery was found at a sufficient depth to afford reliable evidence, but it is so much weathered (owing, it is assumed, to exposure on the surface at some time), so scarce, and so fragmentary, that no careful antiquary would venture to commit himself to a definite opinion as to its precise date, although the writer, who has had no little experience in the identification of ancient shards, is inclined to believe that those found at Old Burrow are of Romano-British *type*. The two rim pieces, No. 8, are particularly Roman in general *facies*.

It is to the iron axe-adze that we must turn in considering the question of the date of the "square." The position of the implement under the inner vallum has already been described. On returning home the writer at once made inquiries whether there was a similar implement in the British Museum, or among the numerous iron tools in the Guildhall Museum. Nothing was forthcoming. The Silchester "finds" in Reading Museum include no

similar tool, and nothing quite like it was found at Newstead. In the pits at the latter place, however, several heavy pick-axes, or *dolabræ*, were found. One end of these implements is fashioned like the blade of an axe, the other like a curved pick.¹ A *dolabra* was found on Hod Hill, Dorset, and may be seen in the British Museum (Durden Coll.).

Mr. Reginald A. Smith has kindly assisted in the search for parallels, and he tells me that an axe-adze of similar form and 19 inches long was found with a number of Roman iron tools on the site of the Roman bridge over the Rhine between Mainz and Kastel, and has been figured.² Another iron axe-adze of the same type, about 14 inches long, was found in excellent preservation at Novaesium (Neuss), Germany. It is described as having a hole for the handle and a broad vertical and a narrow transverse cutting-edge, of a form known from other Roman sites. It is there supposed to be a military entrenching tool, a supposition supported by the occurrence of similar implements on representations of Trajan's column.³ In the sculptures of the column there are representations of the pioneers at work, levelling the ground and clearing the forest growths.

The hafted double axe is a less scarce type, the larger cutting-edge sometimes being found protected by a sheath. Such an implement (length $17\frac{1}{2}$ inches), with silver sheath, was found in the Rhine at an island called Bleiaue above Mainz, and may be seen in Mainz Museum. On the same spot a complete Roman helmet of the early first century was discovered.⁴

No absolutely authentic "find" of Roman coins is recorded from Exmoor. We read in the *Victoria County History, Somerset*, I, 362: "Exmoor.—Urns with coins found in 1831 near the sources of the Exe; perhaps a misquotation of Reynolds."⁵ Turning to Reynolds's edition of *Antoninus*, p. 439, we find the following: "Exmore. Devonsh. Where the River Ex rises is a moist

¹ Curle's *Roman Frontier Post*, 1911, Plate LVII, p. 278.

² *Zeitschrift des Vereins zur Erforschung der Rheinischen Geschichte und Altertümer in Mainz*, Vol. III, pt. 4, Plate XIII.

³ *Bonner Jahrbücher*, Heft 111–112, 1904, Taf. xxxi. B, fig. 49, p. 370.

⁴ Report of the Mainz Museum, 1902–3, published in the *West-deutsche Zeitschrift*, Plate III, fig. 3, p. 11 (of the report). Also Lindenschmit's *Altertümer unserer heidnischen Vorzeit*, Vol. V Plate X, No. 166.

⁵ *Proc. Som. Arch. Soc.* (Scarth), XXIV, ii, 19.

barren ground near the Severn sea, part in Devon, but more of it in Somersetshire. In this moor are several monuments of antiquity, and several urns with Roman coins have been found in the barrows."

Roman coins are said to have been picked up at Brendon.¹ In this connection Mr. Chanter writes thus: "Dr. Cooper states in his Guide (p. 46) that a great number of Roman coins have from time to time been dug up in the parish of Countisbury, but I have been unable to verify this statement or see or hear of any specimen. Mr. R. N. Worth brings forward conclusive evidence to show that all claims of any Roman occupation of any part of North Devon are entirely valueless, and that if Roman coins are found they would be only marks of the peaceful visit of some Roman trader. And in connection with the supposed Countisbury finds it might be as well to put on record the statement I heard my father, the late John Roberts Chanter, of Barnstaple, frequently make, that the Rev. W. S. Halliday, a former owner of part of Countisbury, scattered and buried coins, Roman and others, with a view to puzzling the future antiquary."²

Very few Roman coins have been found in West Somerset within easy reach of the Forest of Exmoor. The Rev. F. Hancock wrote, in 1897: "The name (Brandy Street) seems to mark the place where the Roman road along the coast passed on to Porlock. And this suggestion is corroborated by the fact that a little further on a few Roman coins were recently found during some excavations."³

Roman coins were discovered on Haddon Hill, King's Brompton parish.⁴ Two small coins of Maximian and Constantine were found about 1863 in Dunster Park, Carhampton parish.⁵ At Dulverton four "third brass" coins, third and fourth centuries, were found in recent breccia.⁶ At Luxborough, an iron axe and wooden objects (now in Taunton Museum) were discovered in the shaft of an old iron mine, and they are *supposed* to be vestiges

¹ *A Book of Exmoor*, by F. J. Snell, p. 5.

² *Lynton and Countisbury*, p. 19.

³ *The Parish of Selworthy*, p. 4.

⁴ Collinson's *History of Somerset*, III, 502.

⁵ *Proc. Som. Arch. Soc.*, XXIV, i, 47; Maxwell Lyte's *History of Dunster*, I, xii.

⁶ In Bristol Museum. *Vict. Co. Hist. Som.*, I, 362.

of Roman iron-workings. Coins are alleged to have been found there.¹

The occurrence of coins, apart from other evidences of personal occupation, cannot be safely considered as indication of more than trade intercourse with the nearest known Roman centres.

When the Exmoor axe-adze and the pottery are considered together, the evidence weighs strongly in favour of the square enclosure being of Roman date and type, though as the general opinion of reliable antiquaries is that the Romans never penetrated Exmoor, or, even if they did traverse it, that no settlement on any part of the moor was made by them, it must rather be ascribed to Romano-British work. There is no reason to suppose that the Celtic inhabitants of West Somerset and North Devon, if not so thoroughly Romanized as elsewhere, were not used to, or unable to procure, tools of Roman manufacture and pottery of the Roman type universal in the country.²

So much for the supposed date. The purpose or intention of the earthwork is even a more difficult problem. Naturally, the small mound in the centre has suggested a sepulchral origin for this ancient site ; but as no human remains, either by cremation or inhumation, have been found, we feel bound to dismiss that hypothesis.

There can be little doubt that, whatever its original object, the earthwork was used as a post of observation, probably by Romanized Britons, among others, down to the time when, in the late seventh and early eighth centuries, the Danes and Norse were hovering about the Channel and settling in South Wales.

¹ Haverfield, *Vict. Co. Hist. Som.*, I, 364.

² It might be noted here that Mr. Chanter, in his book on *Lynton and Countisbury*, p. 18, says : " This (Old Burrow) camp has been spoken of by many antiquarians in the past as being Roman, and an imaginary Roman road from it over the forest of Exmoor to Molland has been laid down, but it has not the slightest claim to be considered such."

THE MAKING OF TORBAY.

BY A. J. JUKES-BROWNE, F.R.S., F.G.S.

Communicated by R. HANSFORD WORTH, M.INST.C.E., F.G.S.

(Read at Exeter, 25th July, 1912.)

I. *Introduction.*

IT is somewhat surprising that no one has yet attempted to explain the existence of Torbay, or to write an account of the stages through which it may have passed in the course of its formation ; yet, so far as I can ascertain, no such attempt has been made. Probably those who have given any thought to the matter have regarded it as a case of ordinary coast-erosion, and have supposed that the site of the Bay was occupied by tracts of the less compact rocks, such as sandstone and shale, which were cut back by the sea more rapidly than the hard limestones which form the promontories of Berry Head and Hope's Nose.

It is true that sandstones and shales do form the greater part of the existing coast-line along the western border of the Bay, but it is rash to assume that these beds continued eastward so far as to occupy the whole width and frontage of the Bay between the two headlands. Whether they did or did not is a question which can only be decided by a careful consideration of the geological structure of the district.

Again, the making of large bays is not always a simple case of differential marine erosion. In many, if not in most, cases the position of bays has been determined by the pre-existent features of the land, and these have been produced by the operation of sub-aerial agencies when the land was at a higher level than it is now. In other words, a bay often occupies the site of a valley or lowland.

It may be objected that Torbay with its square-cut outline does not present the appearance of a drowned valley, and that no wide valley opens into it. Truly it is not the opening of an estuary like Salcombe Bay or Plymouth Sound, but it certainly had its drainage system; the valleys of many small streams now open into it, and the floors of these valleys lie at a considerable depth below the present sea-level.

Before the Bay was formed and when the land stood at a higher level these streams must have united to form a small excurrent river which ran eastward or south-eastward through the opening of the Bay, and when subsidence brought the sea into the adjoining area of the English Channel it was certainly along the valley of this river that the Torbay district would be first invaded.

It will be seen, therefore, that in order to form a conception of the manner in which Torbay has been formed, and to explain how it came to have its present size and shape, two lines of inquiry must be pursued—(1) the geology of its shores and the manner in which the several formations may be continued under the floor of the Bay; (2) the drainage-system of the district and the directions in which the existing valleys may have been prolonged through the area now occupied by the Bay.

II. *The Geology of Torbay.*

For our present purpose the rocks which form the shores of Torbay may be grouped under three heads—(1) the Lower Devonian slates and grits; (2) the complex of Middle and Upper Devonian rocks, which are limestones, shales, and volcanic tuffs; (3) the Permian sandstones.

The largest area of Lower Devonian is that around Paignton, and is brought up by what is known as the Paignton anticline. The beds occupy a considerable area inland, but are only exposed at certain places along the coast, because they are covered by the Permian sandstones. They consist of hard dark red gritstones and sandy slates, as may be seen in the quarry by Cockington Lane and in the new road-cutting near Preston. There can be little doubt that this tract of Lower Devonian is

part of a pericline, or dome-shaped elevation, and that just as it dies out westward so also it nosed out eastward within the area of Torbay. Paignton appears to be situated about in the centre of the pericline, and the western boundary is about three miles west of the railway station, consequently its eastern termination may not have been more than three miles from the same point, and it is quite possible that it was less.

There is another small tract of Lower Devonian by Meadfoot and Kilmore, forming part of the broken Torquay anticline, which is probably continued for some distance under the sea to the south-east. The rocks here consist of grey grits and slates (Meadfoot beds), overlain by the red grits on the summits of the Lincombe and Kilmore Hills. As the Thatcher and Shag Rocks consist of limestone, it might have been supposed that these were remnants of a continuous band of such rock faulted down on the south side of the Meadfoot beds; but the rocks are probably only small isolated bosses of limestone, for Mr. A. R. Hunt, in the course of his dredging operations,¹ found a reef running from the Shag Rock in a south-eastern direction for 450 yards, and consisting of slates and grits like those of the Kilmore shore. There is also rocky ground to the south and west of the Thatcher, and this may be partly of limestone, but the only two fragments detached by Mr. Hunt were of slate and grit, the former coming from about 400 yards west of the Thatcher, and the latter from 1000 yards south-east by south of that rock.

If this southerly prolongation of the Torquay anticline has the same geological structure as its more northern portion, it will have a nearly continuous band of limestone along its western side, running from Daddy Hole Plain toward the south-east. The limestone, however, may have been less continuous; it may have occurred in smaller tracts surrounded by Eifelian shales, and if such were the case its ultimate destruction by the sea would be more easily accomplished.

The southern part of the Bay must have been occupied by a continuation of the broad band of shales, tuffs, and limestones which runs from Stoke Gabriel to Broad Sands and Saltern Cove. The high probability of this may be

¹ *Trans. Devon. Assoc.*, Vol. X, p. 194 (1878).

inferred from the continuity of the limestone tract which extends from Galmpton to Berry Head. The general dip of these limestones is from south to north, the beds along its southern border being the oldest and those along the shore west of Brixham being the highest with inlying troughs of Upper Devonian shale. Hence we may infer that they were succeeded on the northern side by a broken band of limestones, shales, and tuffs like that which now borders the coast between Elbury Cove and Goodrington.

To the north of Saltern Cove this tract is terminated by a fault which brings up the Staddon grits, and I believe this fault to be a more important one than would be imagined from the Geological Survey map; it probably runs westward through Goodrington, cutting off the two small north and south faults which are marked on the map, and it probably also extends for some distance eastward beneath the floor of the Bay.

At the present time the rock-floor of the southern part of Torbay is almost completely covered with mud and sand; but a reef marked on the chart and called "The Ridge" is found in the south-west corner about a mile east of the coast near Goodrington. Mr. Hunt states that it consists of limestone, the surface of which is honey-combed by boring mollusca. The existence of this reef confirms the opinion that a complex of shales and limestones lies below this part of the Bay.

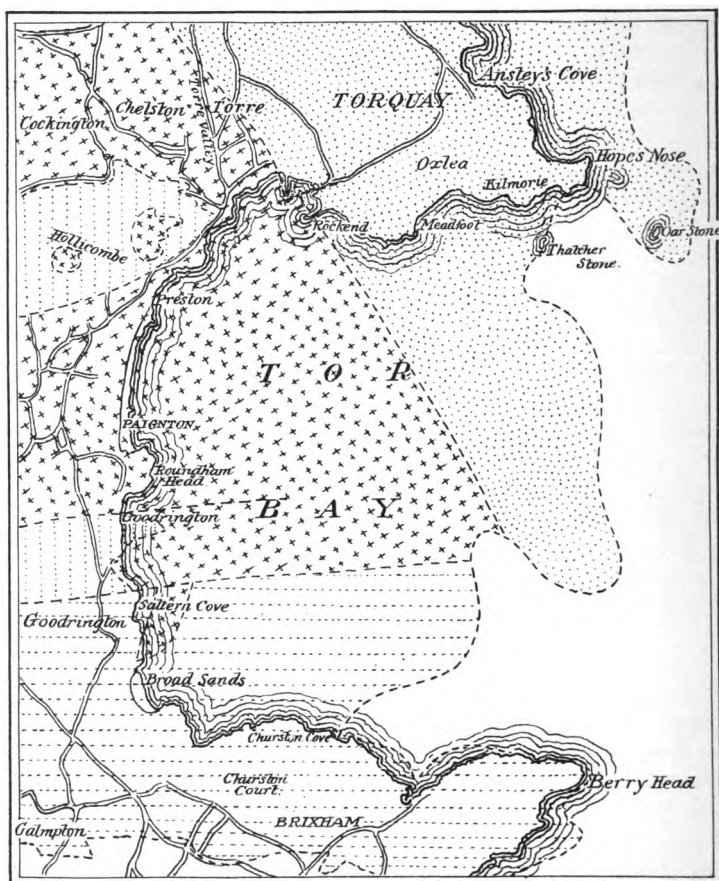
We have next to consider the position of the Permian sandstones and conglomerates which lie unconformably on the older rocks, and are exposed in all the headlands between Paignton and Torquay. These beds really occupy two deep troughs or basins, the one having Paignton in its centre and the other lying farther north, extending through Compton, Cockington, and the Torre Valley. Up to the present time there was no evidence as to the depth to which these sandstones reached below Paignton, but I have been fortunate enough to obtain particulars of a deep boring which was made at the works of the Paignton District Steam Laundry Company. These works are situated by the Totnes road, south-west of the railway station, at a level of about 100 feet above the sea, and the boring was made by Mr. J. Thom, of Patricroft, near Manchester. The following is a condensed copy of the particulars of the strata which were traversed:—

Strata.	Thickness.
Surface clay with small pebbles (? at base) .	16 feet
Hard conglomerated red rock	40 „
Soft plies and boulders	6 „
Conglomerated red rock, some beds hard and some softer	119 „
Fakes, blaes, and balls (=sandy shales) .	26 „
Hard red sandstone and small pebbles .	35 „
Softer red sandstone and pebbles	14 „
Harder red sandstone and pebbles (with water)	8 „
	264 feet

All these beds, below the "surface clay," appear to belong to the Permian Series, for the "red sandstone and pebbles" can hardly be the Devonian red grits, which do not contain pebbles. Hence we may infer that these pebbly sandstones descend to over 164 feet below sea-level at and near Paignton. This evidence and the fact that they also descend considerably below sea-level at the opening of the Torre Valley, make it highly probable that the two areas merge eastwards into a continuous tract beneath the floor of the Bay.

The southern boundary of this submarine tract is probably a faulted one, being partly a prolongation of the fault by which the Permian is faulted against the Staddon grits south of Paignton, and partly an extension of the fault north of Saltern Cove. The course of the more northern fault is uncertain; the Geological Survey map makes it run west-south-west under the alluvium below Clennon Hill, but it seems to me more likely that it runs west to the north side of that hill and meets a cross-fault which shifts its continuation northward, this being the boundary-line south of Primley and north of Clayland. Anyway, I regard the Roundham Bay fault as an important one, and as having a considerable displacement, so that it is likely to be continued for some distance eastward beneath the Bay.

We may now consider where the eastern boundary of this submarine tract of Permian is likely to be, and judging from the position and direction of the inland boundary through Torre we may fairly assume that this continues for some distance under the waters of the Bay to the south-east. The junction of the Permian sandstone



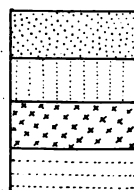
**MAP OF THE
TORBAY AREA IN EARLY
PLEISTOCENE TIME.**

Rocks of the Torquay anticline

Lower Devonian of Paignton district

Permian Sandstones

Limestones & Shales of the Southern Plateau



and the Devonian limestone is intersected in the cliff at the east end of Abbey Terrace on the Torbay Road, and it appears to be a fault. The course of this fault, however, is not shown on the Geological Survey map, and the inland boundary for about three-quarters of a mile has the appearance of an undisturbed outcrop. Mr. Ussher's memoir gives no explanation of this apparent inconsistency, but I believe his mapping to be correct, and that the fault is continued inland through the Permian itself to the boundary-line on the west of Chapel Hill, which is probably a faulted line.

We must remember, however, that the Torre Valley and what may be called the Torquay ridge are, to some extent, Permian features. Waldon Hill in Permian time was united to Braddon's Hill, and was part of a ridge of Devonian rocks which had a steep western slope into and under the present surface of the Torre Valley. The Permian beds were banked up against this slope, and at some subsequent time were displaced by a fault which dropped them to a still lower level. Consequently I regard the boundary exposed in the Torbay Road as a fault which traverses a steep sloping junction of limestone and sandstone.

It is only reasonable to suppose that this faulted boundary-line was continued for some distance to the south-east, and, in fact, that this well-marked feature extended just as far in that direction as the Torquay anticline did, which may have been for two miles or more. I am now referring to the conditions which must have prevailed in Pliocene times, when the main physical features of the country had been developed, and when the area now occupied by the waters of Torbay was still a terrestrial surface.

It will be seen, therefore, that a consideration of the geological facts leads us to the conclusion that there is a large triangular area of Permian sandstone and conglomerate beneath the floor of Torbay, but that this does not extend through the opening of the Bay, being bounded both on the south and on the east by more or less continuous lines of fault.

The map is an attempt to restore the general geological structure of the Torbay area, and to indicate not only this faulted triangular area, but also the probable prolongation of the Torquay anticline and that of the southern plateau,

which must have met one another at the south-east corner of the area. In all probability the anticline died out and merged southward into the east and west syncline of the lower plateau. The map shows the coast-line at the epoch when the Pliocene land was first invaded by the Pleistocene sea, and it will be evident that such a disposition of rock-masses would exercise a great influence on the subsequent development of the Bay, especially when the sea reached the area occupied by the Permian sandstones.

The only other deposits which enter into the structure of the country surrounding Torbay are those of Pleistocene age, and to these fuller reference will be made in the sequel.

III. *Physical Features of Pliocene Time.*

Let us now endeavour to realize what were the principal physical features of the Torbay area during the later part of the Pliocene period before it was invaded by the Pleistocene sea.

The highest ground must have been that formed by the prolongation of the Torquay anticline, and this may have included hills as high as those of Oxlea and Kilmorie now are. Through this tract ran a continuation of the Ilsham Valley, but, of course, at a much higher relative level, for the modern valley between Kent's Cavern and Meadfoot Beach has been deepened by 60 or 70 feet during Pleistocene time. This valley probably curved to the south-east, passing between what we may call "Shag-reef Hill" and the limestone mass of which Thatcher Rock is a remnant.

West of this hilly ground the land fell away into a prolongation of the Torre Valley, and through this ran a stream which received a number of tributaries from the west: first the Cockington brook passing over Livermead Sands; next the Hollacombe brook; thirdly, the Barcombe brook which passed over part of Preston; fourthly, brooks which flowed off the ground where Paignton now stands; and lastly, the stream which discharges into the Bay through Goodrington Sands. This last has a longer course than any of the others, for it rises at Westerland, north-west of Paignton, and runs for about $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles before reaching the present coast. In Pliocene time it must have

continued its easterly course till it joined the Torre Valley stream, and the two united to form a single river.

From the above description it will be gathered that the north-west portion of the Torbay area was an undulating tract of ground, consisting of a series of ridges and valleys which had a general west-to-east direction, the ridges decreasing both in height and width toward the east, while the valleys became wider till they opened into a main valley which ran from north-west to south-east.

The southern part of the Torbay area was occupied by a continuation of the country which lies between Goodrington and Galmpton, and we may assume that this plateau did not rise to so great a relative elevation above sea-level as did the ridges in the more northern parts of the area. At the present time little of the country south of Paignton rises to more than 200 feet, while the ridges between Paignton and Cockington rise to 300 and more.

Thus the Torbay area of late Pliocene time consisted of a tract of hilly ground on the north-east side, a plateau of lower elevation on the south, and a tract of undulating ground on the north-west, the last being traversed by the valleys of several streams, of which the chief were prolongations of the Torre and Goodrington valleys, and these must have met one another somewhere in the middle of the Bay. This point of union was probably about $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles east of Goodrington Sands, and about three miles south-east of Torre Abbey Sands.

Can we now form an idea of the direction taken by the resulting river? In the first place it can only have run to the east or the south-east, and in the second place there are two considerations which make a south-east course the more likely. One of these is the fact that the Dart has a south-east course from Totnes to Dartmouth, making it probable that when the channels of the main rivers were first established the prevailing slope of the surface in this part of Devon was from north-west to south-east. The other fact is that the submarine contours indicate the existence of a submerged valley to the north of Berry Head; the lines of 100 and 75 feet, as marked on the one-inch Ordnance map, both showing embayments at this place. This submarine inlet is, of course, the deeply excavated channel of a much more recent river, but it is probably not far from the site of the earlier high-level valley, and a prolongation of the Torre Valley would carry

it exactly to the place where this submarine channel exists. Hence I think we may fairly infer that the Torre Valley was the main valley, and that in Pliocene time it ran obliquely across the Torbay area, passing out of it a little to the north of Berry Head, and being itself the tributary of a larger river which we may regard as a prolongation of the Exe.

During the greater part of Pliocene time the land stood at a higher elevation than it does now, and the whole of the English Channel is supposed to have been dry land traversed by the valley of a great river, to the volume of which all the rivers of southern England contributed their quota. Consequently we must picture South Devon as a small portion of a great stretch of country which then united England to France. The Dart, the Teign, and the Torbay river were merely tributaries of a much longer and larger Exe, which passed southward outside the present coast of Devon and emptied itself into the Seine or its estuary.

IV. *Pleistocene History of Torbay.*

At the close of Pliocene time a movement of subsidence began, and was, I believe, continued without interruption into Pleistocene time; of this subsidence we have proof in the remnants of raised sea-beaches which occur all round the coasts of Devon and Cornwall.

The age of these beaches has been fairly well settled by the determination of the date of similar beaches in South Wales. There the beach-material is in places overlain by deposits of Glacial Age, and, as I have elsewhere pointed out, the Gower beaches probably belong to an early date in the Ice Age, because they occur so far south that conditions favouring the production of glaciers in that area are only likely to have prevailed at the time of greatest ice-extension. Consequently the beaches testify to a subsidence which culminated either just before or during the epoch of maximum glaciation.

Remains of this elevated coast-line occur on the northern and southern sides of Torbay, and furnish us with the evidence of the earliest phase in the formation of this embayment. It is evident that the whole country had been gradually sinking, that the waters of the Atlantic had invaded the great lowland of the English Channel and had

encroached farther and farther on the land, till they had cut off the Dart from the ancient Exe and had destroyed the valley of the latter for some distance farther north, possibly as far as the debouchure of the Teign. By this time the land had sunk to a lower level than that at which it now stands, but this does not imply the contemporary existence of Torbay, as I shall proceed to show.

Remains of the raised beach-line are only found on the northern and southern sides of Torbay. They occur at Hope's Nose, where the base of the beach is 20 feet above ordinary high-water mark, and on the Thatcher Rock, where the platform is about 15 feet above that level. A similar platform is found on the south side of the Bay east of Berry House, and again near Churston Cove, where it is also about 15 feet above high-water mark, and seems to be overlain by "head," i.e. a clay full of angular stones. No trace of such a beach, however, has been found along the western side of the Bay, from which we may infer that the Bay, as we now know it, did not then exist, the coast-line of the time being much more nearly in line with that north of Hope's Nose and south of Berry Head.

It is also particularly noteworthy that no trace of a raised beach has been found north of Hope's Nose, nor anywhere along the coast from Exmouth to Portland Bill; whence we may infer that in spite of the subsidence the land of southern England had not then been cut so far back, and that this portion of the coast-line approximated to the present submarine contour of 10 fathoms, though the sea-level was 13 fathoms above it.

It is probable, therefore, that only small parts of the Torbay area had been invaded by the sea when the Pleistocene beaches were formed, these parts being a small area south of Hope's Nose and a rather larger bay north of Brixham. The sea had naturally made its way up the valley of the Torbay river and had eaten into the land as far west as Churston Cove, which is now the mouth of a dry valley running nearly parallel to the coast-line. How far it extended up the main valley to the north-west we cannot say, but we must remember that the floor of the old valley cannot have been cut lower than the mean sea-level of the period, and that this level was about 20 feet above that of the present time. We may assume that it occupied the existing submarine trough near Brixham, but it may not have extended to a much greater distance on the north side

of this than on the south side, and as the present coast-line near Berry House is about half a mile south of the trough, the opposite coast may have been about half a mile on the other side of it, that is about a mile north of Berry House.

This opposite coast, if formed by a prolongation of the Torquay anticline, would naturally have the shape of a promontory, and from the end of this promontory the shore-line would run northward to the outlet of the Ilsham Valley and the small bay in which the Thatcher and Hope's Nose beaches were formed. Beyond this bay would be another promontory formed by an eastward continuation of Hope's Nose, and probably including the Oar Stone, for all the intervening sea-floor is marked "rock" on the Admiralty Chart, and this rocky ground extends eastward to "Tucker Rock," which rises from 10 fathoms to within 20 feet of the surface, and also to Bream Rock south-east of the Oar Stone. From these rocks the bottom drops rapidly to 70 and 80 feet. My idea of the geography of the Torbay area at the epoch of the raised beaches is indicated on the map.

From this subsidence and period of marine erosion there was a recovery resulting in elevation and renewed fluvial erosion, so that the sea receded and all the valleys were deepened to a considerable extent. At the same time the climate became gradually less cold and the land became covered with dense forests, remains of which have been found in valley-bottoms at various depths below the present sea-level and below alluvial deposits.

We do not yet know the actual extent to which this re-elevation of the land was carried, but near Falmouth (according to Pengelly) there is a forest-bed at a depth of 67 feet below high-water mark, and such beds may be continued much farther seaward than they have yet been traced. It is noteworthy that the channels of many of our rivers are continued beneath the sea to depths of more than 15 fathoms. This is the case with the submarine channel near Brixham, so that we may safely assume that the whole of the Torbay area was again converted into land, and that the coast-line of later Pleistocene time lay near the submarine contour of 100 feet, which is engraved on the new series of one-inch Ordnance maps.

It was during this elevation of the country that all the streams now draining into Torbay deepened their valleys

from the level at which they ran in Pliocene and early Pleistocene times to that of the present valley-floors below the alluvial deposits. It is in consequence of this period of erosion that the caverns in the limestone masses of Torquay and Brixham are no longer waterways, but have been left high and dry above the neighbouring valleys. It was at this time also that the numerous small gorges through the limestone tracts were formed, such as the Brixham valley, the Fleet valley in Torquay, and the Combe valley between Daison and Windmill Hills.

There can be no doubt that the valley of the river which crossed the Torbay area from north-west to south-east was proportionately deepened and widened, and that if we could remove the mud which now forms the floor of the Bay we should find the old valley still clearly marked and falling gradually from perhaps 20 feet below Abbey Sands to 100 feet below sea-level near Berry Head. In fact, I have no doubt that we see a portion of its valley-floor in the deflection of the submarine contours north of Berry Head.

V. The Actual Making of Torbay.

Finally, we come to the time when Torbay was really made, when subsidence again supervened, enabling the sea to advance up the valleys and to eat its way into the intervening plateaus and watersheds. This time, moreover, the valleys were deeper, and the subsidence gradually converted them into inlets and estuaries, so that the sea penetrated farther into the land than it had done on the previous occasion. Entering the Torbay area at its south-east corner the sea would invade and gradually submerge the valley of the Torbay river, converting it into an estuary with many branches or inlets on the western side. The sea would be thus admitted into the very heart of the area which is now Torbay, and would begin to erode the low ridges of red Permian sandstone which separated the drowned valleys.

In the same way the sea must have invaded the old valley of the Exe outside the Torbay area, and would begin to erode the platform of older marine planation which intervened between that valley and the remaining portion of the Torquay promontory. This outer platform must have ended inland in the line of cliffs which were

carved out in early Pleistocene time, and against which the raised beaches had been banked.

As this tract of land consisted of hard Devonian rocks, it would resist the attacks of the sea more effectually than the loose Permian sandstones of the Torre Valley. Much of it, therefore, would remain in the form of a promontory during the time that the sea was making its way inland up to the sites of Paignton and Torquay.

Hence for a long time Torbay must have been a more or less bottle-shaped inlet, its broadest part occupying the centre and north-west part of the area and its neck opening to the south-east, while to the east and north-east it was protected by a long promontory of land. Consequently it must have been much more land-locked than it is at present, and must have been an excellent fishing-ground for the ancestors of the early Britons, whose boats were probably small and crank.

As subsidence continued the promontory would gradually be reduced in length and breadth, while the area of the bay inside would grow larger and larger. With easterly winds the sea would attack the outer side of the promontory, and with south-west gales the waves of the bay would eat into its western side. Again, in the southern part of the area the low plateau of shale and limestone would be invaded and destroyed, so that by degrees the Bay would come to acquire its present size and shape.

One of the latest changes would be the formation of Meadfoot Bay by the advance of the sea up the southerly continuation of the Ilsham Valley, and by the destruction of the barrier of hard rocks which lay to the south of it, as described in my *Hills and Valleys of Torquay*. The existing promontory of Daddy Hole Plain is the curtailed base of the ridge which lay between the drowned end of the Ilsham Valley and what we may call the older part of the Bay (see Postscript).

Thus we see that the making of Torbay has been accomplished partly by the action of running water and partly by the last invasion of the sea. When it was a terrestrial surface it was the meeting-place of a number of small streams, each deepening its own valley and opening into the larger valley which ran obliquely across the area from north-west to south-east. In Pliocene and early Pleistocene time all these streams were running at much higher levels; the mouth of the main river must have been 15

or 20 feet above present sea-level, and the tributaries, where they now open into the Bay, must have been running at levels of 50 or 60 feet above this datum. The sea, therefore, did not then extend far up the main valley, and the coast-line ran southward from Thatcher Rock to Berry Head, with only a small inlet or bay north of Brixham Harbour.

It was not till the later subsidence, in Neolithic time, that the Bay began to be formed, and then at first it was more of an estuary than a bay, being enclosed and protected on the north-east side by an extension of the Torquay promontory. As subsidence continued this promontory was cut off from the mainland, converted into an island and gradually worn away by the waves; the Bay became more and more open to the east, until it finally attained its present shape and its floor was graded to its present contour. The bottom-deposits of the modern bay do not seem to have any relation to its ancient topography; they consist chiefly of sand with a large irregular area of mud in the south-central part of the Bay, lying to the north of Brixham and to the east of Paignton.

POSTSCRIPT.—It is almost certain that the limestone of Daddy Hole and Rockend was bounded on the south side by Eifelian shales, upturned vertically, beyond which there may have been a tract of Meadfoot shales, just as there is on the northern side. This would mean that a valley existed on the south side of the limestone tract, like that now existing on the northern side. Along such a line of weakness the sea would undoubtedly make its way, till eventually it broke through the dividing ridge into the estuary of the Torre Valley. The central part of the old promontory would thus be converted into an island, and its destruction would consequently proceed with greater rapidity; the openings at each end of it would be gradually widened, and the island be reduced in size by degrees, till eventually it disappeared entirely, and the existing open Bay was the final result.

LIFE OF JOANNA SOUTHCOTT.

BY CHARLES LANE.

Communicated by R. PEARSE CHOPE, B.A.

(Read at Exeter, 25th July, 1912.)

THE books usually known as *Joanna Southcott's Prophecies* consist of sixty-five pamphlets octavo, and contain about 4500 pages. It is said that Joanna left sufficient manuscripts to print a further 9500 pages.¹ Her own remarks concerning events then current, her history and character, occupy about one-fourth of her printed works. Of the remainder a small part was contributed by friends, and there are many copies of letters addressed to the clergy, but the major and prophetic portion will be found under the heading of *The Answer of the Spirit*, having been written, Joanna tells us, by the direction of "a small still voice speaking within."² The passages thus written are called "communications," but the term is also used by her followers to describe unpublished letters, written or dictated by Joanna. Some of the latter were copied by the believers, and the copies formed into "books of correspondence,"³ which were circulated among the members of the church. These copies are chiefly in private collections. The British Museum Library contains a small number presented by Mr. Hows, a believer. There are in the possession of the writer over one hundred copies, together with an index to a set of "books of correspondence," describing the contents of nearly one thousand communications. In the middle of last century a Mrs. L. E. C. Jones obtained a large quantity of copies, together with some original MSS., from which she selected nearly one hundred and published them in pamphlet form, subsequently issuing

¹ Harrison's Letter, p. 46.

² 41. 158. (The books are numbered for reference in accordance with Pullen's *Index*. Thus, 41. 158 refers to Book 41, p. 158.)

³ So described in Copy letter signed J. P. Wardle, 9th April, 1843.

them in two volumes,¹ containing approximately 490 pages octavo (the pagination is not continuous, and the books vary as to contents). It is evident from several sources of information that there exist a large number of MSS. which have neither been published nor copied;² these are called the "sealed writings." They were placed in the hands of Mr. Sharp in 1803 for safe custody, but appear to have been in the care of Miss Townley at the death of Joanna. In 1825 they were sent to the Rev. T. P. Foley, who left them in the care of his son, the Rev. Richard Foley.³ It is said that some of them have not been read even by believers, but are kept in a large wooden box, which is nailed up and bound with cords.⁴

The details of Joanna's history and character as revealed by contemporary writers are meagre and not always reliable, but from her own works there can be extracted particulars regarding both her thoughts and daily life, related with such obvious sincerity as to leave no doubt of their genuineness, and the following information is gleaned principally from this source. She was born in April, 1750, the fourth daughter of William and Hannah Southcott,⁵ at Tarford,⁶ probably Taleford, near Ottery St. Mary, where she was baptized. Her father was a farmer, whose family, for several generations, appear to have been landed proprietors at Wotton, Hertfordshire, although he was born in Devonshire.⁷ He moved to Gittisham shortly after the birth of Joanna. Her early character and youthful impressions⁸ are recorded with simplicity, and glimpses of her history may be found in most of her books,⁹ but they are difficult to connect. Speaking of her early character, she says: "The fear of the Lord was placed in me from a child, and I was fearfully made; my heart was tender within me, and my conscience also. I not only feared sin, *but hate it*, and found no pleasure in anything but the service of the Lord; my character will bear the strictest scrutiny, and so bright did it appear in my early age that many that I lived with said, 'I had not my fellow

¹ *Small Still Voice in London.*

² 25. 103; 58. 4.

³ Deep and Important Letters, Hudson. Copy letter from Foley, 1825.

⁴ *Express*, A. Seymour, Vol. I, p. 25 (showing photograph of box).

⁵ 61. 62.

⁶ 58. 96.

⁷ 58. 91-102.

⁸ 5. 193, 203; 12. 74-79; 52. 8; 58. 101, 109.

⁹ 22. 10; 23. 102; 24. 26; 32. 63; 34. 14; 43. 59, etc.

or like amongst women'; as my temper was mild and heavenly, my principles honest and upright in all things; such was my character in my earlier days; but I found myself as a sheep amongst wolves."¹ With regard to her history, she says, "It is placed here and there, but not in a regular manner to go on together."² Her love affairs commenced when she was eighteen,³ and were fairly numerous. The first of her lovers was Noah Bishop, when "I kept house for my brother at Sidmouth";⁴ she appears to have entertained great affection for him, but preferred to remain single. The second one was John Thomas, when she was in the service of Mr. Brown, who kept a shop at Honiton.⁵ About this time her mother died—"before I was twenty"⁶—and then Joanna "began to have a lively and strong faith in the Lord."⁷ She states, however, that the visiting Spirit had been her guide since 1772,⁸ when she was twenty-two years of age. After this she went "to the West Country," in the neighbourhood of Black Torrington,⁹ ten miles north-west of Okehampton, where Mr. Rigsby fell in love with her. She rejected his advances and returned to her father's house for a short time, afterwards revisiting her brother at Sidmouth, where Peter West paid his addresses to her.¹⁰ She refused him, "in answer to what was said to me in prayer."¹¹ Joanna, however, continued to have admirers. "Having a desire to go abroad," she obtained a situation in a gentleman's family, where her life was rendered miserable by a footman, "who, finding his base arts ineffectual, studied nothing but revenge,"¹² and eventually she had to leave without notice. After staying for two days at the house of a friend at Fairmile, she proceeded to Exeter,¹³ where she entered the service of Wills, an upholsterer, being then about twenty-seven. Wills, although a married man, made love to her; Joanna reproved his amorous speeches, but pitied him on account of his wife's immoral conduct with a man named Saunders.¹⁴ She endeavoured to heal the breach between Wills and his wife and incurred the displeasure of both. She had been with this family for five years,¹⁵ leaving amidst great turmoil, and obtained a situation in the house of a minister named Marshall, at Musbury, twenty-five miles

¹ 12. 74, 75.² 34. 20.³ 58. 16.⁴ 24. 27.⁵ 22. 15; 52. 8.⁶ 5. 204; 44. 2.⁷ 5. 205.⁸ 54. 4.⁹ 22. 16; 24. 55.¹⁰ 22. 17.¹¹ 22. 18.¹² 5. 206.¹³ 5. 208.¹⁴ 22. 18, 19; 23. 70, 79.¹⁵ 5. 209.

distant. Wills visited Marshall and gave false information concerning Joanna, who brought an action against him for defamation of character, at the Guildhall, Exeter, in 1783.¹

In the following year Joanna appears to have been living with her friend Mrs. Woolland, and returning to Exeter entered the service of Mrs. Taylor as domestic, where she remained about a year, and after being "upper servant" to Mrs. Burrows for two years, she rejoined Mrs. Taylor, leaving her again at the beginning of 1792.² Then commenced the important part of Joanna's life; she went on a visit to her sister Susannah Carter at Plymtree,³ and here began to write by the dictates of the Spirit. She states that the Spirit visited her in great power at this time, informing her as to the things which were coming on the earth. Her sister told her that she was losing her senses, and that none of her prophecies would come true.⁴ On her return to Mrs. Taylor towards the end of the year she divulged to her the events which had been made known by the Spirit, and according to Mrs. Taylor's evidence "scarcely anything happened to the nation or to particular families or individuals that she did not inform me before it happened."⁵ At Christmas (1792)⁶ she joined the Methodists at Exeter, and spoke of her religious experience at the meetings, but was ill-received, and after some unpleasantness with the chief members, left the society. The circumstance seems to have affected her health, and she went again to her sister at Plymtree.⁷ Here, she says, she was assaulted by the powers of darkness for ten days.⁸ On her return to Exeter in 1793 she stayed with the Minifies, shopkeepers in the city, and old friends of hers, and approached the Rev. Mr. Tanner in reference to her visitation; ⁹ he gave her encouragement, saying he believed "it to be from the Lord." She then asked the opinion of the Rev. Mr. Leach,¹⁰ dissenting minister; he said that the visitation was from the devil. His judgment however, although decisive, was not final. Soon after this Joanna heard the Rev. Mr. Pomeroy¹¹ preach at St. Peter's, Exeter,¹² and determined to write to him concerning her

¹ 23. 73, 79.² 25. 57, 59.³ 1. 6.⁴ 20. 19.⁵ 9. 2.⁶ 8. 85.⁷ 1. 5, 6.⁸ 8. 88.⁹ 50. 7.¹⁰ 1. 6.¹¹ Afterwards Rector of St. Kew, Bodmin, erroneously described in *Devonshire Characters* as a Methodist.¹² 9. 3; 1. 7.

prophecies, but was ordered by the Spirit not to do so until Leach had given them up.¹ In 1794, being still at Exeter and residing with Mrs. Symonds, she again appealed to Mr. Leach for his opinion; he was not so confident on this occasion, but did not give the matter up entirely.¹ At this time Joanna tells us she had no one to assist her, she paid her own expenses for copying,² and had not a friend in the world, except Mrs. Woolland and Mrs. Minifie.³ Her father was a constant expense to her,⁴ and she had lent her sister money to start in business.⁵ She was working for her living and writing in her spare time. Her writings were sealed up year by year and placed in a box in the custody of one of her friends.⁶ At the close of the summer of 1795 Joanna wrote for the third time to Mr. Leach, who then gave up the inquiry.⁷ At the end of the year some of her sealed writings were submitted to the judgment of "six men of the dissenting class,"⁷ upon the condition that the seals on the writings were not to be broken unless those who sealed them were present; but they disregarded the condition, broke the seals and declared their opinion that the visitation was from the devil. Joanna then called upon Mr. Pomeroy and told him of the decision of Mr. Leach, with whom he expressed entire disagreement and said the writings were certainly not from the devil.⁸ In the following year, 1796, she commenced writing letters to Pomeroy⁹ on the subject of her prophecies. He frequently called at Mrs. Taylor's shop,¹⁰ where Joanna was employed in the upholstery business; she lodged with a Mrs. Bird.¹¹ In May, Joanna gave into Pomeroy's hands the prediction that Bishop Buller would die at the end of the year;¹² his death took place as anticipated, and Pomeroy asked for predictions relative to events in England and Italy for the following year, which were handed to him and fulfilled in due course. In January, 1797, further prophecies regarding two foreign nations were placed in Pomeroy's hands,¹³ but Joanna did not keep a copy, an omission which she afterwards regretted. During the early part of this year she lived at Heavitree with the Woollands, also upholsterers, making cushions for them, but would receive no wages.¹⁴ She tells us that she fasted

¹ 1. 7.⁴ 22. 25.⁸ 58. 32.¹² 1. 13.² 58. 29.⁵ 9. 18.⁹ 9. 3.¹³ 23. 29; 58. 33.³ 60. 26.⁶ 25. 55.¹⁰ 25. 50, 60.⁷ 1. 9, 10.¹¹ 25. 61, 70.¹⁴ 36. 86.

all through Lent for six days in the week, taking nothing but a basin of broth with bread in it.¹

In the following year, 1798, Joanna visited her brother² at Musbury, returning to Exeter at Christmas.³ Her brother in the meantime married and went to live at Bristol, about a mile from the town. He was employed in the Customs office, and did not at this time believe in his sister's visitation. Joanna followed soon afterwards to make known her prophecies there, as they had been rejected at Exeter;⁴ not knowing her brother lived near the town, she took lodgings.⁵ Here she wrote to Mrs. Taylor concerning the harvest, and in March, 1799, sent copies of the letter to Pomeroy and Archdeacon Moore.⁶ Copies of the same letter made by Mr. Jones, of Exeter, were forwarded to five other clergymen in May.⁷ The harvest had every appearance of being a good one. The Rev. Basil Woodd, of Lisson Grove,⁸ is reported to have made a long prayer thanking the Almighty for the blessings of a good harvest; the rain, however, fell on the following day and continued until the harvest was spoiled, as Joanna had predicted. Upon leaving Bristol she went to Plymtree, where she met her father, whom both she and her sister judged to be in a dying condition, but he recovered.⁹ Joanna was in Exeter again in 1800. In July this year she again saw her father, and was persuaded, she tells us, to predict that he would die on St. Swithin's Day.¹⁰ The prediction failed; Joanna was candid about the matter, acknowledged her mistake several times, but her enemies did not forget it. Reference has been made to this failure in nearly every work written against her, and it appears to be the only clear case of unfulfilled prophecy.

Towards the end of 1800 Joanna prepared her first book for publication. She had during the past eight or nine years accumulated a large stock of manuscripts, consisting of copies of letters addressed to ministers, her own dreams, and their interpretations revealed to her by a "spirit invisible." And this material was largely drawn upon for all her publications. Before placing her manuscripts in the printer's hands she addressed letters to the Rev. Mr. Tucker, of Heavitree, Archdeacon Moore, of Exeter Cath-

¹ 3. 121.² 25. 46.³ 20. 32.⁴ 20. 31.⁵ 10. 53.⁶ 20. 32.⁷ 25. 50.⁸ 20. 32-3.⁹ 9. 29.¹⁰ 9. 30; 25. 65; 54. 6-8. Her father died on 21 Jan., 1802 (10. 68).

dral, and the Rev. Mr. Denny, of Exeter,¹ requesting them to meet Mr. Pomeroy, with whom she had entrusted some of her sealed writings, and undertaking that, if they could prove upon examination the writings were not from God, she would refrain from publishing. She was ordered by the Spirit to give them seven days to consider the matter, but to wait no longer than New Year's Day, "Old Stile,"² and if she received no reply, to publish her first book. No replies were forthcoming, and on 1 January (Old Style), 1801, the first part of *Strange Effects of Faith* was issued.

The publication of Joanna's writings introduced her into a new circle of acquaintances. The following is a short description of the principal characters, to whom reference will be made from time to time, by surname only :—

Rev. Thomas P. Foley, Church of England clergyman, Rector of Old Swinford, near Stourbridge, Worcestershire. He outlived Joanna many years, maintaining his belief in her mission to the end. He is said to have been a relative of Lord Foley.

Rev. Stanhope Bruce, Inglesham, Gloucestershire, also of the Church of England. His son Basil embraced the cause at the same time as his father, and died in 1802.

Rev. Thomas Webster, Falcon Court, High Street, Borough. Church of England clergyman.

William Sharp, the celebrated engraver, a friend of Thomas Paine, at one time a believer in Swedenborg, afterwards in Richard Brothers, whose likeness he engraved, as well as that of Joanna.³ His place of business appears to have been 50 Titchfield Street. During the latter part of his life he resided at Chiswick. He died of dropsy in 1824 and was buried in Chiswick Churchyard.

George Turner, merchant, of Leeds. He wrote several works as Communications from the Spirit, some of them during Joanna's lifetime. He died in 1821 of dropsy.

John Wilson, of Kentish Town, and 113 Long Acre.

All the above were believers in Richard Brothers.

Peter Morrison, No. 12 Old Street, Liverpool.

These seven men are referred to as the seven stars by Joanna ; they visited Exeter in 1801 and examined her writings.

¹ 1. 19–24.

² 1. 20.

³ Joanna's likeness was engraved in 1811. The original drawing is in the National Portrait Gallery, London.

Jane Townley, a lady of means who became acquainted with Joanna in 1803 and provided a home for her for nearly ten years. She served, together with Ann Underwood, as amanuensis to Joanna. Both died in 1825.

Nathaniel Brassey Halhed, Orientalist, M.P. for Lymington, espoused the cause of Richard Brothers, which he brought before the House of Commons; he afterwards expressed his firm belief in the writings of Joanna. Died 1830.

Elias Carpenter, paper manufacturer, Neckinger Mill, Bermondsey. One of the first preachers in the cause of Joanna. He quarrelled with her and left the society in 1805. Afterwards established a church on similar lines, calling himself "Elias Paul Gabriel," and continued "sealing" the people on his own account.

Henry Prescott, a lad who had visions which were interpreted by Joanna. He lived with Carpenter.

William Tozer, a prominent preacher in the cause. He allied himself with Carpenter before joining the Southcottian Church, but took the side of Joanna at the dispute. He was a native of Devonshire.

In May, 1801, shortly after the third part of *Strange Effects of Faith* was published, Joanna received letters from three clergymen, Foley, Bruce, and Webster;¹ these, with Sharp, Turner, Wilson, and Morrison, met at Exeter in December, for the purpose of examining Joanna's writings. They invited five of the local clergy, including the Bishop of Exeter,² to meet them in order to form twelve, the number required by Joanna to prove her visitation. The invitation was not accepted. Pomeroy, who had for many years signified his belief in Joanna's writings, now denied them;³ he was greatly offended because his name was mentioned with reference to her mission in her books⁴ and in the newspapers; he complained of being "plagued in the Coffee House" by his fellow-ministers.⁵ This was Moll's coffee-house in the Cathedral Close.⁶ Pomeroy, thinking to clear his reputation, obtained the signature of Joanna to a document, which stated, in effect, that he said the writings were from the devil. This he sent to the local paper for insertion as an advertisement;⁷ Joanna

¹ 37. 4; 64. 3; Harrison's Letter, p. 25.

² Foley's Letter, pp. 3-7.

³ 25. 43.

⁴ 1. 18; 10. 61; 23. 8.

⁵ 10. 76; 23. 10.

⁶ Pullen's Index.

⁷ 10. 76.

replied by having a "thousand handbills printed and dispersed in the city,"¹ stating, apparently, that she signed the document under a misapprehension, for Pomeroy had said only that "putting his name in print was from the devil." She also wrote to the gentlemen of the coffee-house explaining the matter.² Pomeroy's troubles had only begun. Joanna demanded her writings which she had placed in his hands concerning future events, but he had burnt them.³ His conduct annoyed Joanna, and she makes constant reference to it throughout her books. Her friends wrote to him frequently, and it was not until 1813 that instructions were given by Joanna to send him no more letters.⁴ There are upwards of three hundred references under the name of Pomeroy in Pullen's *Index*. The handbills referred to contained also some particulars of Joanna's mission, to which the civic authorities objected on the grounds of blasphemy,⁵ and she was ordered to attend the council chamber at the Guildhall. The mayor (Flood) asked her to produce her writings and place in his hands the events of another year. This was refused, but Joanna's explanation as to the charge of blasphemy appears to have satisfied the council. She also issued a handbill at this time offering a reward to anyone who would reveal the author of a report that she had prophesied the destruction of the city of Exeter by fire.⁶

On 22 May, 1802, Joanna came to London⁷ for the first time, and stayed with Mrs. Bruce in Jermyn Street.⁸ The seven men who visited Exeter at the close of the previous year met with her in London, and she wrote a letter of which they made copies, about 1000 in all, sending a copy to each member of the "Lords and Commons."⁹ In the early part of July, Joanna visited the Rev. Stanhope Bruce at Market Deeping, staying there until the 20th, when she returned to London. On the following morning she breakfasted with Foley, who accompanied her to Kentish Town to see Mr. Wilson, who was very ill; Dr. Wetherell, a believer, was in attendance. His recovery was attributed to the good offices of Joanna.¹⁰ On 2 August she was commanded "to go to a house alone and dispute

¹ 10. 74-5.² 10. 79.³ 23. 13.⁴ 64. 11.⁵ 10. 74.⁶ 56. 51.⁷ Foley's Letter, p. 10; Harrison's Letter, p. 26.⁸ Copy of letter from Foley, 25.5.02.⁹ Foley's Letter, pp. 10, 11; Harrison's Letter, p. 27.¹⁰ Foley's Letter, p. 12.

with the powers of darkness for seven days.”¹ The particulars of the “dispute” are contained in Book 11, which she is said to have written during the seven days.² She then fasted forty days, abstaining from “meat and anything that had life,” and was seriously ill for seven days afterwards, recovering rapidly and contrary to the expectation of all, says Foley, “save my worthy friend Mr. Sharp.”³ Her illness and recovery had been predicted. She then occupied herself with writing letters to ministers, urging them to attend the trial of her writings, until the end of November, when Foley took High House, Paddington (said to be in Dudley Grove and owned by Lord F——),⁴ in anticipation of the Trial, the second Trial, which took place in the following year. The public was invited, and upwards of £20 was spent upon advertisements.⁵ Although the house was open to all, none but the friends of Joanna attended. The writings were closely examined by twenty-three persons, and the result published in the form of a handbill, entitled *Examination of Prophecies*.⁶ This bill may be frequently found bound with Book 1. It bears the names of those who signed the original document of testimony of the truth of Joanna’s writings. It is said that Rowland Hill, the celebrated preacher, held one of the bills over his pulpit, and exclaimed, “Here are three-and-twenty mad fools.”⁷ The examination occupied seven days, from 12 January (1st Old Style) to the 18th; particulars are related in Book 14, pages 1 and 2. Many of the sealed writings were broken open on this occasion; they were resealed on 2 May⁸ and committed to the care of Sharp, until the third Trial, which took place at the end of the following year. Foley prepared Books 14 and 15 at High House, Paddington, which he gave up on 6 June,⁹ when Joanna left London for Exeter. Here she stayed nearly a month, “sealing” the people, for which she was falsely accused of receiving money (Book 16, p. 63). On her way to Exeter she appears to have called at Bristol, accompanied by Mrs. Foley, and visited her brother.¹⁰ Their account of the recent trial caused him to look more

¹ Foley’s Letter, p. 12.² Harrison’s Letter, p. 33.³ Foley’s Letter, p. 13.⁴ Grant’s *History of the English Church*, p. 449.⁵ Harrison’s Letter, p. 36; *Nocturnal Alarm*, p. 76.⁶ Foley’s Letter, p. 21.⁷ 25. 25; *Nocturnal Alarm*, p. 44.⁸ Foley’s Letter, p. 15.⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 16.¹⁰ 25. 48.

closely into the writings of his sister, in whose prophecies he had not previously believed, with the result that he became interested and wrote an "Appeal"¹ on her behalf. In the middle of July, Joanna visited Foley at the Rectory, Old Swinford,² where she wrote Book 17, and remained there until 11 October, when she proceeded to Yorkshire. On the 29th of this month an article appeared in the *Halifax Journal*, entitled "The Prophetess—A Lecture on Prophecy." It contained a great deal of erroneous matter relative to Joanna, and was answered by W. Jowett,³ a believer, but the editor of the *Journal* refused to insert the reply unless paid for as an advertisement. From Halifax Joanna went to Stockton-on-Tees,⁴ where the Methodists accused her of publishing her prophecies after the events had transpired.⁴ She replied that all the books were entered at Stationers' Hall⁵ on the dates named on them. From thence, in November, she went on a visit to George Turner, of Leeds,⁶ and was again in Stockton in December,⁷ returning to Leeds at the latter end of the month, where she remained until April, 1804. It was reported there that she had a child by a married man, being then 53 years of age.⁸ On leaving Leeds she came to London,⁹ accepting the invitation of Miss Townley, made in the previous October, to make her home with her.¹⁰ After three weeks' stay in town they visited the Rev. Stanhope Bruce at Inglesham, Gloucestershire, and from thence in May they went to Bristol;¹¹ here they were joined by Mrs. Underwood, their address was 9 Trinity Street. All expenses were paid by Miss Townley. On 22 May, Miss Townley wrote to the Bishop of London, enclosing a copy of one from Joanna addressed to her. Three thousand copies were afterwards printed and sent to the same number of the clergy. Until the above date Joanna had written all her "communications with her own hand, free from erasures and alterations, but illegible to every one but herself,"¹² but after this she dictated them to either Townley or Underwood. On 7 June a letter written by Joanna was inserted in the *Leeds Mercury* and other papers requesting any twenty-four ministers to meet with twenty-

¹ *Appeal to all Liberal-minded Christians*, 1806.

² Foley's Letter, p. 16.

³ Jowett's *Vindication*, p. 37.

⁴ 18. 38. ⁵ 56. 40.

⁶ Copy letter unpublished.

⁷ 56. 39.

⁸ 56. 51.

⁹ 56. 52.

¹⁰ Com. on Joanna's death, *Small Still Voice*.

¹¹ Townley's Letter, p. 6.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 29.

four of her friends, and if they could agree that her writings were from the devil, she would give up her prophecies.¹ Joanna appears to have dictated a large number of letters and "communications" whilst at Bristol. She states, "My visitation there was stronger than I ever experienced before or since,"² Books 25 to 31 inclusive, probably the most doctrinal of all her works, were written here.³ Several letters were addressed to Pomeroy by Joanna and her friends, some replies being received; the correspondence will be found in Book 28. 44-75, and Book 58. 31-63. She also wrote to the Bishop of London respecting Pomeroy's conduct,⁴ while at Bristol, leaving there on 22 November. Copies exist, it is said, of ninety-eight unpublished communications written during 1804.⁵

Towards the end of this year preparations were made for the "Trial" at Neckinger House, Bermondsey, where Elias Carpenter lived. This was the third Trial. The clergy were invited by a circular letter, and many of them were visited by Joanna's friends.⁶ Joanna said the Trial "cannot be deferred longer than the last seven days of November by old stile."⁷ It was accordingly advertised to take place from 5 December to the 11th (an attorney had been appointed to take the evidence of the witnesses). The whole seven days' proceedings are recorded in Book 25, pp. 41-79. The assembly on the seventh day was so large that they adjourned to a field close by; some opposition was experienced from the public; nothing, however, very exciting happened.⁸ The early part of 1805 was occupied in the preparation of the "Trial" Book.

Joanna, although not generally persecuted, had to contend with considerable opposition. The Rev. J. L. Garrett made himself very objectionable to her and her friends by his writings.⁹ Mrs. Carpenter¹⁰ replied to one of his pamphlets, and Joanna answered his assertions in Books 26 and 31. Elias Carpenter also gave trouble this year by writing to Joanna,¹¹ proclaiming his own righteousness and complaining about other members of the Church, among whom he sought pre-eminence. Much of Joanna's

¹ Harrison's Letter, p. 43.

² 34. 1.

³ 31. 376.

⁴ Copy letter, 12 November, 1804.

⁵ Index of Mrs. Inwood.

⁶ 25. 12.

⁷ 25. 9.

⁸ 25. 120.

⁹ *Demonocracy Detected* (Garrett).

¹⁰ *Are these things so?*

¹¹ Copy letters, 8.9.1805, and 22.10.1805.

time was taken up with this correspondence and in preparing Books 38 to 42 inclusive, which deal with the matter. The accusation of selling seals was again revived. Mr. Field, Joanna's agent, received this year an impertinent letter from R. Currier of Salisbury,¹ asking for a "quarter of a hundred seals and the price." Joanna framed a letter for Mr. Field to send, saying the seals were given without money and without price, as had been already stated in Book 16, p. 63 (1803). A pamphlet was issued at Halifax this year by an anonymous writer, entitled *The Writings and Seals of Joanna Southcott and George Turner refuted by the Word of God*. John Crossley replied by pamphlet,² in which a letter from Joanna appears, dated 22 May.

In 1806 Mr. Pitt and Lord Rosslyn died, and under the altered administration Brothers was set at liberty.³ Joanna wrote a letter of thanks to Lord Erskine and to Sir Richard Ford. She also wrote to Brothers telling him that if he repented and acknowledged his error, he would be forgiven. Her letter was returned without reply. He published a book in September, and Joanna gives her opinion concerning it in Book 47.⁴ Sharp announced his intention of destroying his prints of Richard Brothers because he had engraved the words "Prince of the Hebrews" under the likeness;⁵ but Joanna dissuaded him, and on one of the prints placed across the title three daubs of red paint. It is said that she "defaced" 1000 copies.⁶ There are in existence a number of the engravings with paint marks across the title.⁷

At the beginning of this year, Miss Townley informs us, Mrs. Underwood became enabled to read Joanna's manuscript with perfect facility, and she was the only one capable of doing so. This doubtless saved Joanna some trouble. She was, however, by no means idle. There is evidence of at least forty-four lengthy unpublished letters having been dictated by her during the year, in addition to her published works. She was also engaged in controversy with Lewis Mayers, who laid claim to the spirit of prophecy; he predicted that Christ's kingdom was near and would

¹ Copy letter 3/4/1805.

² Crossley's *Vindication*.

³ Townley's Letter, p. 31.

⁴ This is the second book she had written against Brothers.

⁵ Copy letter 8/7/1806.

⁶ *Dictionary of National Biography*, 1909.

⁷ The writer has three such engravings.

be established by the destruction of Bonaparte. His work, *The Woman in the Wilderness*, was written against Joanna, and she replied to him in her Book 46. There is indication, too, that she was at this time interested in other books than the Bible. In one of the unpublished letters referred to there is a long extract from the writings of Josephus,¹ whom she also quotes in Book 47.

Joanna's following had now become very numerous ; she informs us that at the beginning of 1807 the number of the sealed was "near 14,000."² Among these were all sorts and conditions of people, and it became necessary to stop the influx of those who did not understand the object of the sealing or the mission of Joanna. Book 48 was accordingly written with a view to enlightening the public, so that none should sign in ignorance of her principles. Instructions were given that no more were to be sealed who had not made themselves acquainted with her writings.³ Joanna and her friends were greatly agitated in the early part of the year by the conduct of a money-lender,⁴ who had accommodated Messrs. Wilson, Sharp and Eyre. Some of the correspondence and an account of the trial which ensued will be found in Book 49. The Calvinists and Unitarians then occupied her attention, and she deals with their respective tenets in Book 50. Only five of her books were published during the years 1807-8, and there appears no evidence that more than fifty unpublished "communications" were written.⁵ This might be considered an indication of slackening energy, but there are records in manuscript of attendance at large meetings which show occupation in that direction. Tozer and the Rev. Mr. Turpin seem to have been her chief speakers in London.⁶

In the following year, 1809, the trial of Mary Bateman took place. This caused some annoyance to Joanna in consequence of the unwarrantable manner in which her name was associated with the case. Mary Bateman was indicted on 18 March for the murder of Mrs. Perigo, of Bramley, in May, 1807, and wrongly reported to be a follower of Joanna's principles. In Kirby's *Wonderful and*

¹ "Life of Agrippa," *Small Still Voice*.

² Lewis Mayers, in his *Woman in the Wilderness*, p. 31, says he is informed that in and around London there were 11,000 of Joanna's adherents ; 48. 22.

³ 48. 7, 10, 19.

⁵ Mrs. Inwood's *Index*.

⁴ John King, 76 Norton Street.

⁶ Grant's *History*, Vol. III, Preface.

*Eccentric Museum*¹ a detailed account of this woman's life is published; her whole career from the age of five appears to have been one of theft and imposture, culminating in murder in her forty-first year. Her first and only intercourse with the members of Joanna's Church was when she lodged for a short time with one of them, whom she robbed; this occurred in the year before her execution. There is no evidence adduced of her having been "sealed"; but after relating her misdeeds in forty pages octavo, the writer adds, "She was a follower of Joanna Southcott." She was also said to be an enthusiastic supporter of Swedenborg and Brothers. Joanna emphatically denies all connection with her in Book 52, pp. 7-10. In April a report appeared in Trewman's (Exeter) paper that Joanna had prophesied the destruction of Bath on Good Friday, and that the town was in consequence robbed of hundreds of its best visitors.² This same paper, Joanna says, accused her of drunkenness, a crime which she always detested.³ In the same year a man named Anderson is said to have written to the *Halifax Journal*,⁴ pirating the ideas of Hann, who wrote against Joanna; she replied to him in Books 53, 54, and 55. J. Crossley wrote *Master and Scholar* in answer to Anderson, dealing with the common objection as to the reported unfulfilled prophecies of Joanna. In the following year (1811) Hewson Clarke, editor of the *Scourge*, grossly abused Joanna's private character, she tells us. He is reported to have said that she attended Carpenter's chapel dressed in diamonds and fell in love with a candle-snuffer. According to Townley, this editor acknowledged there was no foundation for his remarks, but, being a prophetess, she was fair game for anyone to shoot at.⁵ The famous comet of this year forms the subject of a "communication" written by Joanna and published by Jones in 1859.⁶ The comet was visible for seventeen months; it is described as of great magnitude. The number of volcanic disturbances, floods, storms, and fires at this time was also very remarkable. A detailed account of them appears in a pamphlet written by "A Lover of Truth,"⁷ one of the believers.

¹ Vol. IV, pp. 260-300.

² 56. 51.

³ 52. 11.

⁴ *Master and Scholar*, p. 1; *The Old Religion*, by Crossley; *The Cheat Detected*, by Turner.

⁵ 56. 52.

⁶ Communication on the Comet, *Small Still Voice*.

⁷ *Scriptures which shew for what Christ died*, 1811. Not mentioned in Bibliography, as Joanna is not referred to.

On 17 November, 1812, James Cosins died, having on the previous day made his will in favour of Joanna, Townley, and Underwood; proved at Doctors' Commons 5 January, 1813. Joanna made her will on 26 June, 1813,¹ at No. 17 Weston Place, St. Pancras, the residence of Miss Townley. The contents of the will are recited in Kirby's *Wonderful and Eccentric Museum*, Vol. V, p. 356. Joanna's manner of life at this time is described in Book 58. 1. According to her own account she was particularly abstemious, contrary to the opinion of Dr. Mathias, sometimes quoted, that she was indolent, "ate much and often."² Her writings alone will perhaps clear her of the charge of indolence.

Joanna said she felt a powerful visitation working upon her, which began on 11 October.³ Her writings from this date show a decided change in tone. She is accused of courting persecution, and there appears some reason for the charge.⁴ She was evidently very anxious that the bishops should examine her writings and pronounce their opinion about them, one way or the other; and although the spiritual birth is mentioned many times throughout her former books, the plain, and perhaps, to modern minds, indelicate manner in which she announced, first a temporal marriage⁵ and then her confinement,⁶ after which she was to appear with the child in her arms, has the nature of a final endeavour to force public attention to her cause. She doubtless felt she had nothing to fear from a scrutiny of her life⁷ and writings and was confident that some time or other her writings would be demanded by the great and learned. The trend of her visitation and the logical termination of her mission, which she announced in 1801,⁸ would appear to be the birth of a child, temporally or spiritually, and it is possible that she may have mistaken the manner in which the "child" would be brought forth and the nature it would assume. That she viewed the prospect of a son, visible to all, with some degree of uncertainty is evident from the terms of the codicil to her will, in which provision is made should the birth take place,⁹ as well as the instruction to return all presents "if there is a possibility of my being deceived."¹⁰ Her confinement

¹ 63. 5.² *Case of Joanna Southcott*, p. 21.³ Conception, *Small Still Voice*.⁴ Grant's *History*.⁵ 58. 10.⁶ 61. 6.⁷ 12. 74.⁸ 1. 42.⁹ *Wonderful Museum*, pp. 356-63.¹⁰ 65. 40.

was ordered on 11 October, 1813,¹ the same date as her "powerful visitation" commenced.

On 28 October Joanna wrote a *Letter to the Nation*, which was inserted in *The Times*, threatening calamities if men remained careless as to her calling. A *Warning to the Bishops* was inserted in the *Morning Herald*, 9 November, 1813, with threatenings, because they had not searched to prove whether her visitation was from God or not. And a third letter, *To the Public at Large*, was inserted in the same paper on 19 November, 1813.²

In the following March it was declared by her ministering Spirit, "In this year, the 65th year of thy age, thou shalt have a Son by the power of the Most High." On 16 May she felt the "quickenings." This is notified in Book 63, dated 11 June, 1814, as the "event" promised in the previous book.

The newspapers in many parts of the country, in London particularly, had now taken up the subject of Joanna's approaching confinement, and, as she says, were filled with the most virulent and malicious abuse.³ Several coloured prints by Tegg and Jones,⁴ placing Joanna in a ridiculous light, appear to have been in circulation. At Horbury her effigy was carried through the village, shot at, and burnt head downwards; this was repeated on the two following days.⁵ Much the same kind of thing occurred at Crewkerne.

With the idea, it would seem, of avoiding unnecessary persecution, the friends were ordered to wear no particular dress or to have any mark by which they could be distinguished.⁶ The sealing was stopped and the chapels were closed. The instructions read, "No more preaching or meetings of the friends after Sunday next, August 28th, are to be holden until after the birth of Shiloh. . . . Nothing now is to be published or printed in the papers by the friends, without orders and permission from the friends at Weston Place"⁷—the residence of Miss Townley. Joanna was at this time living at No. 38 Manchester Street, W.

¹ 61. 6.

² These letters are quoted *in extenso*; *Memoirs*, by Aikin, p. 105, etc.; also in Fairburn's *Life*.

³ 65. 38.

⁴ Exeter Public Library.

⁵ 63. 16.

⁶ Communication, On not wearing any mark, *Small Still Voice*.

⁷ Communication, In Answer to the people at Birmingham, *Small Still Voice*.

Several letters passed between Joanna and Dr. Reece on the subject of her confinement. The doctor wrote to the *Sunday Monitor*, on 25 August, saying that he was satisfied as to the pregnancy of Joanna. Letters addressed to the *Morning Advertiser* of 26 August and to *The Times* of 30 August, criticising Dr. Reece's opinion, were answered by him on 2 September in a letter to the *Sunday Monitor*, in which he again expressed his conviction that Joanna was pregnant. Dr. Sims wrote to the *Morning Chronicle* of 3 September ascribing the symptoms of Joanna's illness to uterine disease";¹ Reece replied to him on the 10th in the *Sunday Monitor*. In the meantime, Joanna had communicated to him full particulars of her case and the opinions of the doctors who had visited her. Nine medical men appear to have examined her, and six of them admitted that in a younger woman her symptoms would indicate approaching maternity.² On 6 December Dr. Reece visited her, and states that he found that these symptoms had disappeared; and on the following day gave his opinion that Joanna was not pregnant.³

The case against the doctor is summed up in the *Edinburgh Review* (Vol. XXIV, p. 466) thus: "Mrs. Southcott, in the 65th year of her age, affirming herself to be a virgin and at the same time announcing that she was miraculously pregnant, consulted Dr. Reece for the express purpose of satisfying her disciples and the world with regard to the reality of her pregnancy, and Dr. Reece declared to herself, to her disciples and to the world, that no doubt of her pregnancy existed in his mind, and he made this declaration repeatedly and positively and in the most unqualified manner, after being fully indulged with the trials, which he deemed necessary to fix his judgment, but yet without having made that particular trial which he himself considered to be the only certain and unequivocal means of detecting pregnancy."⁴

Dr. Reece seems to imply that Joanna, at the last,

¹ *Memoirs of Religious Impostors*, p. 111.

² *Dictionary of National Biography*, 1909.

³ The whole correspondence will be found in Reece's *Correct Statement*, p. 17 and onwards; and Alice Seymour's *Express*, Vol. II, p. 361, etc. See also Pullen's *Refutation*, and cuttings from newspapers, B.M., and G.

⁴ An examination which Joanna would not permit.

thought all appeared to be delusion,¹ but her remarks at such a time, when life was ebbing and the mind weakened by a long illness, can hardly be taken as the expression of a matured opinion. He states, however, that "to the last this unfortunate woman made no confession of her error";² and the report that she exclaimed, "England! England! how have I deceived thee!"³ he considers to be without foundation.

Joanna died at four o'clock on Tuesday morning, 27 December, 1814. There was some disagreement among the doctors as to whether she was actually dead.⁴ Every effort was made to preserve warmth in the body by her friends in the expectation of her return to life on the fourth day, when it was quite evident that dissolution had taken place. An autopsy was held on Saturday, 30 December, and attended by fifteen medical men, who certified that "no unnatural appearances were visible and no part exhibiting any visible appearance of disease sufficient to have occasioned her death."⁵ Her friends were disappointed at the non-appearance of the child, but with one exception by no means dismayed. Col. Harwood, who had been in constant attendance for some time before her death, who arranged for the funeral and followed the corpse to the grave, is said to have gone away in disgust.⁶ The condition of mind of Mrs. Underwood found expression in a letter⁷ addressed to Mr. Hows, who did not retain his faith in Joanna very long after her death. She writes, "The friends, I am glad to see, appear to derive comfort, thinking all is right, but I cannot see anything to warrant it." Miss Townley admitted that she expected a temporal child;⁸ neither of these ladies, however, in any way gave up their belief in Joanna. The letter which appeared in the *Observer*, purporting to have been written by Tozer, renouncing on behalf of Joanna "all the wicked incantations of her former distempered brain," was a forgery. It was published on 30 October, and Joanna wrote to the *Sunday Monitor* of 6 November contradicting the statements made. Tozer also wrote declaring his firm belief in Joanna to the same

¹ *Correct Statement*, p. 63.

² *Ibid.*, p. 82. "What error?" queries Pullen in *Complete Refutation*.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 106.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 86.

⁵ *Bell's Weekly Messenger*, 1/1/1815.

⁶ *Correct Statement*. See also *Communications and Directions*, p. 26.

⁷ Original letter, B.M. MS. Library.

⁸ Townley's Letter, p. 8.

journal on 17 December,¹ and he appears to have been in no way disconcerted by her death.

A detailed account of the burial, which took place on Monday afternoon, 1 January, 1815, was published in the *Morning Post* of the 9th, together with extracts from Dr. Reece's pamphlet. The greatest secrecy was observed as to the time when the funeral cortège left the undertakers' in Rathbone Place. The grave was taken in the name of Goddard and the body interred in the common ground at St. John's Wood Cemetery.² A stone was afterwards placed on the grave, the cost being defrayed by a collection made by the Rev. T. P. Foley.³ A tablet was also erected by friends in 1828, twenty-six yards distant from the grave.⁴

The curiosity and ridicule of the public were greatly excited by the circumstances attending the last illness and death of Joanna, and a number of pamphlets were written on the subject, purporting to give a history of her life. The *Edinburgh Review* remarks: "We think it right to state our strong suspicions that several falsehoods are related in the common histories of her life, and even that some writings have been published falsely in her name, with the view of exposing both herself and her followers to the hatred, as well as the ridicule, of the public."⁵

The most popular of these histories was Fairburn's *Life of Joanna Southcott*, of which there were eleven editions. A full description is furnished therein of the Crib,⁶ now in the Peel Park Museum, Salford. The cost of the Crib and its superb fittings is said to have been upwards of £200; it was made by Mr. Seddons, of Aldersgate Street. Several of the other presents intended for Shiloh are also described. Johnson Grant, in his *History of the English Church*,⁷ gives particulars of the Crib from information supplied by Mr. Seddons, whom he interviewed on the subject. He also mentions the silver cup and salver. The Crib or Cot is said to have been made at the order of Mr. Hows, a butcher of 10 Pollard's Lane, Bethnal Green, and the cost defrayed by subscription.⁸ In a letter to the

¹ Newspaper cuttings, B.M.

² *Gentleman's Magazine*, Vol. 84, p. 678.

³ Copy letter, Bradley to Bishop.

⁴ This tablet is still in the churchyard, attached to the railings.

⁵ *February*, 1815, Vol. 24, p. 470.

⁶ pp. 15, 16.

⁷ Vol. 2, p. 456.

⁸ *Memoirs of Religious Impostors*, p. 113.

Sunday Monitor, 15 September, 1814, there was a full description of a Bible, printed in imperial quarto, bound in red morocco, and elaborately decorated.¹ The majority of the presents were returned to the donors in accordance with the wish of Joanna.²

Not only were popular accounts of Joanna's life placed before the public, but some of the better-class periodicals³ furnished their readers with more or less correct information on the subject. The medical views as to her pregnancy and death were also represented in the respective pamphlets of Dr. Reece⁴ and Dr. Mathias.⁵ The former written in defence of his professional reputation, and the latter strongly prejudiced against his patient. The character and work of Joanna have suffered severely for close upon a century for the want of an able and impartial historian. The information furnished by encyclopædias, the usual source of reference not only for the public, but the greater part of the Press, has been fragmentary and unauthentic. As a work of reference, however, the *Dictionary of National Biography*⁶ is a notable exception and one within easy reach of most people. The account there given appears unbiassed and fairly accurate, but it does not seem to have influenced the public mind as it deserves; the reason is, perhaps, that it is not sensational.

"It is by no means true," says the *Edinburgh Review*, "as sometimes represented, that the sect has been confined to the lowest and most ignorant persons. Hitherto, however, it has not been very numerous, which may be accounted for, not from the absurdity of its tenets, but from the combination of two other circumstances. In the first place, the Joannites were never persecuted. They were completely neglected by the Government and little preached against by the clergy. . . . In the second place, the sect has never produced any preacher with the indefatigable activity and overpowering eloquence of Whitfield or Wesley, but if such a preacher should soon arise, it is not impossible that it might still revive and flourish more than ever."⁷

The mission of Joanna Southcott did not receive its death-blow at her decease as many have conjectured.

¹ *Memoirs of Religious Impostors*, p. 115.

² 65. 40.

³ *Edinburgh Review*, *Gentleman's Magazine*, *Philanthropic Gazette*, etc. etc.

⁴ *Correct Statement*.

⁵ *Case of Joanna Southcott*.

⁶ 1909 edition.

⁷ *Edinburgh Review*, Vol. 24, p. 470.

The leaderless condition of the community, however, seems to have induced a few of her adherents to claim divine authority in order to reorganize the scattered forces. Among them was one Samuel Sibley,¹ a watchman of No. 3 Gooch Yard, Upper White Cross Street. He said he had been commanded to proclaim the advent of Shiloh. Accompanied by his wife, Catherine, and a number of his disciples, he marched through Temple Bar on a January morning in 1817, sounded a trumpet and declared the advent of the Messiah. Whilst his wife cried aloud, "Wo! Wo! to the inhabitants of the earth because of the coming of Shiloh!" They had reached Budge Row, Cannon Street, when the mob became rather ill-disposed towards them, and the police had some difficulty in protecting them. Sibley and his wife were brought before the magistrates at the Guildhall and charged with disturbing the peace, but were dismissed upon promising to make no further demonstration. He wrote *A Copy of the Articles of Faith*, etc., 1819. A reprint was issued about 1843 under the title of *The Inditement of Satan*. Another such person was John Ward, who published several pamphlets;² he considered himself to be the earthly representative of the Man-Child, expected by the Southcottian Church, or the "Shadow of Shiloh." As recently as twenty years ago, one who styled himself "Elijah" distributed leaflets in Hyde Park setting forth the pretensions of John Ward. About ten years after Joanna's death Miss Jane Townley asserted her claim to divine favour. She wrote her *Communications and Directions* in 1824. Mrs. Underwood appears to have admitted the pretensions of her friend with some hesitation. They both died in 1825.³

There seems to have been more reason and certainly greater success in the efforts made by George Turner, of Leeds, to re-establish the Church. A large number of the believers joined with him. He had the advantage of Joanna's acknowledgment that some of his writings were communications from the Spirit of God. He wrote about eighteen pamphlets⁴ and had, just before his death in 1821,

¹ Kirby's *Wonderful Museum*; Wroe's *Communications*, Vol. 1, p. 114; *Philanthropic Gazette*, 1817, pp. 350-1; Newspaper cutting, *Sheffield Mercury*, G.

² *Vision of Judgment*, 1829; *The Living Oracle*, 1830; *Complete Refutation*, 1830; *Letters, etc., of Jesus Christ*, 1831; *The Judgment Seat*, 1831, etc. etc. ³ Wroe's *Communications*, Vol. 1, p. 114.

⁴ *Communications from the Spirit of God*; *Book of Wonders*, etc.

a very large following. Among the original Southcottian members two parties eventually arose, one represented by William Jowett and the other by Messrs. Hagger, Parker, Pye, Malby, and Spencer. Much of the correspondence which passed was printed in the form of leaflets, between the years 1840 and 1850. The cause of the division seems to have been, as to whether a spiritual child was born in 1814, or whether Joanna will at some future date return, complete the sixty-fifth year of her age, and bear the promised Shiloh.

To return to the Church left by George Turner. One Wednesday night in September, 1820, John Wroe, who was born at the village of Bowling, near Bradford, in 1782, at one time a woolstapler, entered the meeting-place of the friends at Bradford and joined the Church. Turner died in the following year, and in September, 1822, after some opposition on the part of the other members, John Wroe was accepted as the successor of Turner. His *Life and Journal*, which provides this information, is contained in the first volume of his *Divine Communications*.¹ The great feature of his teaching was the introduction of part of the ceremonial law. He proclaimed in common with Joanna² that the law and gospel should be observed, and by this means the redemption of the body³ would be brought about. The Church under his administration flourished and grew rich. There were many bodies of the friends, Christian Israelites they were termed, in England, America, and Australia. At their head-quarters, Ashton-under-Lyne, they were known as "Joannas." Their practice of wearing a particular form of dress and being unshaven, at a time when beards were not worn, has been erroneously attributed to Joanna's Church. The engraved portraits of Sharp, Tozer,⁴ Wright, Bryan, and Halhed,⁵ members of the Church, are evidence that the statement is incorrect. John Wroe died in 1863, leaving the affairs of the Church in the hands of four trustees. Very little was done in the way of evangelization after his death. In 1875 a soldier joined the Society at Chatham, whose name was said to be James White;⁶ there is, however,

¹ pp. 1-38. ² 20. 45, 46. *Laws of God*, J. Wroe; *P. W.*, Vol. 1, p. 19.

³ 33. 561, 562. *P. W.*, Vol. 1, p. 21.

⁴ *Memoirs of the Life of J. S.*

⁵ *The World's Doom*. Halhed.

⁶ *The Jezreelites*, Phipps, p. 6.

no more reason for supposing his name was White than Jezreel, the name he afterwards assumed ; his parentage is unknown, and no reliable information exists as to his history. He obtained possession of John Wroe's works and some of Joanna Southcott's, and with the aid of these he compiled the *Extracts from the Flying Roll*. He served with his regiment in India for three years, and upon his return founded the New and Latter House of Israel at Chatham. A few members of the Christian Israelite Society accepted him as the Sixth Messenger in the Visitation, but the trustees would not admit his claim. The *Extracts* began to be published in 1879, and the three Sermons were completed in 1881. A number of members soon collected at Chatham, and by the aid of their subscriptions a tract of land was purchased on Chatham Hill, the plans being left by Jezreel for the large building erected there after his death in 1885. The Church suffered loss of members at his decease, when control was assumed by his widow. During the three years which followed the foundation of the building was laid, the brickwork, which was of enormous thickness and cemented, was raised, and the iron girders for the huge central Hall placed in position. Accommodation was provided in the lower portion of the building for printing works and a temporary meeting-room, but the building itself was not roofed and remained in an unfinished state. An attempt was made in recent years to pull it down, but without success. Mrs. Jezreel, who borrowed large sums of money from certain members in order to carry on the building operations, had little faculty for administration, was badly advised, and at her death in 1888 left the Church in financial chaos. A division then took place among the members, particulars of which it is not within the scope of this work to relate, and the main portion of the Church with the four officers, who had been appointed by Jezreel, established their head-quarters in London. They immediately instituted parties of canvassers, who visited nearly every town and village in the kingdom, selling the *Extracts*. The financial condition of the Church improved, and the members were repaid the debts incurred by the late Mrs. Jezreel. Few canvassers are at present at work in this country, but in Canada, Australia, and the United States of America the literature of the Church is rapidly spreading.

There have been many instances of assumption of

divine authority by members who have left the Church and have drawn others after them. One has of late years established himself at Chatham; another, at Benton Harbour, Michigan, has a large following, and a third had many adherents in the south of London, now dispersed.

All the people referred to as members of the various Churches mentioned in this paper may be truly said to be believers in Joanna Southcott; the number would be difficult to estimate, but sufficient has been said to show that the faith is by no means extinct.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF JOANNA SOUTHCOTT.

BY CHARLES LANE.

Communicated by R. PEARSE CHOPE, B.A.

(Read at Exeter, 25th July, 1912.)

ABBREVIATIONS.

B.M.=British Museum Library.¹

Bod.=Bodleian Library.

C.=Chicago Public Library.

E.=University College Museum and Public Library, Exeter.

G.=Guildhall Library, London.

H.=Public Library, Halifax.

J.R.=The John Rylands Library, Manchester.¹

L.=Central Free Public Library, Leeds.

M.=Free Public Library, Manchester.

P.=Free Public Library, Plymouth.²

S.=Peel Park Museum, Salford.

Pte.=Private Collection.³

The Books are numbered for reference in accordance with Pullen's *Index*.

Books 1-6.—*The Strange Effects of Faith with Remarkable Prophecies (made in 1792, etc.) of Things which are to come. Also, some account of my Life.* Exeter. Published in six parts. Parts 1 to 5, 1801; Part 6, 1802.

The 1st edition of Part 1 was printed by T. Brice, the remaining parts by G. Floyd.⁴ They were sold for 9d. each, with the exception of Part 2, which was 6d. to subscribers and 8d. to non-subscribers. Subsequent editions

¹ B.M. and J.R. Libraries both possess a complete set of Southcott works, sixty-five in number, with many duplicates, various editions, and several copies with MSS. notes.

² There is also a collection of Southcott works at the Plymouth Institution.

³ There are many complete sets in private collections. Copies of Books 1 to 7, and 57 to 65, are more numerous than the others. There is a larger number of pamphlets written in favour of Southcott in these collections than in the Public Libraries.

⁴ 63. 10.

were printed in London, as under. The price of each part varied from 9d. to 1s. 3d.

	Parts 1	2	3	4	5	6
2nd edition	No date ¹	1806	No date	1806	1807	1807
3rd edition	1810	1807	1812	1812	1808	1808
4th edition	1816	1814	1814	1814	1813	1813

(A reprint of Part 1 was issued by Alice Seymour, Plymouth, in 1911, price 1s.)

The pagination is continuous throughout the parts. pp. 288. B.M., C. (Parts 5 and 6), E., J.R., P. (Part 1).

Pages 1 to 20 record some details of Joanna's life, commencing with the year 1792, together with copies of letters to various ministers of religion. The printer, it is explained in a foot-note (p. 21), refused to print certain words contained in the manuscript, and dotted lines show the omission. Some of the old believers appear to have been made acquainted with the original words, and inserted them in their books. In the instance referred to, the printer objected to insert the words "the heads of the nation, not the king, but those around him, are bringing the judgments of God on our land." In the second part, commencing page 49, may be seen Joanna's reason for writing in verse. Several dreams are related, and her doctrine of "full redemption of man" is alluded to (p. 62). There is a paraphrase of the Athanasian Creed (page 88), and a reply to a suggestion made that her writings were the work of a minister (p. 93). Part 3 is doctrinal, with dreams and explanations. In Part 4 there is a prediction that the Romish powers will be shaken at "the end" (p. 180). And in answer to those who said she wrote for money, she replies, "I now stand £100 worse than I should had I never took pen in hand." Part 5 contains some part of her history: an account of her mother's death; her first situation; her journey to Exeter, resulting in her second situation, in which she remained five years (p. 208); and concludes with a warning to England, "lest they disagree and lay violent hands upon one another." In Part 6 there is an allusion to the imprisonment of her friend Richard Brothers (p. 246). There are twenty-eight pages

¹ This edition of Part 1 has a foot-note on the last page: "The first edition was printed with many errors which remain in this because the book was not to be altered." Page 2, which was blank in the 1st edition, has now a Communication printed on it.

in verse with reference to the promise made to the woman in the beginning, followed by a prediction as to Christ coming "in the woman's form"; and the book ends with a letter "sent in the year 1799 to a very dignified clergyman."

Book 7.—*A Continuation of Prophecies by Joanna Southcott, from the year 1792 to the present time.* 1st edition, Exeter,¹ 1802, price 9d. 2nd edition, London, 1807, price 1s. 3rd edition, London, 1813, price 1s., pp. 56. No title page. B.M., E., J.R., M., P.

Contains copies of letters from Basil Bruce, with remarks by Joanna. Bruce's death is announced on page 31. Joanna compares him to the "man-child caught up to God and to His throne" (p. 32). The "Thoughts" of the seven men who came to Exeter to examine her writings commence on page 38; they are their opinions on the sixth book. The "Eighth Thought" (pp. 45-9) is quoted *in extenso* by Southey.²

Book 8.—*The Strange Effects of Faith; being a Continuation of Joanna Southcott's Prophecies of Things which are to come.* Printed by E. Spragg, of Covent Garden, 1802. Price 9d. No title page.³

The 2nd edition bears the title, *The Second Part of the Continuation of Joanna Southcott's Prophecies of Things which are to come.* W. Marchant. London, 1813. Price 1s. pp. 57-108. The pagination is continued from Book 7. B.M., J.R., E., C.

This book was prepared for the press by Rev. T. P. Foley, from the words Joanna read to him from her own manuscripts (25. 54).

On page 57 Joanna tells us the Bible must be read backwards. Many quotations from Genesis, Revelation, and the Song of Solomon are made. Parts of letters sent to two of the clergy in 1801 are inserted in pages 79-84, in both of which reference is made to the war in heaven, and "plague, pestilence, or some other diseases" are predicted. The sealing is first mentioned here (p. 83).

¹ This was the last book printed at Exeter (G. Floyd).

² *Letters from England*, 1807 (Letter LXX).

³ There are no title pages to the books unless otherwise stated.

She describes how she was brought to her prophecies (p. 85). A copy of an anonymous letter, from a believer in Richard Brothers, in which it is said the prophecies of Brothers came true, but those of Joanna have not, followed by a lengthy reply (p. 93, etc.).

Book 9.—*Divine and Spiritual Letters of Prophecies, sent to Reverend Divines, etc., etc.* The title appears on the last page. Page 1 is headed *Letters, etc.* Printed by E. Spragg, Covent Garden. No price is stated, and there is no date, but Foley is said to have copied for publication some of the letters of which the book consists in 1801.¹ pp. 48. Commonly known as the *First Book of Letters*, and referred to as such in Joanna's other works. B.M., J.R., M.

Book 10.—*Divine and Spiritual Letters of Prophecies, sent to Reverend Divines, etc., etc.* The title being the same as Book 9, with which the pagination is continuous. pp. 49–96. Printed by E. Spragg, Covent Garden. No date. Price 9d. Commonly known as the *Second Book of Letters*. B.M., J.R., M.

Both Foley and Sharp asserted that they copied for publication some of the original letters² in 1802.

A continuation of this publication, under the same title and called "*Third Book*," appears to have been printed after the death of Joanna. No mention is made of it in Pullen's *Index*, 1815. It contains similar letters, pp. 97–112 (unfinished). No printer's name and no date.

These books of letters are very scarce even among private collectors, and only three of the large public libraries possess copies, as far as can be ascertained. They consist mainly of correspondence which passed between Joanna and her friends during the years 1801–2. She speaks of the approaching death of her father (p. 17), who said he hoped she would inherit the lands in Hertfordshire, to which he was heir (p. 21). The death of Basil Bruce, for whom she had great admiration, is related in a foot-note (p. 67), and the death of her father is mentioned in a letter to Foley (p. 68). Joanna's dispute with the Rev. Mr. Pomeroy is referred to, and the advertisement

¹ 25. 54.

² 25. 53–4,

he inserted in the newspaper appears on page 76, followed by a copy of Joanna's letter to him, together with a copy of her letter to the "Gentlemen of the Coffee House," who "plagued" the reverend gentleman because of his association with Joanna. Reference is made to the "man-child," who must come on earth (p. 104).

Book 11.—*A Dispute between the Woman and the Powers of Darkness*. London, 1802. 2nd edition, 1813. pp. 128. Price 2s. 6d. B.M., J.R., M., P.

Prepared for the press by Foley and Sharp, to whom Joanna read from her manuscripts.¹ Lengthy quotations of this book occur in Southey's *Letters*,² and *Memoirs of Religious Impostors*.³

The conditions of the Dispute with Satan are stated on page 2. It lasted for seven days, commencing on August 3, 1802, and took place in her "private lodgings," engaged for the purpose (p. 5). Joanna appears to have written the dialogue as it proceeded. There is a further dispute, commencing 26 August, recorded on pages 67–83. Joanna claims that all her prophecies concerning the wars with France, Spain, and other nations were fulfilled (p. 114). "Every distress on the nation came to pass as I then wrote (1792). Every harvest hath come as I said."

Book 12.—*The Answer of the Lord to the Powers of Darkness*. London, 1802. pp. 128. Price 2s. 6d. 2nd edition, 1813. B.M., Bod., J.R., M., P.

This book was written by Sharp at the dictation of Joanna, who read from her own manuscripts.⁴

Pages 3–55 are mostly in verse, and have reference to the creation of the world and Satanic influence. An account of Joanna's seven days' illness on the termination of the "Dispute" appears on pages 57–61. No copy of this book was allowed to be circulated without an impression of her famous seal, in red wax (p. 123);⁵ this will be found on page 92. The seal consisted of the initials I C with two stars, one on the top of the letters and the

¹ 25. 53–4.

² *Letters from England* (Letter LXX).

³ M. Aiken, 1823, p. 82.

⁴ 25. 53.

⁵ This probably had reference to the 1st edition, as there are many copies of the 2nd edition in existence without the seal.

other underneath, and the die was found, Joanna informs us, when sweeping a shop after a sale.¹ Sixteen of the books were sealed so that the impression appeared upside down.² On page 126 the meaning of the Devonshire words, Stroial, Moule, and Sull are explained. The last two pages of the book contain an address to the public by Sharp.

Book 13.—*A Communication given to Joanna, in Answer to Mr. Brothers' last Book, published the End of this Year* 1802. London, 1802. pp. 22. Price 4½d. 2nd edition, 1815, price 6d. B.M., J.R., P.

Prepared for the press by Foley, "from the words which Joanna read to him from her manuscripts."³ The Book written by Richard Brothers was dated 8 November, 1802, from Fisher madhouse, Islington,⁴ and entitled *A Dissertation on the Fall of Eve*. On page 11 he expressed the opinion that "it was God Himself that ordained the trial of obedience in our first parents." Joanna considered this to be blasphemy, "as he makes God the author of the temptation" (p. 1). She gives her version of the Fall, in verse (pp. 3-5). Speaking of the "woman" mentioned in Revelation xii, Brothers remarked that the application of verse 17 "is only to those resembling in faith that modest, identical woman, and not any wild, impudent, misguided, seditious fanatic." Joanna makes no direct reference to this, but says that "being in prison, the powers of darkness worked hard upon him to load him with pride and envy against her" (p. 11). She compares him with the prophet Jonah, being angry at the non-fulfilment of his prophecy in the manner he expected, and concludes her verse on the subject by saying, "This is the answer of the Lord to prove that the last Book printed in the name of Richard Brothers was written

¹ 18. 20. The seal has been erroneously described as J.S. (see *Devonshire Characters*, p. 392; *Devon Notes and Queries*, II, p. 241, par. 196; and *Gentleman's Magazine*, Vol. 85, p. 601.

² Copy letter, 17 February, 1804.

³ 25. 54.

⁴ Brothers was charged with treason after the publication of his second book, in which he said the King would involve himself and his family in certain misery and death unless the war was discontinued. He was apprehended by warrant on 4 March, 1795. The charge was neither substantiated nor withdrawn, but after a brief examination he was sent, on 4 May, to Islington madhouse, where he was confined as a lunatic until 1806.

under the influence of the Devil" (p. 16). She adds a prediction that "in the end" all oaths will be abolished in conformity with the words of Jesus, "Swear not at all." This was an allusion to the refusal of Brothers to take the oath required by the Government, in order to obtain his half-pay as a retired naval officer.

Book 14.—*Prophecies. A Warning to the Whole World, from the Sealed Prophecies of Joanna Southcott, and other Communications, etc., etc.* Also known as *The First Book of the Sealed Prophecies*.^{1 2} London, 1803. pp. 128. Price 2s. 6d. 2nd edition, 1812. B.M., J.R., G., M.

Prepared by Foley from manuscripts which Joanna read to him,³ at High House, Paddington.

In a short preface (pp. i, ii) it is said that the book contains some parts of the "sealed writings," and there is an announcement that the truth of her writings was proved by the "unanimous decision of twenty-three persons appointed by Divine Command," thirty-five others being present. This has reference to the Second Trial, which is fully described in Book 25. She calls upon the "learned and self-righteous" to show cause for condemning her as an impostor, and states that "nearly twenty pounds⁴ were expended in advertising in the public papers to invite the clergy to come and judge for themselves and their flocks" (pp. 1, 2). Explanations of dreams occupy pages 4–24, in verse. A prayer of Joanna is on page 27, followed by a short communication. Letters to Archdeacon Moore, Chancellor Nutcombe, and Rev. Mr. Tucker commence on page 30. Various dreams and passages of Scripture are explained in verse, until page 54, in which she states that in 1792 she foretold the war, fever in America, rebellion in Ireland, conquest of Italy, and other events. Speaking of the coming of Christ on page 95, she says, "He is already come in the spirit, and will not return until His kingdom is established on earth."

¹ See page 1, sub-title.

² In Pullen's *Index* this book is said to be commonly known as *The First Book of Visions*. This is probably an error, as the description is more appropriate to Book 15.

³ 25. 54.

⁴ See also Foley's Letter (p. 14), Harrison's Letter (p. 25), and *Nocturnal Alarm* (p. 76).

Book 15.—*The Continuation of the Prophecies of Joanna Southcott*. Sub-title, *A Word in Season to A Sinking Kingdom*.¹ London, 1803. pp. 56. Price 10d. 2nd edition, 1807, 1s. 3rd edition, 1810, 1s. B.M., Bod., C., J.R., M., P.

Prepared by Foley at High House, Paddington, from manuscripts which Joanna read to him. Foley spoke of the book as, *The First Book of Visions*.² This work consists mostly of Prescott's³ dreams and visions, with explanation in verse by Joanna. The fall of Medina in 1805 is predicted on page 16.

Book 16.—*The Second Book of Visions*. London, 1803. pp. 72. Price 1s. 3d. 2nd edition, 1813. B.M., C., J.R., M., P.

Prepared by Foley in the same manner as the previous book, being a continuation of Prescott's visions. Joanna reminds us in the words of Joel⁴ that the end will come by visions seen by young men and prophecies given by handmaids (p. 1). She speaks of the union of law and gospel (pp. 18–21), and of the redemption of the body (pp. 57–9). She states that the first ten years of her visitation were passed in dreams (p. 38). On page 63 an answer is given to the false reports concerning the sale of the seals.

Book 17.—*A Word to the Wise or A Call to the Nation, That they may know the days of their Visitation, etc.* Stourbridge (J. Heming).⁵ 1803. pp. 59. Price 10d. 2nd edition, London (Galabin and Marchant),⁶ 1810, 1s. 3rd edition, 1813, 1s. Each 55 pages. B.M., J.R., M., P. Reprint by Alice Seymour. 1909. Price 1s. 6d.

On the first page of the 1st edition are the words, "I now print this little Book to give the Poor, by the bounty of the Rich."⁷

¹ This book is usually known by the sub-title, which is the more prominent in the 3rd edition. ² 25. 54.

³ Prescott was a lad who had visions. He lived with Carpenter at Neckinger House, where meetings were held at this time.

⁴ Joel ii. 28.

⁵ Foley's printer.

⁶ Book 16 was the last one printed by Spragg, of Covent Garden.

⁷ These words are omitted in other editions; 500 copies were distributed gratis (see letter to Ingall, 29 August, 1803, in *Small Still Voice*).

Joanna says in this work her prophecies are explained in a small compass for the sake of the poor, that no excuse may be found, showing from the Fall that the promise made to the woman at first must be accomplished at last, before man's redemption can take place (p. 2). Jew and Gentile, she continues, have erred and strayed from the truth, both having parted law and gospel asunder (p. 9). Reference is made to predictions in her former works (pp. 21-9), but the subject-matter of this book is mainly doctrinal.

Book 18.—*Divine and Spiritual Communications written by Joanna Southcott on the Prayers of the Church of England, etc., etc.* Printed by Rousseau, Wood Street, Spa Fields, London, 1803. pp. 44. Price 8d. Reprint of 1st edition, 1809, price 10d. 2nd edition, 1823, 1s. B.M., G., J.R., M., P. This book has a title page.

There is an introduction of ten pages written by William Sharp, in which he states that the communication on the Church Prayers, which occupies pages 1-27, was written at the house of Rev. T. P. Foley, Old Swinford. Many passages are quoted from the Book of Common Prayer, with remarks by Joanna. In a foot-note on page 20 she describes the manner in which she found her seal, of which there is a representation. The book also contains several copies of letters addressed to the clergy.

Book 19.—*Sound an Alarm in My Holy Mountain.* Printed by E. Baines, Leeds, 1804. pp. 76. Price 1s. 2nd edition, 1805 (?). 3rd edition, 1806. 4th edition, 1808, pp. 72, price 1s. 3d. 6th edition, 1811-12. 7th edition, 1813. 8th edition, 1813. 9th edition, 1816. B.M., C., J.R., G., M., P.

Reprint by Alice Seymour, 1909. Price 1s. 6d.

Prepared for the press by Foley, from manuscripts which Joanna read to him.¹

A short summary of the contents of this book is printed immediately under the title, showing that reference is made to the meaning of the sealing, the principal events of the nations, and the establishment of Christ's kingdom on earth. Joanna states (p. 1), "I was ordered

¹ 25. 54.

by the Spirit to seal up the lists at the end of the year (1803), old style.”¹ (p. 13), “I should rejoice at the summons of death to stop my hand and leave this world, if I am deceived and deceiving mankind.” (p. 26), “Now there are 8144 (sealed) . . . besides those who are blotted out, and some lists are not gathered in.” (p. 52), “But now let no man sign his name till he hath read this book and judged for himself . . . the sealing will not stop till the number be up . . . it will be more fatal for them who break their seals² than it was for Adam to eat of the forbidden fruit.” (p. 53), “Therefore I have ordered the thing to go out gratis, ‘without money and without price.’” The origin of evil is the subject of pages 58–70.

Book 20.—*A Warning to the World. Joanna Southcott's Prophecies.* Printed by Rousseau, London, 1804. pp. 100. Price 1s. 6d. 2nd edition, 1812. B.M., G., J.R., M., P. Reprint by Alice Seymour, 1909. Price 1s. 9d.

This book appears to have been prepared for the press by Sharp, who stated that he wrote part of it from manuscripts which Joanna read to him.³ It consists principally of judgments on this and other nations, and signs, it is said, will be shown in the weather. This land, says Joanna, has three things to fear, viz., “The Sword, the Plague—or some fatal disease like the plague to carry them off—and the Famine” (p. 5). She refers to redemption from the Fall, which is to take place at the fullness of the Gentiles (p. 44), and maintains that law and gospel must both be observed, as one will not do without the other (p. 45). There is a communication on Marriage, of which eight pages are written in verse (pp. 74–85).

Book 21.—*On the Prayers for the Fast Day, May, 1804.*⁴ London, 1804. pp. 48. Price 9d. B.M., J.R., M.

The title and pages 1 to 8 of the first thousand copies of this book were printed by a mistake, apparently due to

¹ Also pp. 18 and 21.

² The seals given to those who signed their names for the destruction of Satan's kingdom are described on page 50, Book 38. The words recorded there were written on a small sheet of paper, which was folded and sealed at the back with Joanna's seal impressed in wax.

³ 25. 53.

⁴ Printed by Rousseau. Any change will be indicated.

a misunderstanding on the part of Sharp,¹ who arranged the matter for the press. There is no continuity between pages 2 and 3 or 8 and 9. In the remaining five thousand the title was altered, and eight pages of other matter substituted. The corrected title is, *Letters on Various Subjects from Mrs. Joanna Southcott to Miss Townley*. The book, however, is usually known by the former title.

The first letter in the corrected edition is from Miss Townley, and addressed to the Bishop of London. She encloses a communication from Joanna, which is a warning to the nation, reference being made to the Prayers for the Fast Day.² There are extracts from the prayers on pp. 25, 26. The book consists of copies of letters, as the title indicates.

Book 22.—*Copies and Parts of Copies of Letters and Communications, written from Joanna Southcott, and transmitted by Miss Townley to Mr. W. Sharp, in London*. London, 1804. pp. 92. Price 1s. 6d. B.M., G., J.R., M., P.

This book is usually known by its sub-title, *The Parable of the Little Flock of Sheep*.

Joanna uses a "Fable" to exemplify the methods of Satan in regard to believers (pp. 1-9). The following twelve pages contain part of her history; she refers to her father's circumstances and disposition, her mother's death, her lovers, and her experience with the Wills family, in whose service she spent five years. On pages 24, 25 she relates her father's death, avows that she had nothing to reproach herself with concerning him, for she assisted him to the utmost, and supported him to her last penny. A copy of Sharp's letter to the Bishop of London, enclosing "prints of our Saviour and the Virgin Mary,"³ is given on page 29, followed by the Bishop's reply. He returns the engravings, and wishes Mr. Sharp showed as much judgment in his religious opinions as skill in his profession. There are several copies of letters from Joanna to Townley, and the remainder of the book contains parables applied to spiritual matters.

¹ For explanation see Book 24, pp. 11-14.

² A Form of Prayer used on 25 May, 1804, the day appointed by proclamation for a General Fast, etc. (see Special Liturgies, Church of England, British Museum Library).

³ 21. 33.

- Book 23.—*Mr. Joseph Southcott, the Brother of Joanna Southcott, will now come forward as Dinah's Brethren did, etc., etc.* London, 1804. pp. 112. Price 2s. B.M., J.R., M.

This book, which has a title page, is usually known as *Joseph Southcott's Vindication of his Sister's Character*.¹ It appears to have been compiled by Miss Townley when she and Joanna were on a visit to her brother at Bristol; the manuscript was forwarded to Sharp, who arranged it for the press.² A detailed account of Pomeroy's conduct is shown in pages 1–17, followed by a letter from Joseph, in defence of his sister. Frequent reference is made to Pomeroy until page 69, when Joanna's history is continued, relating her troubles whilst in the service of Wills. This is practically her theme to within seven pages of the end of the book, where the explanation of a vision is given in verse.

- Book 24. *Letters and Communications of Joanna Southcott, the Prophetess of Exeter, lately written to Jane Townley.* Printed by J. Heming, Stourbridge, 1804. pp. 128. Price 2s. 3d. B.M., J.R., M., P.

This pamphlet has a title page, on which there is a quotation from Luke xxiv. 17, "What manner of communications are these?" forming a sub-title by which the book is commonly known.³ The contents were partly copied from Joanna's manuscripts by Jane Townley, who wrote the remainder from her dictation.⁴ The whole was then transmitted to Foley for publication (p. 11). Joanna's history is continued, and will be found interspersed with copies of letters (pp. 26–8, 32–5, 63–6). Her dream that she was married by proxy is related on page 73. This is thought to have reference to her private marriage with Mr. Smith on 12 November, 1814.⁵ The story of Lord Burnet occurs on pages 89–92.

- Book 25.—*The Trial of Joanna Southcott, during seven Days, which commenced on the fifth, and ended on the eleventh of December, 1804, at the Neckinger House, Bermondsey, near London.* London, 1804. pp. 152. Price 3s. B.M., E., J.R., M., P.

¹ Pullen's *Index*.

² 25. 53; 55. 77.

³ Pullen's *Index*.

⁴ 25. 77.

⁵ Copy letter, Mrs. Underwood to Rev. T. P. Foley, 14 November, 1814.

This book has a title page, and is important as showing the opinions of the friends of Joanna with regard to her character and prophecies.

There is an introduction of forty pages, without signature, calling attention to the fact that the Bishops and clergy were invited to the Trial, and that Joanna promised to give up her prophecies if twenty-four of them would prove her calling to proceed from the devil. Directions as to the conduct of the Trial, which took place on the "last seven days of November, old style," are given. Witnesses came from Exeter, and an attorney was appointed to record the evidence. The friends visited many of the clergy, but met with much opposition, some of them were very angry and rude. One said he had "no opinion of a Holy Ghost that could not write grammar" (p. xxix). Joanna's remarks on this are on the following page. The examination of witnesses occupies thirty-six pages, which throw light on Joanna's early history. A Resolution was carried censuring the conduct of the Clergy (p. 79). The sealed bundles of writings were cut open, and Joanna selected such as were to be sealed up till after her death (p. 92).

A comprehensive view of her mission is given on page 96. By the spirit of prophecy, she says, "Thousands will become thy friends when thy life is gone, for know I told thee in 93 thy death would convince more than thy life" (p. 112). On the last day of the Trial the assembly adjourned to a field close by, the crowd showed some opposition, but did no damage (pp. 119-21). The names of the judges, jurymen, and elders are recorded on pages 126-8. Joanna's remarks on her Trial occupy thirteen pages at the conclusion of the book.

Book 26.—*Joanna Southcott's Answer to Garrett's Book, entitled, "Demonocracy Detected," etc., etc.* Printed by Seale, London, 1805. pp. 22. Price 6d. B.M., J.R., M., P.

The title page supplies the information that the Rev. Jeremiah Learnoult Garrett was also the author of *Rays of Everlasting Light*, and that he published an engraved print "of his own head with marvellous and wonderful accompaniments." In some copies the engraving is

shown on the back of the title page.¹ Among the "accompaniments" is "a Beast with twelve heads, on which is seated a woman and the devil behind her," Underneath are the words, "Wonder of Neckinger," an allusion to Neckinger House, at which the Trial took place. Garrett referred to the Lamb's wife, and Joanna deals with the subject on page 7. She says, "I never should have believed it alluded to any woman in the least as a shadow, had it not been so clearly explained it was but a shadow, and no more than a name that was given to one to claim the promise made in the Fall. . . . So the shadow to one is the substance to all." On page 20 there is a copy of a letter from Joanna to the printer of the *Bolus*, a pamphlet signed J.T., in which charges are brought against Carpenter, who replied in *Modern Realities*. Joanna describes the *Bolus* as "the most shocking blasphemy that was ever read."

Book 27.—*Joanna Southcott's Answer to the Five Charges in the Leeds Mercury, etc., etc.*² London, 1805. pp. 24. Price 6d. B.M., J.R., M., P.

The five charges are printed at the back of the title page. They are briefly: (1) Joanna declared the sealing would cease in 1803; (2) that England would be invaded in March, 1804; (3) that the harvest of 1804 would be a failure; (4) that the unbelieving clergy would be compelled to be present at her trial; (5) that she would not live to see the end of the year 1804. These charges cannot be substantiated by her printed works, and Joanna replies to them in their order on pages 3, 6, 10, 15 and 16 respectively.

Books 28–33 and 53 (inclusive).—*The True Explanation of the Bible, revealed by Divine Communications to Joanna Southcott, etc.* London (Rousseau), 1804. Parts 1–7. pp. 624. B.M., E. (parts 2, 3, 4, and 7), J.R., P.

There is a title page with Part 1 only, stating that, "Letters to and from the Rev. Mr. Pomeroy" are added. This part consists of 96 pages, price 1s. 6d. A reprint was

¹ British Museum copy.

² This book also was printed by A. Seale, of Tottenham Court Road. Only three of Joanna's works came through his hands, Nos. 26, 27, and 35.

issued by Elizabeth Fairlight Vaughan, London, 1849, and another by Alice Seymour, Plymouth, 1912.

Part 2 includes page 192, published 1804

„ 3 „ 288 „ 1804

„ 4 „ 384 „ 1805

and bears a sub-title, *Disputes and Controversies with Mankind*.

Part 5 includes page 480, published 1805

„ 6 „ 576 „ 1805

„ 7 „ 624 „ 1810

and is “Also an Answer to Hann’s false Assertions in his Handbills and Advertisements,” etc. Each part is priced 1s. 6d., excepting Part 7, which is 1s.

The greater part of the contents of this work appears to have been dictated to Townley by Joanna, and the remainder to Underwood. The manuscript was forwarded to Sharp for publication. Pages 1–376 were written at Bristol, from whence she returned to London on 22 November, 1804.

This book consists of communications given to Joanna respecting various parts of the Bible, occurring in no particular order. It is important as showing the scriptural teaching of Joanna, being doctrinal almost throughout. Speaking of her handwriting, in reply to *Plain Remarks* by B. H., she says, “Though my handwriting no man can read before me, yet when I show them my letters and read the words to them, every man can then read them after me,” so that it was impossible for her to deceive anyone with regard to her writing (p. 291). An account of Ann Moore¹ of Tutbury, who pretended to have lived without solid food for over two years (p. 608), appears to have been sent to Joanna by Foley. Without questioning the evidence, Joanna used the story to illustrate her prophecies. This has been brought against her as though she vouched for the correctness of the false assertions of Ann Moore. The eleven concluding pages are occupied with Hann’s charges. This man was at one time a believer; he published handbills which had the appearance of being advertisements of Joanna’s books, announcing dreadful judgments on England in 1810, and the Millennium in 1811.² These statements were also shown to be false by

¹ See Kirby’s *Wonderful Museum*, Vol. IV, p. 330.

² See Five Charges in *Leeds Mercury*, Book 27.

letters from John Crossley¹ and George Turner,² published in the form of handbills.

Book 34.—*An Explanation of the Parables published in 1804 by Joanna Southcott; also an Answer to a Book by L. Mayer, etc.* London, 1806. pp. 64. Price 1s. 2nd edition, 1811. 3rd edition, 1823, 1s. 6d. B.M., C., J.R., P.

This book,³ which bears the date 23 July, 1806, is listed out of datal order in Pullen's *Index*. On page 55 there is a reference to Book 46, which also contained an answer to Mayer. The title page is missing in a large number of copies, part of the title being printed on page 1.

The parables to which the title has reference appear to be those related in Books 22 and 24. Speaking of her history, Joanna says, it is "placed here and there, but not in a regular manner to go on together"; she compares it to the prophecies of Scripture, which must be brought together to be fully understood (p. 20). The answer to Mayer's book, *The Woman in the Wilderness, or the Wonderful Woman, etc., etc.*, commences on page 51. Mayer's work was published after Joanna's 46th Book.

Book 35.—*The Kingdom of Christ is at Hand.* London, 1805. pp. 62. Price 1s. B.M., J.R., M., P.

The title page states that the book is in answer to one printed at Halifax, signed, A Lover of the Truth of God; also an examination of Baptism and the use of Church Ordinances, and of the Sealing of the People. The contents are stated on pages 3 and 4; the sealing is defended on pp. 16, 17, and 47.

Book 36.—*The Second Book of the Sealed Prophecies.* London, 1805. pp. 136. Price 2s. 6d. 2nd edition, 1812. B.M., C., J.R., M., P.

The book commences with an address to the public written in 1796, taken from the sealed writings.

These lines, says Joanna, "are spoken to me by an invisible spirit, that told me in 1792 what was coming

¹ *The Old Religion*, 4 August, 1810.

² *The Cheat Detected*, 17 July, 1810.

³ This and the remaining books were dictated by Joanna to either Underwood or Townley.

on this nation and all others, and to seal it up ; and these seals have not been broken since . . . every year I have been told what would happen " (p. 2). The fulfilment of many of her predictions is shown on pages 4-7. The book consists mostly of dreams and explanations in verse.

Book 37.—*The Answer of the Rev. Thomas P. Foley to the World, who hath blamed his Faith, etc.* Printed by J. Heming, Stourbridge, 1805. pp. 96. Price 1s. 6d. 2nd edition, London, 1824. pp. 100. B.M., Bod., J.R., P.

The title page explains that Foley had been blamed for believing it was a command of the Lord to put in print such parables as he printed in 1804, at Stourbridge, under the title of *What Manner of Communications are these?* (Book 24).

In an address to the public, consisting of sixteen pages, Foley recounts his experience in the work of Joanna since 1801, testifies his belief in her mission, and inserts a communication given to her. He assures his readers that after four years of mature and faithful investigation, he finds in Joanna's writings the pure blaze of truth. This is followed by communications which, he tells us, were given by the Spirit to Joanna Southcott, taken from her mouth, and copied off by Miss Townley and Mrs. Underwood. These communications, mostly in explanation of the parables contained in Book 24, continue to the end.

Books 38-42.—*The Controversy between Joanna Southcott and Elias Carpenter, one of her Judges, made public.* London, 1805. pp. 240. In five parts, 9d. each. B.M., G., J.R., M., P.

Elias Carpenter owned paper mills in Bermondsey ; he became acquainted with Joanna in 1803, and held religious services in connection with her mission at his place of abode, Neckinger House, where the Third Trial took place. He appears to have been a man of "warm and rash temper," and frequently wrote malicious letters to Joanna, decrying his fellow-workers in the cause. He wrote three pamphlets,¹ and in all of them spoke favourably of Joanna. Very zealous in the work, his house was always open to interested friends, whom

¹ *Nocturnal Alarm, Modern Realities, and Who are the Deluded?*

he appears to have entertained with more liberality than discretion (p. 159). He made no money collection at his services, as was the custom of other preachers (p. 17), but was of the opinion that his finances should be strengthened by the contributions of some of the friends who had ample means (p. 16). He provided a home for Prescott and Dowland, two youths who had visions, which were usually submitted to Joanna for interpretation. And this seems to have been a source of trouble. Carpenter received the visions as direct communications from the Spirit, and placed his own meaning upon them. Joanna insisted on her authority as the sole medium for divine guidance. Carpenter became obstinate, and rather abusive. Joanna suggested a meeting under certain conditions for the purpose of trying the case in dispute, but her judge declined to submit to the conditions, acting upon the communication received by Prescott in a vision. His friends, among whom was Tozer, were at length summoned to attend a conclave arranged on their behalf. Tozer was the only one to obey (p. 55). This is the first time her afterwards well-known preacher is mentioned in Joanna's works. Several letters passed between the disputants, and are printed in this book. Carpenter pleaded his own merits and zeal, but evidently desired independent action. He turned against Tozer, his aforetime friend, blaming him for the breach (p. 76). Carpenter was not permitted to seal any more people on behalf of Joanna, but continued the practice on his own account. Dr. Reece stated that he sold his seals,¹ but apologized,² upon Carpenter threatening him with legal proceedings.³ Carpenter's conduct is said to have been foretold by Joanna (p. 162). A quotation from a pamphlet, entitled *Signs and Duties on the Times*, by Rev. Thomas Scott, occurs on page 225, relative to the events of the previous ten years. Joanna claims to have foretold all of them, and refers her readers to Book 20, pages 29, 30.

Book 43.—*An Answer to the World for putting in print a book in 1804 called Copies and Parts of Copies, etc.* By William Sharp, London, 1806. pp. 96. Price 1s. 6d. B.M., G., J.R.

¹ *Correct Statement.*

² *Sunday Monitor*, 22/1/15.

³ *Extraordinary Case of a Piccadilly Patient.*

Sharp wrote about fifty-six pages of this book, which was written, as the title page informs us, in answer to the mockery and ridicule of men for printing Book 22. He relates his experiences in the cause, "from my first reading the publications" in 1801. He points out that it was the duty of the clergy, according to the laws of the Church of England, "to give those who applied to them such ghostly counsel and advice, to the quieting his or her conscience and avoiding of all scruple and doubtfulness," and that Joanna's appeal to the clergy had been unsuccessful in this particular (p. 4). He tells us that the early writings of Joanna were entrusted to his care, that he had a large case made to enclose the box of sealed manuscripts (p. 6). He then proceeds to explain Joanna's mission, and replies to an objection raised as to her illiteracy. He discourses on the origin of evil (p. 19). Then follows a lengthy communication taken from the mouth of Joanna by Ann Underwood (pp. 56-89). There is a further communication, in which reference is made to the *Expresses* (p. 92).¹

Book 44.—*The Full Assurance that the Kingdom of Christ is at hand from the Signs of the Times*. Rousseau, London, 1806: pp. 64. Price 1s. Another edition, without date, printed by Galabin and Marchant. Price 1s. 3d. Copies of this book are scarce.

Joanna describes the manner of her visitation in 1792, when she heard the voice of her mother, who died some years before that date, and gives some particulars concerning her old friends, the Minifies, who were tradespeople in Exeter (pp. 1-14). She refers to her predictions concerning the weather (pp. 20-39), and various communications given prior to the publication of her books occupy the remaining pages.

Book 45.—*A few Remarks and Inquiries on a Sermon preached by the Rev. Joseph Cockin, Independent Minister at Halifax, being the Contents of a Letter, etc.* Printed by Baines, Leeds, 1806. pp. 20. Price 6d. B.M., J.R.

The 1st edition is very scarce. The 2nd edition has a different title page, and is entitled *Letters and Observations*

¹ *Express*, Vol. 2, p. 50.

to Ministers, by John Crossley. *First, a Letter to the Rev. Mr. Cockin, etc., also one received from Joanna Southcott . . . to which is added a Letter to the Rev. Mr. Pollard, etc., etc.* Bradford (1814?). pp. 48. Price 1s. There is a 3rd edition with similar title page, and without date of publication.

The Rev. Mr. Cockin is said to have preached a sermon at Halifax in opposition to Joanna, and referred to her followers as "bantering, hectoring, brazen infidels, slaves, and fools," and as to the sealing, it was "a shame to Bedlam." Crossley's reply commences the book (pp. 1-6); it is followed by part of a letter from Joanna, addressed to him. In this letter she refers to a pamphlet, entitled *Satan's Power Extraordinary Detected; or, The Strong Delusions of Joanna Southcott, discovered by the Author of an Awful Visitation of Satan and the Powers of Darkness*. A long extract is quoted from this publication, and Joanna deals with the subject in pages 8-13. The letter to the Rev. Mr. Pollard refers to a dispute between him and Crossley at the burial of a sister, a believer in Joanna, who held the doctrine of the immortality of the body. Pollard appears to have been very angry and abusive (p. 13). The letter to three Baptist ministers, whose names are mentioned on the title pages of the 2nd and 3rd editions, was written in consequence of a challenge sent by them to any believer to attend their meeting-house for the purpose of discussing the visitation of Joanna, but the ministers declined "having anything more to do in the business," because Joanna's friends had made it so public (p. 24).

Book 46.—*The Long-wished-for Revolution, announced to be at hand in a book lately published by L. Mayer . . . explained by Joanna Southcott, etc., etc.* London, 1806. pp. 96. Price 1s. 6d. B.M. (imperfect copy), Bod., J.R., M., P.

The title page refers to Mayer's wrong application of Scripture prophecies. His book was entitled *Important period and a Long-wished-for Revolution*. Joanna commences her pamphlet by explaining that the Revolution to be wished for is a revolution against sin and its author, and that before the "Desire of Nations" ¹

¹ Haggai ii. 7.

will come Christ must become the desire of nations (p. 4). Lewis Mayer (of 9 Coleman Street, Bunhill Row) wrote to Joanna on 12 March, 1806, taking her to task on account of statements made by "Mr. Fisher, the German preacher, one of your sealed people," who objected to Mayer's predictions on the ground that they differed with those of Joanna. Mayer gives her a "few days" to explain them, and threatens to make his letter public (p. 16). Joanna replied courteously on the following day, saying she had had cause to reprove Mr. Fisher's "wild ideas," at the same time pointing out the errors of Mayer (p. 25). And with regard to his charge that she was an impostor, she maintained that so far her prophecies had been fulfilled, and that before publishing them she had applied to the clergy. This, she considered, cleared her of such a charge (p. 27). On 16 March Mayer replied in a rude manner, characteristic of all Joanna's traducers, asking for a positive answer, "Whether you assume to yourself the appellation of the Bride, the Lamb's wife," etc. (p. 28). In her reply three days afterwards Joanna said, "These things I have published to the world as they are explained to me, which everyone may see."¹ The correspondence did not terminate, however, and Mayer's next letter is printed in his book entitled *The Woman in the Wilderness*² (Joanna deals with this in Book 34). He also wrote *Appeal to Reason* and *Prophetic Mirror*. Reference is made to both of these works in pp. 76-80.

Book 47.—*Answer to Mr. Brothers's Book, published in September, 1806. . . . Also a Letter sent to Mr. Huntingdon, etc.* London, 1806. pp. 64. Price 1s. B.M., J.R., M.

The book to which Joanna refers was apparently written by Brothers,³ after his release from confinement on 13 April, 1806. Some of the prophecies of Brothers were not fulfilled on the dates mentioned by him, and this he considered the common lot of prophets. Joanna thought otherwise, and reproved him for blaming God. She accuses him of placing to himself passages of Scripture

¹ 26. 7; 7. 43; 41. 158.

² London, 1806, pp. 32, B.M. A description of the seal appears on p. 26. The letter is on p. 31.

³ It is not quite clear what publication Joanna means; the writer has been unable to find a book by Brothers dated September, 1806.

which can only refer to God (p. 2), but she testifies her belief in his early prophecies, "which he foretold in 1791-2 concerning the war, and many things happened abroad came perfectly true."¹ She considers that he fell from grace "when he began to lift himself up, that he was more than man" (p. 16). Joanna anticipates that the same objection may be made to her assumptions, and explains, as she has said before,² that she stands as one member among many, constituting the Bride of Christ, she being the first woman to claim the promise made at the Fall. Joanna then proceeds to deal with the Calvinists as represented by Mr. Huntingdon,³ an eccentric and popular preacher of the day, having strong views on the doctrine of election. She attended his chapel, and paid for a seat which she was unable to obtain, as the place was full. She condemns his practice of selling tickets in excess of the accommodation provided, and wrote a letter to him on 8 October, 1806, occupying eleven pages of printed matter, showing him the inconsistency of his doctrines.

Book 48.—*A Caution and Instruction to the Sealed, that they may know for what they are sealed.* Marchant, London, 1807. pp. 24. Price 6d. 2nd edition (? date). 3rd edition, 1813. 4th edition, 1814. Reprint by Alice Seymour, Plymouth, 1911. Price 1s. B.M., C., J.R., M.

The object of this book was, as the title indicates, to explain the meaning of the sealing, for "there are thousands sealed who know not for what they are sealed" (p. 18). It is said, "those who join hand and heart and subscribe with their hands unto the Lord to petition for the fulfilment of His words are sealed, to be made heirs of God. Not that it is said they are already so, but that they may be made so" (p. 1). The eyes of true believers will be opened to understand for what they are sealed, but no others, "therefore it is written, none could learn the song but the hundred and forty and four thousand" (p. 11). On page 22 there is a prayer and

¹ A list of the fulfilled predictions of Brothers will be found at the end of *Admonition to the people of all Countries*. Finlayson, 1797.

² 26. 7.

³ He figures in Kirby's *Wonderful Museum*, 1820.

petition of Joanna in which all that are sealed must join.

Book 49.—*An Account of the Trials on Bills of Exchange, wherein the deceit of Mr. John King and his Confederates . . . is exposed, etc.* Rousseau,¹ London, 1807. pp. 72. No price stated. B.M., J.R. This book is scarce.

John King was a money-lender and bill-broker who advertised for clients; his usual terms were 5 % per month and 1 % commission (p. 31). He appears to have accommodated Messrs. Sharp, Wilson, and Eyre, friends of Joanna, with various sums of money; the amount was disputed. King brought an action in the Court of King's Bench for recovery of the amount said to be owing, and upon Joanna's advice a defence was instituted. She wrote a lengthy epistle to King, reproving his dishonourable conduct, and quoting many passages of Scripture, on 1 January, 1807. He replied on the same date in a very unctuous manner, concluding his letter with, "I admire your character and revere your doctrine, and believe most devoutly the divine authority you quoted. I am, with regard and respect, etc.," At the trial, King, being a Jew, was sworn on the Old Testament, but admitted having been sworn on the Gospels on a previous occasion (p. 32). He endeavoured to prejudice the jury by referring to Sharp's religious views, accusing him of saying that the country would be in such a state of confusion in March, April, or May, that it was as well to pay nobody, and that the sealed would destroy those who were not sealed (pp. 22, 24). The money transactions are difficult to follow, but it appears that although the three friends suffered some loss, they were benefited by the defence (p. 57). Sharp was inconsolable because of the false charges brought against him (p. 58). One of the counsel remarked that "a new person had been presented to the court, who, under pretence of prophecy, had presumed to blaspheme the name of God; that which she stated was, however, true" (p. 48).

¹ This is the last book printed by Rousseau; he had been Joanna's printer since 1803.

Book 50.—*An Answer to a Sermon published and preached by Mr. Smith . . . at Beersheba Chapel, etc.* Marchant,¹ London, 1808. pp. 83. Price 2s. B.M., G., J.R., M., P.

Pages 25–32 are wrongly numbered 33–40.

Mr. Smith, a Calvinist minister, preached a sermon on 15 March, 1808, and published it under the title of *The Lying Prophetess Detected*. His text was taken from 1 Kings xiv. 6, which he altered to suit the occasion, "Joanna, why feignest thou thyself to be another? for I am sent to thee with heavy tidings." Joanna asks, pertinently enough, "Who sent thee with heavy tidings to me?" and points out that he is "feigning himself to be a prophet." Smith's abuse finds vent in doggerel rhyme, such as :—

"Thou mother of witchcraft and teacher of lies,
Subverter of truth and deep in disguise,
I dread not thy curse, nor fear thee to tell
The whole of thy system proceedeth from hell."

He thought the "sealing" unnecessary, as "God from eternity hath predestined certain men unto life, certain men He hath reprobated unto death." Book 50 is, on the whole, a refutation of the doctrine of election, as preached by Calvinists at that time.

Book 51.—There is no title to this book. The headlines on page 1 are, *London, November 7th, 1808. From this publication the Readers may discern what is hastening upon the Land, as they are daily provoking the Lord to Anger, by false Doctrine, as well as the crying Sins of the Nation.* Commonly known as, *Answer to False Doctrine and the Crying Sins of the Nation (Pullen's Index)*. pp. 48. Price 1s. B.M., J.R., M., P.

This work is directed mainly against the Unitarians and Calvinists. Joanna speaks of the former as "Arians." She had a particular aversion to them, because they denied the divinity of our Lord. They were greatly in evidence in her day. Joseph Priestley (1733–1804) had done much to advance the cause. The first Unitarian

¹ W. Marchant, of 3 Greville Street, Holborn, or Galabin and Marchant, Ingram Court, printed the remainder of Joanna's works.

Chapel was opened in Essex Street in 1774. Joanna quotes an announcement from the *Evangelical Magazine* for September, 1808, with reference to an "improved version" of the New Testament, and it is suggested that doubtful books and passages, among them the Revelation of John, should be wholly omitted. Joanna maintains that this book, which they call Apocryphal, is about to be fulfilled (p. 5). The argument with Smith is continued, and many Scripture passages are quoted to show the errors of Calvinism (pp. 7-16).

Book 52.—*A True Picture of the World and a Looking-Glass for all Men*. London, not dated (? 1809). pp. 48. Price 1s. B.M., C., G., J.R., P.

Joanna explains her reason for the title of this book on pages 1 and 2, in which she says the natures of men have ever been the same with regard to revealed religion, that true prophets have always been persecuted and the false encouraged; so that men may see their likeness in the ages that have passed. Reference is made to Mary Bateman (p. 7, etc.), who was hung for murder at York in 1809. *The York Herald* stated that she was a "follower of Joanna's principles." Many other newspapers expressed the same untruth.¹ Joanna indignantly denies any connection with the woman. She also deals with an accusation brought against her in Trewman's paper, Exeter. She states that the writer charged her with drunkenness, a crime which she ever detested (p. 11). The same journal accused her of selling her "seals." Evidence by way of forged letters was adduced, but the whole is denied by Joanna (p. 37), who affirms that she never sold a seal in her life, neither had any of her friends.²

Book 53 is the 7th part of the *True Explanation of the Bible*, previously mentioned.

¹ Most writers on Joanna bring this manifestly unfair accusation against her. In Kirby's *Wonderful and Eccentric Museum*, Vol. 4, p. 260, the principles of Mary Bateman are shown to be theft and defraud from the age of five years, "a knavish and vicious disposition"; she robbed some of the believers in Joanna, and for a time professed to be one of them. This was in the year prior to her execution.

² See also Book 16, p. 63.

Book 54.—*The Controversy of the Spirit with the Worldly Wise, as given through Joanna Southcott.* London, 1811. pp. 52. Price 1s. B.M., G., J.R., P.

This book has a title page.

Joanna again attacks Hann, about whom she had much to say in her last book. His latest work was *The Remarkable Life, Entertaining History, and Surprising Adventures of Joanna Southcott, etc.* In this he states she was born at Getsham in 1753,¹ and Joanna replies, as he began without knowledge so he continued in everything concerning her. Hann also wrote to the Bishop of London. A reprint of his letter is advertised for sale in the above-mentioned book. Joanna quotes from the letter (on p. 31), and presents certain passages of Scripture for explanation by Hann.

Book 55.—*A Continuation of the Controversy with the Worldly Wise.* London, 1811. pp. 52. Price 1s. B.M., C., J.R., P.

In this book Joanna deals with inquiries and objections raised concerning her doctrines, viz. the faith once delivered to the saints (p. 1); the fall of man (p. 4); the Law given to Moses (p. 7); the "sealing" and the redemption of the body (pp. 11–14). Frequent reference is made to a period of five years immediately preceding the coming of Christ, which she says will take place "suddenly and unaware." The worldly wise are asked to explain the passages of Scripture submitted to Hann, who confessed his inability to elucidate them (pp. 32–5). In reply to a question asked by Hann, as to the manner in which her communications were given, they are, she declares, as distinct as though the words were spoken in an audible voice (p. 36). Hann said, "Providence hath conferred upon me the honour of breaking the seals, in order that the contents may be made known." Joanna points out that the contents were printed in 1803, so "no honour could be conferred upon him to make known in 1810 what was published in 1803."

Book 56.—*An Answer to Thomas Paine's third Part of the Age of Reason . . . likewise to S. Lane . . . and to Hewson Clarke, etc.* London, 1812. pp. 66. Price 1s. 3d. B.M., C., G., J.R., P.

¹ Born at Tarford, 1750. Book 58, p. 96.

There is a title page to this book. It states that the third part of the *Age of Reason* was published by Eaton, that Lane was a Calvinistic preacher at Yeovil, and Hewson Clarke was editor of the *Scourge*.

The third part of Paine's *Age of Reason* was published in 1811, two years after the death of the author. Eaton was sentenced to stand in the pillory between twelve and one o'clock for publishing the work. The crowd, instead of pelting him, as was usual in such cases, cheered him. Joanna considers this an indication of infidelity in the nation, which she says is the cause of the judgments of God upon the country (p. 26). She thinks Paine's reasoning absurd, replying to his arguments in the early part of the book (pp. 1-24), and is surprised the clergy have not answered him.¹ Concerning Lane's book, Joanna says she read it attentively, and could "scarce find a single page but contains gross misrepresentation and false invention against me."² Hewson Clarke's assertions are answered by Townley in a letter she addressed to him, a copy of which appears on pages 52, 53.

Book 57.—*The Book of Wonders, Marvellous and True*. London, 1813. pp. 88. Price 1s. 9d. B.M., C., E., G., J.R.

The first of five *Books of Wonders*, all having title pages.

This book commences with an announcement copied from the *West Briton or Truro Advertiser* concerning the death of the Rev. Mr. Pomeroy, Vicar of Bodmin. Joanna concluded this referred to Joseph Pomeroy, Rector of S. Kew, Bodmin, and formerly of Exeter, to whom she submitted her writings before publication. She acknowledges her mistake in Book 60, page 39. The conduct of Pomeroy is commented upon (pp. 9-17), and long extracts from her Books 1 and 36 follow. The prophecies which she placed in his hands are enumerated on page 27.

Book 58.—*The Second Book of Wonders, More Marvellous than the First*. London, 1813. pp. 116. Price 2s. 6d. B.M., C., E., G., J.R., P., S.

Joanna describes her daily life "since this powerful

¹ Bishop Watson's *Answer*, 1820.

² Lane's *Joanna Southcott, M.A., Detected*, 1811, G.

visitation of the Lord came to me like that in ninety-two." She says fresh things are revealed to her every day, her communications are given to her between three and four o'clock in the morning, her natural appetite has left her; she is told, "The time of thy departure draweth nigh, for thy sands are nearly run." "This I greatly rejoiced in, as I am as weary of the world as the world is of me" (p. 4). She states that in her sealed writings it is said she would enter into a marriage union with man. This she dreaded, looking upon matrimony as worse than death (p. 14). The correspondence with Pomeroy, already printed in Book 48, appears in pages 31-75. Her family history, beginning with her great-grandfather, William Southcott, the date and place of her birth, her early character, her vanity and besetting sin of a resenting spirit—all are recorded circumstantially and with simplicity in pages 88-102.

Book 59.—*Copies of Letters sent to the Clergy of Exeter from 1796 to 1800, with Communications and Prophecies put in the Newspapers in 1813.* London, 1813. pp. 64. Price 1s. 3d. B.M., C., E., G., J.R., P.

This book has a title page.

The first letter is dated 28 October, 1813, and was inserted in *The Times* as "Joanna Southcott's Letter to the Nation." She states she has publicly warned the nation for twelve years of what the Lord will do on the earth, promises five more Books of Wonders, and defies all the Bishops, Members of Parliament, and Judges in the land to prove that the two books already published come from the wisdom and knowledge of the devil or of an impostor (p. 1). This is followed by a "Letter to the Bishops," inserted in the *Morning Herald*, in which they are threatened, apparently with death, if they keep silence with regard to their opinion of her visitation (p. 6).¹ Copies of various letters sent to Pomeroy and other of the clergy at Exeter, together with "Letters of Prophecy," seven in number, sent to the *Morning Herald*,² occupy the next forty pages, and the book concludes with a long communication given on 13 November, 1813.

¹ Both these letters are quoted *in extenso* in Fairburn's *Life and Memoirs of Religious Impostors*.

² The last of the seven letters was apparently not inserted.

Book 60.—*Wisdom excelleth the Weapons of War . . . Judgments are the strange Works of the Lord, but Mercy His darling Attribute.* London, 1814. pp. 48. Price 1s. B.M., C., E., G., J.R., P.

This book contains prophecies concerning the French nation (p. 36). Joanna says she has been told what would be the end of Bonaparte (p. 35). She speaks again of Pomeroy's conduct (pp. 5-12), as well as that of Leach, the dissenting minister (p. 23). She acknowledges her mistake as to the death of Rev. Mr. Pomeroy, of Bodmin, and writes her meditations on the subject (pp. 39-45).

Book 61.—*The Third Book of Wonders, announcing the Coming of Shiloh ; with a Call to the Hebrews, etc.* London, 1814. pp. 64. Price 1s. 3d. B.M., C., E., G., J.R.,

This book announces clearly the birth of the Child, but the nature of the Child and the manner in which the birth was expected is not so evident, as the following passages will show :—

Page 4.—“This year in the sixty-fifth year of thy age thou shalt have a son by the power of the Most High.”

Page 6.—“If the visitation of the Lord to me now does not produce a Son this year, then Jesus Christ was not the Son of God born in the manner spoken by the Virgin Mary.”

Page 17.—“It is not for men to suppose that the Child will be born with wisdom and understanding, etc. . . . The meaning of the words is, when the Child is born, men will see their Bibles clear.”

Page 25.—“Thy public trial will not appear for thee to be called forward in a solemn assembly, to testify the truth of the Child, before thou canst go with the Child in thy arms, while the milk is in thy breasts, that men may know thou hast not been deceived.”

Page 13.—“Had my sayings been understood that a SECOND CHILD should be born of my Spirit, then impostors would have arisen. . . . it is in Spirit that the spiritual Child must be born again.”

Page 32.—“Though it is written, the dragon stood before the woman which was ready to be delivered, for to devour her CHILD, as soon as it was born, and

the CHILD was caught up to God and to His throne ; that hath a meaning which men do not understand."

On page 62 Joanna mentions the death of James Cosins, who made his will in favour of herself, Townley and Underwood.

Book 62.—*The Fourth Book of Wonders, being the Answer of the Lord to the Hebrews.* London, 1814. pp. 80. Price 1s. 6d. B.M., C., E., G., J.R.,

Joanna commences with a copy of a letter inserted in the *Observer* on 3 April, 1814, signed by herself, entitled "Questions put to the professors of religion who have condemned Joanna Southcott's last Book." She replies to some Jews of Birmingham who gave their opinions concerning the Child (pp. 5–20). The following quotations have reference to the expected birth :—

Page 27.—"If I am the Son of God, this year will I come down from the cross, by producing a *body* like my own, by producing *life* as I laid down, by placing *Child* in the midst of them."

Page 34.—"The *body* I shall raise up is the Spirit of Truth."

Page 38.—"As she (the Virgin Mary) was visited from on high, so thy visitation is now the same to bring in the *Comforter*."

Page 56.—"In May thou wilt feel the life of the Child within thee."

Page 62.—"I am not come to those who do not come to me, neither is the Child born for them that do not gladly receive him."

Page 68.—"This year the *Man Child* shall be born to establish the kingdom I died to redeem."

Book 63.—*The Fifth Book of Wonders, announcing the Event having taken place which was promised in the Fourth Book should be in May . . . also an Answer to the address of the Rev. James Hearn, etc.* London, 1814. pp. 72. Price 1s. 4d. B.M., C., E., G., J.R.

This book commences with an advertisement sent by Joanna to *Bell's Weekly Messenger* on Sunday, 29 May, 1814, but insertion was refused. It announced the fact that three women, mothers of children, and two medical

men had examined Joanna, and had given their opinion that "if such symptoms were in a young woman, she must be pregnant of a *living child*" (p. 3). Some particulars of her will are given on page 5. Besley, a printer in South Street, Exeter, issued handbills in which he stated, among other things relative to Joanna, that her followers were numerous, that she had a genteel establishment, and a chapel built solely for the use of her disciples. "This information," says Joanna, "I acknowledge to be true, for I am very comfortably situated; I have a number of respectable and worthy friends; and there is not only one chapel built in Duke Street, Westminster Road, but another at Greenwich, and another at Twickenham" (p. 6). The reply to Rev. James Hearn, Curate of Brixham, Devon, is on page 22.

Joanna's marriage, so that the Child may have a reputed father, is explained (pp. 39-49). Her friends agreed that this was necessary, in order to legitimize the Child, and the matter was referred to Halhed, whose opinion is quoted. The marriage ceremony¹ was so worded as to be invalid if the Child was not born; "if no Son be born, then the marriage is null and void," and the authority of the Bishops was considered essential.² Joanna says (p. 59), "I have felt life increasing more and more from the 16th day of May to this day. . . . I could not live to the end of this year with the increasing growth I have felt within so short a space without a deliverance." Copies of the *First Book of Wonders*, with engraved portraits of Joanna, were sent to the Prince Regent, the Archbishops, and several other eminent people (pp. 61-5). On page 71 Joanna tells us that the *Sixth Book of Wonders* will announce that the marriage has taken place.³

Book 64.—*A Communication sent in a Letter to the Reverend Mr. P. in 1797, with an Explanation thereon now given.* London, 1814. pp. 24. Price 6d. B.M., C., E., G., J.R., M.

The explanation mentioned in the title appears to

¹ A marriage service was performed on 12 November, 1814, between Joanna and Mr. John Smith, steward to the Earl of Darnley. Copy letter, Underwood to Foley, 14 November, 1814. Pte.

² This authority could not be obtained.

³ Joanna did not write a *Sixth Book of Wonders*. That issued by Daniel Jones appears to have been compiled to supply the omission.

allude to a passage in Joanna's letter to Pomeroy, which she feared he misunderstood and took offence thereby. He was, she states, steadfast in his belief for six years, and then fell away in unbelief. The questionable lines occur in verse on page 7, in which Joanna speaks of the Bridegroom and Bride, the man appearing in wedlock and the woman unmarried. He may, she thought, have attributed the office of the Bridegroom to himself, whilst she herself was a type of the Bride. In order to satisfy herself on the point, she sent Mr. Hows down to Bodmin to interview Mr. Pomeroy, with the object of ascertaining his view of the matter, but he could obtain no reply to his inquiry.¹

Book 65.—*Prophecies Announcing the Birth of the Prince of Peace, extracted from the Works of Joanna Southcott, etc.* London, 1814. pp. 40. Price 10d. B.M., C., E., G., J.R., M.

As the title indicates, this book is a collection of passages from her former works, relating, for the most part, to the Birth of the Child. Her own remarks thereon commence on page 34. She again, and for the third or fourth time, denies that the seals were ever sold; she adds, "There are thousands now desirous of having them, and if they were purchased at only a shilling each, the gain would be great . . . but I never received anything for a seal in my life, neither would I for the world." On the concluding page she mentions that a book has been prepared for the names of those who have sent presents for Shiloh, that "if there is a possibility of my being deceived, all persons should have their presents returned."

PUBLICATIONS FOR AND AGAINST JOANNA SOUTHCOTT.

Copy of an Epistle of the most extraordinary nature sent to the Right Hon. Henry Addington, etc., etc. By Richard Law, London, 19 July, 1803. pp. 19. Price 4d. B.M., E., Pte.

¹ Dr. Reece appears to have heard of Hows' journey to Bodmin, and erroneously concluded that the object of the visit was to ascertain Pomeroy's sentiments as to a marriage with Joanna (*Correct Statement*).

Law appears to have been a believer in Richard Brothers, as were many of Joanna's early friends; he speaks of Brothers' prophecies on pages 4 and 18. He refers to the "sealing" (pp. 5, 6), and calls upon the Prime Minister to release Brothers, that he may come forward and set the noble example of signing for the Lord's kingdom.

Copy of an Epistle . . . to the Revds. the Vice-Chancellors of Cambridge and Oxford, etc., etc. By the Rev. T. P. Foley, Stourbridge, 1803. Price 6d. pp. 24. E., Pte.

This book contains a great deal of information as to the movements of Joanna during the years 1801-3; also a copy of the handbill entitled *Examination of Prophecies*, signed by twenty-three believers, after the Trial at High House, Paddington.

An Address to the Clergy, particularly the Bench of Bishops, etc., etc. By F. Lewis, London, 1803. pp. 22. Price 6d. B.M., E., Pte.

Lewis calls attention to the mission of Joanna, and warns the clergy not to disregard it.

Nocturnal Alarm, being an Essay on Prophecy and Vision, etc., etc. By Elias Carpenter, London, 1803. pp. 114. Price 1s. 6d. B.M., E., G., Pte.

Modern Realities . . . A Reply to "Modern Visionaries," by J. T., etc. By Elias Carpenter, London, 1805. pp. 16. B.M., G., Pte.

Who are the Deluded? or Mystery Unmasked, being a few Extracts from . . . Revelations and Visions communicated to a Deceased Character, etc. By Elias Carpenter, London, 1805. pp. 100. B.M., G., Pte.

In these three pamphlets Carpenter refers more or less to Joanna; the first was written soon after he became acquainted with her, and contains the most information concerning her. He separated himself from the movement in 1805, but continued preaching in the cause of religion; he also wrote *An Apology for Faith and Detection of existing Errors, etc.* London, 1814. B.M. *Divine and Spiritual*

Communications through T. Dowland to E. C. 1848. B.M.
And other works.¹

Charges against Joanna Southcott and her twelve Judges, the Jury, and four-and-twenty Elders, etc. By R. Hann, London, no date (1805?). pp. 36. B.M.

Hann contends that the Trial of Joanna (second Trial) was illegal, because the case had been tried before by Rev. Mr. Pomeroy. He quotes many passages from Joanna's works, and reminds her of the failure of her prediction regarding her father's death.

The Remarkable Life, Entertaining History, and Surprising Adventures of Joanna Southcott, etc., also an Account of the Seal. By R. Hann, London, no date (probably 1805). Price 8d. G.

Hann speaks well of Joanna's personal appearance and character; he disclaims any responsibility for the portrait contained in his previous work. He also wrote and published *A Letter to the Bishop of London concerning the Heresy and Imposition of Joanna the Prophetess*. Price 6d.

A Testimony of Joanna Southcott, the Prophetess sent by the Lord, etc. By W. R. Wetherell, London (date of Preface, 23 March, 1804). pp. 18. Price 4d. B.M., E., G., Pte.

Dr. Wetherell was also a believer in Brothers, and one of the first to embrace the cause of Joanna. He lived at Highgate, and is frequently mentioned in the unpublished letters of Joanna. Speaking of the faithful, he says, "They will reign with Christ in His earthly kingdom during the Millennium, and have a sure passport to his heavenly one" (p. 18). This probably gave rise to the idea that Joanna's seals were "Certificates for the Millennium and passports to Heaven."²

Reasons for the Fall of Man. By the Rev. Thos. Webster, London, 1804. pp. 24. Price 6d. B.M., Pte.

Webster was a Church of England clergyman, living in Falcon Court, High Street, Borough, one of the seven

¹ *The Extraordinary Case, etc.*, 1815; *Adumbration*, 1824; and *Redemption*, 1832.

² Rev. F. B. Dickinson, *Devon Notes and Queries* (II, p. 241, par. 196).

men who visited Exeter in 1801 for the purpose of examining Joanna's writings. He wrote *The Anagogue* in 1813 (B.M.), in which he discussed the probability of this earth being inhabited by angels before the creation of man. Joanna reproved him in a letter dated 10 June, 1813, which Webster published in his pamphlet, *The Anagogue Analyzed by Joanna Southcott*. London, 1813. pp. 10. Pte.

Songs of Moses and the Lamb. An Hymn Book for the Sealed number, or the Millennium Church, Collected from the writings of Joanna Southcott, etc., etc. London, 1804. pp. 353. With preface. No name. (P. Pullen). Pte.

2nd edition. *Hymns or Spiritual Songs, composed from the prophetic writings of Joanna Southcott, by P. Pullen, and published by her order.* London, 1807. B.M.

3rd edition. Words "published by her order" omitted. With Part 2. pp. 223. London, 1813 and 1814. H., J.R., Pte.

4th edition. 1814. Pte. Reprint with different title page, *Hymns on the Millennium, composed from the Prophetic Writings, etc.* By P. Pullen, London, 1835. pp. 180. Pte.

A Vindication of Joanna Southcott's Writings, etc. By John Crossley, Leeds, 1805. pp. 28. J.R., Pte.

Contains a letter from Joanna to the author (pp. 18-26), and an address by William Jowett, in reply to a paragraph which appeared in *The Halifax Journal*, 29 October, 1803, designed "to expose Mrs. Southcott."

Are These Things So? being Remarks on "Demonocracy Detected," etc. By S. Catherine Carpenter, London, 1805. pp. 16. Pte.

A reply by the wife of Elias Carpenter to *Demonocracy Detected, Visionary Enthusiasm Corrected, or Sixpenny-worth of Good Advice, etc.* By the Rev. J. L. Garrett.¹

Joanna answered Garrett in Book 26.

¹ The writer has been unable to find a copy of this work, but understands one exists in a private collection.

The Woman in the Wilderness, or the Wonderful Woman with her Wonderful Seal . . . Spirit and . . . Child, etc.
By L. Mayer, London, 1806. pp. 32. Price 6d. B.M.

A description of the Seal is given on page 26. Mayer accuses Joanna of misrepresenting him, apparently in her 46th Book. He wrote three other works against Joanna, to which she replies in Books 34 and 36. They were—*Important Period and a Long-wished-for Revolution, An Appeal to Reason, and Prophetic Mirror.*

Observations relating to the Divine Mission of Joanna Southcott. London, 1807. pp. 73. Price 2s. B.M., G., J.R., P.

This work consists of a number of letters from Roberts to his friends concerning the mission of Joanna.

Letters from England by Dom Manuel Alvarez Espriella. London, 1807. 5th edition, 1814. 3 vols. B.M. Letter LXX, Vol. 3, p. 267.

This work of Robert Southey has been extensively¹ quoted by reviewers and writers on Joanna Southcott. The Letters were written from the point of view of a Spaniard visiting England and criticizing its customs and institutions. There is consequently a strong bias throughout the account of Joanna, and the author appears to have made no effort to obtain authority for his statements.

An Appeal to all Liberal-Minded Christians. By Joseph Southcott. 23 April, 1806. Bristol. One sheet in form of a Handbill. P.

Contains information as to Joanna's manner of life and particulars of her mission.

The Old Religion, extracted from the Halifax Journal, Aug. 4th, 1810, with additions. By John Crossley. Pte.

A handbill vindicating Joanna's prophecies and contradicting the false reports circulated by Hann, who affirmed

¹ Rev. S. Baring-Gould, *Devonshire Characters*; Rev. F. B. Dickinson, *Devon Notes and Queries*; Lane's *Joanna Southcott Detected*, 1811.

that Joanna had begun a new religion and had predicted the Millennium in the year 1811.

The Cheat Detected. By George Turner. Baines, Leeds, 1810. Pte.

A handbill written with the same object as the above, and stating that the seals were not sold, but can be had "without money and without price."

Truth defended, or Christ's glorious and peaceable reign is at hand. Joanna Southcott vindicated, etc. By Joseph Allman, London, 1810. pp. 16. Reprint, London, 1840, no name. P., Pte.

1st editions are scarce. There is a prayer in verse on the title page. The work contains a summary of the doctrines contained in Joanna's books, and is written in verse.

Joanna Southcott, M.A., Detected, etc. By S. Lane, v.d.m. Yeovil, 1811. pp. 101. G.

Lane's book is chiefly directed against Dr. Ash, of Crewkerne, who espoused the cause of Joanna. Dr. Ash was a clergyman and a scholar of some distinction; Lane was at one time a "sealed" member of Joanna's Church, but held Calvinistic ideas. He compares Joanna to Jezebel, calls her a lying witch, and is generally abusive. He pirates some of Southey's remarks, and falls into all the errors prevalent among those who were ignorant of the real teaching of Joanna. He is extensively quoted by Aikin in *Memoirs of Religious Impostors*.

A few plain Remarks on the pretended prophecies and delusions of a modern prophetess, etc. By B. Hodgkins. 2nd edition, abridged. pp. 17. Birmingham, 1813. B.M., Pte.

The 1st edition is probably the work to which Joanna refers in Book 30, pages 289-306, entitled *Plain Remarks, by B. H., a Mechanic*, which she says was printed at Stourbridge in 1804.

The Master and Scholar refuted. By John Crossley, Leeds, 1810. pp. 28. Pte.

This work is a reply to Hann's objections in the books already tabulated, and is a good vindication of Joanna's mission and doctrine.

Joanna Southcott's Mission vindicated, etc. By Dr. J. S., London, 1814. Price 1s. pp. 24. Pte.

This pamphlet contains scriptural evidence to show that such a person as Joanna is necessary as introduction to the Shiloh promised in Genesis.

Scriptural and Hieroglyphic Observations which were foretold in the years of 1750 and 1792. By Francis Moore, London, no date. pp. 16. Pte.

Containing Hieroglyph for 1750 illustrating Joanna's remark that the angels rejoiced at her birth.

The Life of Joanna Southcott, the Prophetess, Containing an impartial account of her wonderful writings, her miraculous conception, etc. pp. 38. By J. F. Fairburn, London, 1814. B.M., Plymouth Institution.

Eleven editions of this work were published. It contains a full description of the presents sent to Joanna for Shiloh, especially the cot made by Seddons of Aldersgate Street; also an account of the services held in the chapels in which the believers worshipped. Copies of the letters Joanna sent to *The Times* and *Morning Herald* are given. No mention appears to be made about selling the seals, and this points to the probability that the report was considered to be untrue.

Southcott and Shiloh—Fairburn's Edition of the Prophetess, Containing impartial record of facts . . . particularly the opinion of the Doctors. Embellished with engravings. J. Fairburn, London, 1814. pp. 74. In 4 parts, 6d. each. B.M.

An enlarged edition of the above, with engraving of cot and other presents to Shiloh, also a likeness of Joanna, by no means a good one.

Original Letter from Mrs. Underwood, addressed to Mr. Hows, who presented this and several copies of communications to the British Museum (MSS. Library). Copy. Pte.

The letter is not dated, probably written immediately after Joanna's death, which took place 27 December, 1814.

Original Letter from Joanna Southcott to Mr. Hirst, of Leeds, 16 December, 1813. Signed Jane Townley. P.

MS. Communication taken from Joanna Southcott's mouth by Jane Townley. No date. P.

Memoirs of the Life and Mission of Joanna Southcott, to which is added a sketch of the Rev. W. Tozer. London, 1814. 43 pp. No name. B.M., M., Plymouth Institution (special collection).

This pamphlet contains a description of the Crib and copy of a letter from Joanna as to her pregnancy. There is a good portrait of Joanna—an unusual one, “published by the proprietor, 9.9.14.” Also a likeness of Tozer and one of Richard Brothers.

European Magazine. 1814. p. 177. B.M. Contains a brief account of the presents intended for Shiloh.

Grant's History of the English Church. A Summary of the English Church and of the Sects, etc. By Johnson Grant. London, 1814.

The article with reference to Joanna Southcott will be found in Vol. II, pp. 445–99. It is written with more attention to detail than most accounts of Joanna, but the writer quotes from Hann and Lane, repeating their errors with similar additions. He states that Joanna lived for some years in a secret chamber seen by few (p. 453), which is absurd. A good description is given of the cot, derived from personal interview with Seddons, the maker (p. 456). A long argument between Johnson Grant and Mrs. Munday is recorded. The seals are said here to have been sold from 21s. to 2s. 6d. each, but no evidence is adduced. Reference is made to Joanna's death in the Preface of Volume III.

A full account of the Death of Joanna Southcott, including an Elegy on her death (1815 ?). B.M.

The Impostor or Obstetric Dispute. Coloured Print. September, 1814, by T. Tegg, London. Exeter Public Library.

Spirits at Work—Joanna Conceiving, i.e. Blowing up Shiloh. Coloured print. July, 1814, W. N. Jones, London. E.

Joanna Southcott the Prophetess Excommunicating the Bishops. Know I told thee I should begin at the Sanctuary. I will cutt them all off, having already cutt off four Bishops for refusing to hear her visitation. Coloured print. September, 1814, by T. Tegg, London. E.

Delivering a Prophetess. Coloured print. November, 1814, by W. N. Jones, London. E.

Jesus Christ, the only true and divine Shiloh proved . . . in refutation of the pretensions of Joanna Southcott. By W. W. Horne, 1814. pp. 36. B.M., G.
Very little reference to Joanna is made in this book.

The Life and Death of Joanna Southcott, with the particulars of her Will and an account of her dissection (with cuttings from newspapers and a portrait). London, 1815. pp. 8. B.M.

This work appears to be largely copied from Fairburn's. It is without name. It repeats what were supposed to be the unverified predictions of Joanna, and states that the medical men present at the dissection certified that her dissolution was produced from natural causes.

Bell's Weekly Messenger. 1 January, 1815. B.M. (M.S. Library).

Contains copy of certificate, signed by fifteen medical men present at the dissection of Joanna Southcott, in which it is stated, "No unnatural appearances were visible, and no part exhibiting any visible appearance of disease sufficient to have occasioned her death."

The Life and Prophecies of Joanna Southcott from her infancy to the present time. London, 1815. No name. pp. 26. Price 6d. B.M.

Contains similar information as Fairburn's *Life* in much the same language.

A Correct Statement of . . . the last Illness and Death of Mrs. Southcott. By Richard Reece. London, 1815. B.M., J.R.

Dr. Reece attended Joanna Southcott throughout her last illness, having been introduced to her on 7 August, 1814. He was not a believer in her mission, and wrote his book to justify his opinion on her case, an opinion which he had repeatedly expressed in letters addressed to the newspapers. A great deal of the correspondence ¹ is reprinted in this pamphlet. He was severely criticized in the *Edinburgh Review*.² He states that no organic disease could be discovered to account for Joanna's death. He gives a short description of Foley and Tozer, of both of whom he speaks favourably.

A 2nd edition of this work was issued under the title *A Narrative of the Circumstances that attended the last Illness and death of Mrs. Southcott, etc.* London, 1815. Price 2s. 6d. G.

The greater part of the correspondence inserted in the 1st edition is here omitted.

A Complete Refutation of the Statement and Remarks published by Dr. Reece relative to Mrs. Southcott, etc. London, 1815. pp. 44. Price 1s. 6d. By Impartial Observer (P. Pullen). B.M., M.

This work is an exhaustive criticism of Dr. Reece's public utterances and private remarks. Much of the correspondence is reprinted. He makes a rather sensational statement to the effect that Dr. Reece, on visiting Joanna shortly after he has expressed his opinion as to her being pregnant, exclaimed in the presence of several people, "D—n me, if the child is not gone, and there is nothing left but the working of the muscles!"

The Extraordinary Case of a Piccadilly patient or Dr. Reece physick'd by six female Physicians. By Elias Carpenter, London, 1815. B.M., M.

¹ See *Express*, A. Seymour.

² February, 1815, Vol. 24, p. 466.

Carpenter writes in very sarcastic style; he threatens Reece with legal proceedings for stating that he sold "seals." He has not forgotten his quarrel with Joanna, says he holds the same views as he did thirteen years ago, and thinks he has been unjustly treated. He speaks of himself as a man of moral and religious reputation, and of Joanna as the slave of the devil.

Unbelief and Credulity. A Sermon occasioned by the death of Mrs. Joanna Southcott, preached at her native place, Ottery St. Mary, Devon, etc. By Joseph Turnbull, B.A. Chard, 1815. pp. 44. B.M., G.

Little personal reference is made to Joanna in this sermon. The following remark occurs, "What Christian would wish to see his adored Saviour rocked even in a silver cradle by silly women, instead of beholding Him in His triumphal chariot, shining resplendent," etc.

Hypocrisy and Imposition detected in the modern Delusions of Joanna Southcott. Maidstone, 1814. Special Collection, Plymouth Institution.

Triumphal Ode and Songs of Praise and Thanksgiving on Shiloh. By P. Pullen, London, 1815. Pte.

The Life of Joanna Southcott, illustrative of her supposed Mission, etc., with portrait. By D. Hughson, LL.D., London, 1814. Bod.

The Case of Joanna Southcott, etc. By P. Mathias, London, no date (1815?). 22 pp. 1s. B.M.

This pamphlet contains a lengthy account of the dissection of Joanna. The author was a surgeon and a bitter enemy of her cause. He makes a statement with regard to her habit of life which is quite contrary to all other evidence on the subject: "I never could learn that she either watched, fasted, or prayed. On the contrary, she passed much of her time in bed in downy indolence, ate much and often, and prayed—never." Her writings afford ample proof that she frequently prayed and fasted, that she worked hard during the early part of her life, and was occupied latterly with her publications. It is

probable that her labours in this direction prevented her taking sufficient bodily exercise. It is said that Mathias destroyed himself after the death of Joanna.¹

Remarks on the Writings and Prophecies of Joanna Southcott. London, 1814. By G. Denham, of Exeter. B.M., P.

Index to the Divine and Spiritual Writings of Joanna Southcott. By Philip Pullen, London, 1815. pp. 240. B.M., Pte.

A small "General Index" of Books 1-25 was published in 1805. M., P., Pte.

Sermons abstracted from the Prophetic and inspired Writings of Joanna Southcott, etc. No name, London, 1817. pp. 18. Pte.

Gentleman's Magazine, January, 1815, Vol. LXXXV. pp. 37, 601, etc. B.M.

This publication contained a very absurd statement with regard to finding her "seal"; it was probably the origin of a mistake made by many writers.² "One morning, in sweeping out the shop, she found a seal with the initials I.S. This could not mean any other person than Joanna Southcott. From this moment she bid adieu to the shop and commenced prophetess." This is very misleading. The initials were I.C., and the seal was found some years before she required it. A circumstantial account of the burial of Joanna is given on page 678.

Edinburgh Review, February, 1815, Vol. XXIV, pp. 455, etc. B.M.

This article contains a very fair account of Joanna, and the writer's comments are edifying. The case against Dr. Reece is clearly stated.

A Copy of the Articles of Faith, as acknowledged and believed by the Children of the faithful belonging to the Philadelphian Church, well-known by the name of the

¹ *Express*, Vol. II, p. 350, Foley's Note.

² Rev. S. Baring-Gould, Rev. F. B. Dickinson, and others.

followers of the Divine Mission of Joanna Southcott.
By Samuel Sibley, London, 1819. Bod.

A reprint was published under the title *The Inditement against Satan, etc.* London, S. Sibley, no date (1843?). Edited and printed by his friend and admirer D. Wells. pp. 24.

Kirby's Wonderful and Eccentric Museum or Magazine of Remarkable Characters. London, 1820. 6 vols. B.M. Vol. V. pp. 337-63.

The account here related concerning Joanna is distinctly a biased one. Accusations are made which were not only denied by Joanna herself, but acknowledged by unprejudiced editors of journals to be devoid of foundation. Miss Townley, a lady of high respectability, is said to be answerable for the "indecent language" used by Joanna. The account contains apparently all the objections and falsities which have ever been manufactured for the purpose of defaming the character of its subject. There is a very bad portrait, which the writer declares is a true likeness, but he had "not seen Sharp's portrait, and did not want to see it." The only part which appears reliable is the details of Joanna's will, beginning at page 356.

Memoirs of Religious Impostors from the 7th to the 19th Century. By M. Aikin, LL.D., London, 1823. pp. 120. B.M., Pte.

This book contains lengthy quotations from Joanna's writings, with references from Lane's work.¹ There is an account of her pregnancy with the opinions of the medical men (p. 94); various letters are reprinted from the newspapers (p. 105), and a description of the Manger and Crib, now in the Salford Museum, appears on pages 113 and 114. The concluding four pages are devoted to the "Last Moments of Joanna Southcott."

A Letter from Mrs. Jane Townley to the Editor of the Council of Ten, in answer to his Remarks . . . respecting the Mission of Joanna Southcott. 3rd edition, London, 1823. B.M., J.R., Pte.

This book contains a great deal of information about

¹ *Joanna Southcott Detected.*

Joanna, and is valuable evidence because of the good social standing of the author, who was her constant companion for nearly ten years prior to her death. The Editor of the *Council of Ten* appears to have been the first writer who attributed Joanna's death to dropsy, a statement which is promptly denied by Miss Townley.

Communications and Directions given to Mrs. Jane Townley, after the publication of her Answer to the Editor of the Council of Ten. London, 1824. pp. 60. Price 1s.

This pamphlet, although of little value for the purpose for which it was written, is interesting on account of the information which it contains respecting the old members of the Church. There are also four short communications from Joanna Southcott not previously published.

Extracts from Sermons preached at different Chapels in the Years 1812, 1813, and 1814. By Theodore Turpin, London, 1825. pp. 48. Price 1s.

There were a number of pamphlets published by Twort on behalf of John Ward (who considered himself the representative of Shiloh) about the year 1830. He was a very ignorant man, and his writings are a mere travesty on the works of Joanna; it is therefore not thought necessary to mention them in detail. There are several copies of the books in the British Museum Library.

The following publications were issued by members of the Southcottian Church during the first half of the last century. There was a division among them as to the propriety of opening their chapels and regarding the birth of Shiloh, and many of these pamphlets contain correspondence which passed between them on these matters.

A Letter addressed to a Friend explanatory of the Object and Manner of Christ's Second Coming, etc., etc. By W. B. Harrison, Leeds, 1834. pp. 54. Pte.

Remarkable Revelations and Prophecies from Heaven by the Virgin Joanna . . . and various other Prophets. By John Enochiah V. N. Fox, Newcastle-on-Tyne, 1840. pp. 4. Pte.

A Circular addressed to All the Believers in the Divine Mission of the Lord to Joanna Southcott. By John Hagger and others, London, 1841. pp. 4. Pte.

Second Circular. To the Believers in the Divine Mission to Joanna Southcott. By John Spencer and others, London, 1841. pp. 4. P., Pte.

Letter addressed to an Eminent Clergyman . . . explaining the nature and object of the Divine Mission of the late Joanna Southcott. By W. B. Harrison, Leeds, 1842. pp. 96. Pte.

This book contains a great deal of information with regard to the writings and doctrines of Joanna.

Letters to the Believers in the Divine Mission to Joanna Southcott, etc. By J. Hagger and others, London, 1842. pp. 20. B.M., P., Pte.

Letter to Messrs. Hagger, Copas, Pye, and Malby, etc. By S. Jowett, Leeds, 1842. pp. 16. B.M., Pte.

Copy of Address to the Chairman of the Anti-Corn Law Conference in London . . . Remedy for present evils . . . from the Prophetic Writings of Joanna Southcott. By John Hagger and others, London, 1842. pp. 4. Pte.

Address to the Believers in the Divine Mission of Joanna Southcott. By T. Copas, London, no date. pp. 12. Pte.

An Address to the Believers . . . being a reply to the Appeal of Mr. Copas. By S. Jowett, Leeds, 1842. pp. 16. Pte.

The Testimony of the Southcottian Church in London on the late Visitation of Joanna Southcott, that the child was born on the 16 Dec., 1814. By T. Malby and others, London, no date (probably 1843). pp. 16. Pte.

A Circular addressed to all the Believers in the Divine Mission of the Lord to Joanna Southcott. By John Spencer, London, no date (1843 ?). pp. 2. Pte.

Correspondence of the Southcottian Church. By Harrison and others, London, 1843. pp. 8. Pte., B.M.

A Call to the Believers in the Divine Mission of the Lord to Joanna Southcott, etc. By Hagger and others, London, 1843. pp. 20. B.M., P., Pte.

Copies of Deep and Important Letters addressed to the Queen, Prince Albert, etc. By T. P. Hudson, of Birmingham. London, 1843. pp. 23. B.M., Pte.

A Warning to the Nation from the Prophecies of Joanna Southcott. By G. Bennett, London, pp. 15. Price 2d. Pte.

An Address to the Believers in Joanna Southcott's Mission, partly in Answer to Mr. Samuel Jowett, of Leeds. By T. Copas. London, 1843. pp. 15. P., Pte.

An Appeal to the Believers in the Divine Mission of Joanna Southcott. By Malby and others. London, no date (1844?). pp. 24. P., Pte.

An Address to the Protestants of England, especially the Queen, the Archbishops, etc. By Hagger and others. 2nd edition. London, 1844. pp. 12. Pte.

To the Believers in Joanna Southcott's Visitation. By Samuel Jowett. Leeds, 1844. pp. 18. Pte.

The Indictment against that Tyrannical, Cruel, and Bloody Monarch, Satan, etc. . . . Also The Minutes of the Conference of the Members of the Southcottian Churches in London, etc. Printed for the Southcottian Friends, London, 1845. pp. 91. P., Pte.

A Call from the Most High God . . . to His Ancient People, the Jews, etc. By Hagger and others. London, 1845. pp. 11. P., Pte.

The Trial, Casting, and Condemnation of the Prince of this World, etc. Printed for the Southcottian Friends, London, 1847. pp. 63. Pte.

The Royal Proclamation for the Crowning of the Lord Jesus Christ, etc. By order of T. P. Hudson. Birmingham, 1847. pp. 12. Price 3d. Pte.

Evans' Sketch of the Denominations of the Christian World, etc. p. 285. By Rev. J. Burns. London, 1839. B.M.

This contains an intelligible account of Joanna's mission and doctrines.

Joanna Southcott, Das Sonnenweib nebst einen Schlüssel zum richtigen verstandniss der Bibel. By C. F. Zimpel. 1861. B.M.

The following books and pamphlets were published by Daniel Jones and his wife, Lavinia Elizabeth Chapman Jones, who laboured hard to resuscitate the cause of Joanna Southcott. Many of the works are compilations from her writings, published and unpublished, but they are all more or less related to the visitation.

A Letter addressed to the Believers in the Everlasting Covenant. By Daniel Jones. Bradford, 1835. pp. 20. P., Pte.

A Second Letter to the Believers in the New Covenant. By Daniel Jones. Brighton, 1835. pp. 24. Pte.

A Scriptural Treatise upon the Fall of Man, and also upon the Second Coming of Christ, etc. Part 1. By Daniel Jones. London, 1835. Price 1s. 6d. B.M., Pte.

Songs of Faith, Hope and Joy, founded on the Prophecies given from 1792 by Joanna Southcott. By L. E. C. Jones. Brighton, 1835. pp. 32. Pte.

The True Explanation of the Bible revealed by Divine Communications to Joanna Southcott. By L. E. C. Jones. Brighton, 1835. Part 1 (unfinished). pp. 16. Pte.

A Letter of Warning to the Whole World from the Signs of the Seven Days, etc. By D. Jones. Bradford, 1836. pp. 9. Pte.

Table of the Kingdoms of Men and the Kingdom of God.
By D. Jones. London, 1839. B.M., Pte.

The Sixth Book of Wonders, being a verbatim copy of the Six Sealed Letters, dated Sept., 1813, announcing this day the Rev. Jos. Pomeroy married to Joanna Southcott, etc. By D. Jones. Bath, 1842. pp. 92. Pte.

Scriptural Evidences on the Day of Judgment and the ten last Kingdoms, etc. By D. Jones. London and Bradford (Wilts), 1843. pp. 90. Pte.

Scriptures of the Revelation of the Most High, etc., etc. By L. E. C. Jones. London, 1843. pp. 32 (unfinished). Price 3d. Pte.

An Offering from the Seven Spirits which are before the Throne, etc. By D. Jones. London, 1847 (and Bradford). pp. 90. Known as *A Watchman's Warning*. Pte.

To the Believers in the Cause of Joanna Southcott. By D. Jones. Bath, 1852. pp. 4. Pte.

The Time for Worshipping in the Spirit illucidated from the visitation of prophecy to Joanna Southcott, etc. By L. E. C. Jones. Bath, 1853. Part 1. pp. 58 (unfinished). Price 1s. P., Pte.

Contains list of Joanna Southcott's books.

An Answer to a Pamphlet called "The Coming Struggle among the Nations of the Earth." By D. Jones. Bradford (Wilts). 1853. pp. 41. Pte.

The Small Still Voice in London, explaining Mysteries hitherto unknown, etc. Parts 1 and 2. Collected and arranged by L. E. C. Jones. Bradford-on-Avon, 1853.

A collection of communications of Joanna not previously published. The pagination is not continuous, and the leaflets are separately priced. The contents vary in different collections; there are approximately 488 pp. J.R., Pte.

A Letter to the Believers in the Mission of Joanna Southcott upon the Sixth and Seventh Books of Wonders. By D. Jones. Bradford-on-Avon, 1859. pp. 16. Price 6d. Pte.

Texts of Scripture relating to the Kingdom of God on Earth. By D. Jones. Bradford (Wilts), 1859. pp. 4. Price 1d. Pte.

The Everlasting Gospel. Shiloh's Ten Days' Warning to the Churches. By D. Jones. Bradford-on-Avon, 1864. pp. 3. Pte.

The Everlasting Gospel. Shiloh's Seven Seals. By D. Jones. Bradford-on-Avon, 1864. pp. 4. J.R.

Commentary upon the Prayers and Ordinances of the English Protestant Church, etc. By L. E. C. Jones. Bradford-on-Avon, 1863. With Catalogue of Joanna Southcott's works. pp. 84. B.M., Pte.

The Scriptures of the Holy Trinity. The New Testament explained in England by the Voice of the Spirit of Christ. Parts 1-4. Price 3s. each part. By L. E. C. Jones. London, 1865. pp. 488. B.M., Pte.

Proclamation to the Believers in the Divine Mission of Joanna Southcott. Handbill apparently issued by Mr. and Mrs. Peacock, 3 Glos'ter Place, Westmoreland Road, Walworth Common. 3 June, 1864.

A brief note appeared in *Devon Notes and Queries* (II, p. 241, par. 196), 1904, relative to Joanna Southcott, by the Rev. F. B. Dickinson, with photograph of one of the "seals." The note contained many inaccuracies, according to the evidence of Joanna herself and her friends, and this was shown in a further note inserted April, 1912 (Vol. VII, p. 69, par. 42).

Devonshire Characters. By the Rev. S. Baring-Gould. 1908. pp. 390-404.

The authorities from which this account of Joanna was written appear to be Southey's *Letters*, Reece's *Correct*

Statement, Mathias' Case of Joanna Southcott, and Fairburn's Life, all of which show a great amount of bias. As a consequence the errors which the author has fallen into are very numerous. There is, however, a good portrait of Joanna at the commencement of the narrative. Miss Seymour criticizes this account in her *Express* (Vol. II, p. 409).

The Express, containing The Life and Divine Writings of Joanna Southcott. By Alice Seymour. London, 1909. 2 volumes, containing together 779 pages.

This work is, without doubt, the most comprehensive ever published on the subject. The circumstances of Joanna's life have been deduced almost entirely from her own writings, and the copious extracts from her printed works convey a good general idea of her visitation. The account of the visit to London of the Rev. T. P. Foley, taken from his own diary, is an interesting novelty, and no evidence is withheld regarding the last illness and death of Joanna; both Dr. Reece's *Correct Statement* and Pullen's *Refutation* have been used to advantage. There is a good reproduction of Sharp's likeness of Joanna in Vol. I; the other illustrations are: The Box of Sealed Writings, The Communion Cup, The Seal and the Patchwork Quilt worked by Joanna.

The Dictionary of National Biography, 1909, contains a very unbiassed account of Joanna Southcott, with the possible exception of the descriptive word "fanatic." The author, speaking of her career before she was forty years of age, says, "Her character was blameless and her service faithful," and with regard to her doctrine, "Except for a mild universalism, her own theology was orthodox." She was, it is stated, falsely accused of selling the seals.

Encyclopædic information with regard to Joanna is particularly faulty, and the 11th edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* is no exception. It is therein stated that, "She began to 'seal' the 144,000 elect at a charge varying from 12s. to a guinea"; "died of brain disease on the 29th October, 1814"; and "Her followers became extinct at the end of the 19th century." Every detail of this is incorrect.

Copy of Tablet erected by friends in 1828, and placed by the railings on the south side of St. John's Wood Church-yard (printed leaflet). 4 pp. foolscap fol. Pte.

"Sacred to the Memory of Joanna Southcott, who lies interred 26 feet front of this tablet. She departed this life December 27th, 1814, aged 65 years.

While through all thy wondrous days,
Heaven and earth enraptur'd gaz'd ;
While vain sages think they know
Secrets THOU ALONE canst shew,
Time alone will tell what hour
Thoul't appear in GREATER power.

Behold, the time shall come that these tokens, etc.
2 Esd. vii. 26.

For the vision is yet for an appointed time, etc. Hab. ii. 3.
And whosoever is delivered, etc. 2 Esd. vii. 27.

This tablet was erected by the sincere friends of the above, Anno Domini 1828."

There are four writers whose works were founded, more or less directly, upon the doctrines and ideas first promulgated by Joanna Southcott, works which, with one exception, are well known to believers in her Mission, and have had an extensive circulation. So that a Bibliography of Joanna's writings would be incomplete unless mention were made of them. A large number of the followers of Joanna became members of the Church presided over by George Turner, some of whose communications were allowed by Joanna to be from a divine influence. He wrote : *Communications of the Holy Spirit of God*, 1805 (Pte.) ; *A Vindication for the Honour of God, etc.*, 1807 (B.M., Pte.) ; *A Book of Wonders*, 1817 (B.M., Pte.) ; and about fifteen other pamphlets. He died in 1821. The next writer was William Shaw, who died in 1822 ; his *Communications* (Pte.), which appear to be in manuscript only, are dated 1819. The third was John Wroe, who "began to attend meetings of the followers of Joanna Southcott, then led by George Turner of Leeds," according to the *Dictionary of National Biography*. He wrote *Private Communications* (Pte.), and *Divine Communications* (B.M., Pte.), dated from 1819 to

1862. The last being J. J. Jezreel, who wrote *Extracts from the Flying Roll*.

It is said, with some show of authority, that Miss Jane Townley collected all publications for and against Joanna Southcott which appeared up to the time of her own death in 1825, that the collection numbered 780 books, pamphlets, and newspaper cuttings, irrespective of Joanna's writings, and that it has within recent years been acquired by an American.

LIST OF MEMBERS.

p Indicates Past Presidents.

* Indicates Life Members. † Indicates Honorary Members.

‡ Indicates Members who retire at the end of the current year.

The Names of Members of the Council are printed in small capitals;
and of Members whose addresses are not known, in italics.

Notice of Changes of Residence, of Resignations, and of Decease of Members
should be sent to the General Secretary.

Year of
Election.

ORIGINAL MEMBERS.

- 1862†*p*HARPLEY, Rev. W., M.A., F.C.P.S., Clayhanger Rectory,
Tiverton. [*Foundation Member.*] (VICE-PRESIDENT.)
1862*p*HINE, JAMES, F.R.I.B.A., Roydon, Launceston.

- 1901 Acland, Sir C. T. D., Bart., M.A., D.L., J.P., Killerton Park,
near Exeter.
1896 ADAMS, MAXWELL, c/o Messrs. William Brendon & Son,
Ltd., Plymouth (HON. GENERAL SECRETARY).
1900*ADAMS, S. P., Elbury Lodge, Newton Abbot.
1908 Albert Memorial Library, etc. (The Royal), Exeter, per
H. Tapley Soper, F.R.Hist.S.
1886*Aldridge, C., M.D., Bellevue House, Plympton.
1909 ALEXANDER, J. J., M.A., J.P., Grammar School, Tavistock.
1911 Alexander, Philip T., J.P., C.C., Brixham, S. Devon.
1896*Allhusen, C. Wilton, Pinhay, Lyme Regis.
1874 Alsop, R., Landscore Lodge, Teignmouth.
1877 Amery, Jasper, 186, Sheen Road, Richmond, Surrey.
1869 AMERY, J. S., Druid, Ashburton (HON. GENERAL TREASURER).
1891 Amory, Sir J. Heathcoat, Bart., Knightshayes, Tiverton.
1901 ANDREW, SIDNEY, 18, West Southernhay, Exeter (HON.
LOCAL SECRETARY).
1894 Andrews, John, Traine, Modbury, Ivybridge.
1912 Anstey, A., 13, Lyndhurst Road, Exeter.
1911 Arkwright, Rev. E. H., M.A., M.V.O., Royal Naval College,
Dartmouth.
1901 Arthur, Mrs., Atherington Rectory, Umberleigh, R.S.O.,
North Devon.
1912 Astor, Waldorf W., M.P., Cliveden, Taplow, Bucks.
1912 Axe, Rev. Arthur, Heavitree, Exeter.

- 1912 Babbage, G., Exeter Road, Exmouth.
 1906 Baker, Rev. H. G., Budleigh Salterton, South Devon.
 1911 Ball, Edwin Jennings, Ph.D., 5, Endsleigh Terrace, Tavistock.
 1912 Ballan, Thomas Marriott, Shincliffe, Velwell Road, Exeter.
 1912 Baring, Sir Godfrey, Bart., M.P., 32, Lowndes Square, London, S.W.
 1878*^pBARING-GOULD, Rev. S., M.A., Lew Trenchard, Lewdown.
 1911 Barns, Mrs. Cecilia, Throwleigh, near Chagford, Devon.
 1911 Barns, Rev. W. E. C., 14, Rowley Road, St. Marychurch, Torquay.
 1902*Barratt, Sir Francis Layland, Bart., M.A., 68, Cadogan Square, London, S.W.
 1898*Bayley, Arthur R., B.A., F.R.Hist.S., St. Margaret's, Great Malvern.
 1894*Bayly, Miss A., Seven Trees, Plymouth.
 1903 Bayly, John, Highlands, Ivybridge.
 1912 Benn, A. Shirley, M.P., 18, Bolton Gardens, London, S.W.
 1905 Bennett, Ellery A., 17, Courtenay Street, Plymouth.
 1906 Bent, Major Morris, Deerswell, Paignton.
 1912 Bickersteth, Rev. H. L., B.A., Clevedon, Glanville Road, Tavistock.
 1904 Bird, W. Montagu, J.P., Dacre House, Ringmore, Teignmouth.
 1912 Birdwood, Allan Roger, 18, Orchard Gardens, Teignmouth.
 1912 Birkett, Ernest E., The Knoll, Heavitree, Exeter.
 1897 Birks, Rev. H. A., M.A., Kingsbridge.
 1889 Birmingham Free Library, Birmingham.
 1886 BLACKLER, T. A., Royal Marble Works, St. Marychurch, Torquay.
 1908 Bloor, Rev. R. H., Crossmead, Exeter.
 1909 BODY, MARTIN, Rockmount, Launceston.
 1902 Bond, F. Bligh, F.R.I.B.A., Star Life Building, St. Augustine's Parade, Bristol.
 1912‡Bond, Francis William, 40, Loughborough Park, Brixton, S.W.
 1901 Bond, P. G., 105, Union Street, Plymouth.
 1901 Bond, Miss S. C., 22, Elm Street, Rockland, Knox Co., Maine, U.S.A.
 1906 Bond, Rev. W. F., B.A., Lancing College, Shoreham, Sussex.
 1912 Boucher, John Bishop, Rosemont, Heavitree Road, Exeter.
 —1906 Bovey, Thomas William Widger, M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P.LOND., Castle House, Bampton, N. Devon.
 1912 Bowden, John F., F.S.I., Crossways, West Avenue, Exeter.
 1890*Bowring, Thos. B., 7, Palace Gate, London, W.
 1898 Boyer, Commander F., R.N., Woodbine Cottage, Tavistock.
 1911 Boyle, Mrs. C. Vicars, Cheldon Rectory, Chulmleigh, N. Devon.
 1912‡Bradford, Frederick, *Express and Echo* Office, Exeter.
 1900*Bradridge, C. Kingsley, Netherleigh, Blandford, Dorset.
 1912 Brant, Captain, R.N., St. Martins, Budleigh Salterton.
 1905 Brendon, Charles E., Dunheved, Saltash.
 1892 Brendon, W. T., Whistley, Yelverton, R.S.O.
 1911‡BRIDSON, Miss MARY FRANCES COSSART, Ford Brow, Dartmouth.

- 1905 Briggs, C. A., F.E.S., Rock House, Lynmouth, North Devon.
 1911 Brown, John, J.P., Avondale, Dartmouth.
 1909†Brushfield, Harold C., South Side, Chepstow Road, Croydon, Surrey.
 1911 Brushfield, Mrs. T. N., 5, The Parade, Budleigh Salterton.
 1911*Brushfield, Miles Nadauld, 13, Allfarthing Lane, Wandsworth Common, Surrey.
 1911 Buckfast, The Right Rev. The Lord Abbot of (Dom Anshar Vonier, O.S.B.), Buckfast Abbey, Buckfast, S. Devon.
 1906 Budgett, Mrs. W. Hill, Longcroft, Hayward's Heath, Sussex.
 1904 Bullock, Miss Henrietta Ann, 1, Brimley Villas, Teignmouth.
 1912 Burlace, J. B., 38, Corfton Road, Ealing, W.
 1911 Burn, Colonel C. R., M.P., 77, Cadogan Square, London, S.W.
 1887^pBURNARD, ROBERT, J.P., F.S.A., Stoke-in-teignhead, Teignmouth (VICE-PRESIDENT).
 1887 Burnard, Mrs. F. L., Stoke-in-teignhead, Teignmouth.
 1906 Bywater, Ingram, M.A., 93, Onslow Square, London, S.W.
- 1902 Calmady, Charles Calmady, Stoney Croft, Horrabridge.
 1912 Campion, H., 3, Baring Place, Heavitree, Exeter (VICE-PRESIDENT).
 1908 Card, F. F., Broadlands, Newton Abbot.
 1891*Carpenter, H. J., M.A., LL.M., Penmead, Tiverton.
 1866*Carpenter-Garnier, J., J.P., Rookesbury Park, Wickham, Hants.
 1907 Carr, Henry F., Broadparks, Pinhoe, Exeter.
 1908 Carr-Smith, Miss Rose E., Avondene, Warwick Road, Stratford-on-Avon.
 1902 Carter, Miss E. G., Hartland, North Devon.
 1899 Cartwright, Miss M. Anson, 11, Mont-le-Grand, Heavitree, Exeter.
 1895*Cash, A. Midgley, M.D., Limefield, Torquay.
 1912 Caunter, William Ashford, Oakfield, Cowley Road, Exeter.
 1898 Cave, Sir C. D., Bart., Sidbury Manor, Sidmouth.
 1912 Chadwick, Miss Mary Elizabeth, 5, Linden Vale, St. David's, Exeter.
- 1910 CHALK, Rev. E. S., M.A., Kentisbeare Rectory, Cullompton.
 1900 Chalmers, J. H., Holcombe, Moretonhampstead.
 1911*Chalmers, R. W. S., Christ Church College, Oxford.
 1906 Chambers, R. E. Elliot, Pill House, Bishop's Tawton, Barnstaple.
 1899*Champernowne, A. M., Dartington Hall, Totnes.
 1890 Chanter, C. E. R., Broadmead, Barnstaple.
 1901 CHANTER, Rev. J. F., M.A., Parracombe Rectory, Barnstaple.
 1884 Chapman, H. M., St. Martin's Priory, Canterbury.
 1881^pCHAPMAN, Rev. Professor, M.A., LL.D., 11, Elgin Park, Clifton, Bristol.
- 1906 CHAPPLE, W. E. PITFIELD, The Shrubby, Axminster.
 1906 Chapple, Miss Pitfield, The Shrubby, Axminster.
 1902 Charbonnier, T., Art Gallery, Lynmouth.
 1908 Chennells, Rev. A. W., B.A., LL.D., The College, Newton Abbot.

- 1911 Chichester, Miss, Arlington Court, Barnstaple.
 1912 Child, Herbert, 34, Southernhay East, Exeter.
 1896 CHOPE, R. PEARSE, B.A., The Patent Office, 25, Southampton Buildings, London, W.C.
 1912 Clapp, Cecil Robert Mainwaring, M.A., LL.M. (Cantab.), 2, Bedford Circus, Exeter.
 1905 CLARKE, Miss KATE, 2, Mont-le-Grand, Exeter.
 1901 CLAYDEN, A. W., M.A., F.G.S., Royal Albert Memorial College, Exeter (VICE-PRESIDENT).
 1903 Clay-Finch, Mrs., Bark Hill House, Whitchurch, Salop.
 1871 Clements, Rev. H. G. J., M.A., Vicarage, Sidmouth.
 1881**p*CLIFFORD, Right Hon. Lord, M.A., J.P., Ugbrooke, Chudleigh.
 1912 CLIFFORD, Colonel E. T., v.D., 6, Cranley Gardens, South Kensington, London, S.W.
 1893 Cocks, J. W., Madeira Place, Torquay.
 1909 Colborne, The Hon. Mrs. Mabel Venn, Ivybridge.
 — 1906 Cole, Rev. R. T., M.A., 7, Great George Street, Park Street, Bristol.
 1898**p*COLERIDGE, Right Hon. Lord, M.A., The Chanter's House, Ottery St. Mary.
 1894 Collier, George B., M.A., Whinfield, South Brent.
 1889 Collier, Mortimer, Foxhams, Horrabridge.
 1896 Collings, The Right Hon. Jesse, M.P., Edgbaston, Birmingham.
 1900 Commin, James G., J.P., High Street, Exeter (VICE-PRESIDENT).
 1910 Conybeare, H. C. A., M.A., J.P., Platway, Shaldon, Teignmouth.
 1912 Cornish, Frederick John, 44, Magdalen Road, Exeter.
 1881**Cornish, Rev. J. F.*
 1908 Cornish-Bowden, Peter, Zaire, Newton Abbot.
 1910 Cornwall Polytechnic Society, The Royal (per the Secretary, E. W. Newton, Camborne).
 1904 Coryndon, R. T., Mbabane, Swaziland, S. Africa.
 1895 Cowlard, C. L., Madford, Launceston.
 1901 Cox, Irwin E. B., M.P., Moat Mount, Mill Hill, Middlesex.
 1911*Crabbe, Herbert Ernest, F.R.G.S., Teignbridge House, Kingsteignton, S. Devon.
 1908 Crang, W. H., 11, Collingwood Villas, Devonport.
 1911 Cree, W. E., M.D., Penryn, Watts Road, Tavistock.
 1904 Crespin, C. Legassicke, 51, West Cromwell Road, London, S.W.
 1907 CRESSWELL, Miss BEATRIX F., 23, Wonford Road, Exeter.
 1912 Crocker, James, F.R.I.B.A., Stuckey's Bank Chambers, High Street, Exeter.
 1898**p*CROFT, Sir ALFRED W., K.C.I.E., J.P., M.A., Rumleigh, Bere Alston, R.S.O. (VICE-PRESIDENT).
 1910 Croslegh, Rev. C., D.D., R.D., Bradninch Vicarage, Cullompton.
 1886 Cumming, Stephen A., 3, Arlington Park Mansions, Chiswick, London, W.

1912 Dart, Miss Edith, The Orchard, Crediton.

1911 Davey, G. W., 16, John Street, Bedford Row, London. W.C.

- 1911 Davie, G. C., J.P., C.C., The Elms, Bishop's Tawton, Barnstaple.
 1896 DAVIES, W., Bellfield, Kingsbridge.
 1897 Davis, J. W., Doneraile, Exmouth.
 1878 Davson, F. A., M.D., J.P., Mount Galpine, Dartmouth.
 1902 Daw, Mrs., Yeoldon, Northam, N. Devon.
 1912 Daw, R. Arthur, 9, Regent's Park, Heavitree, Exeter.
 1888* Dawson, Hon. Richard, J.P., D.L., M.A., Holne Park, Ashburton.
 1912 Depree, F. Templer, Newlands, Exeter.
 1911 Devon and Exeter Club, Exeter (per Hon. Sec.).
 1905 Dewey, Rev. Stanley D., M.A., Rectory, Moretonhampstead.
 1902 Dimond-Churchward, Rev. Preb., M.D., The Vicarage, Northam, North Devon.
 1882 DOE, GEORGE M., Enfield, Great Torrington.
 1912 Donald, Major-General C. E., St. Loyes, Exeter.
 1898* Donaldson, Rev. E. A., Pyworthy Rectory, Holsworthy, North Devon.
 1907 DRAKE, F. MORRIS, Cathedral Yard, Exeter.
 1904 Drake, Major William Hedley, Brynwillow, Polsham Park, Paignton.
 1902 Drayton, Harry G., 201, High Street, Exeter.
 1910 Drewe, Julius C., J.P., Wadhurst Hall, Sussex.
 1910 Drewe, William Francis, Broadhembury House, Honiton.
 1912 Du Buisson, Major, Woodlands, Kenn, Devon.
 1909 Duke, H. E., K.C., M.P., 37, Alleyn Park, Dulwich, London, S. E. (VICE-PRESIDENT).
 1889 DUNCAN, A. G., J.P., South Bank, Bideford.
 1898* Dunning, Sir E. H., Knt., J.P.
 1901* Durnford, George, J.P., C.A., F.C.A.CAN., Greenhythe, Westmount, Montreal, Canada.
 1879 Dymond, Arthur H., 14, Bedford Circus, Exeter (VICE-PRESIDENT).
 1902 Dymond, Mrs. Robert, The Mount, Bideford.

 1908 Eames, Miss Kate, Cotley, near Chard.
 1907 Eames, Miss Maria Deane, Cotley, near Chard.
 1901 Earle, The Right Rev. Alfred, D.D., Bishop of Marlborough, Dean of Exeter, The Deanery, Exeter (VICE-PRESIDENT).
 1909 Eastabrook, Miss, 17, Tavistock Street, Devonport.
 1898 Eccles, J. A. J., Stentwood, Dunkeswell Abbey, Honiton.
 1891p EDMONDS, Rev. CHANCELLOR, B.D., The Close, Exeter (VICE-PRESIDENT).
 1901 Edye, Lieut.-Col., Gifford Lodge, Strawberry Hill, Middlesex.
 1896 ELLIOT, EDMUND, A. S., M.R.C.S., M.B.O.U., Woodville, Kingsbridge.
 1911 Elliot, Mrs. W. R., Roundham View, Paignton.
 1909 Elliot, Rev. F. R., M.A., M.V.O., Tregie, Paignton.
 1909p ENYS, JOHN D., J.P., F.G.S., Enys, Penryn S.O., Cornwall.
 1888 Ermen, Miss, St. Catherine's, Torre, Torquay.
 1898* Evans, Arnold, 4, Lithfield Place, Clifton.

- 1911 Evan-Thomas, Rear-Admiral Hugh, R.N., M.V.O., Redlap House, near Dartmouth.
- 1904 Evans, Major G. A. Penrhys, Furzedene, Budleigh Salterton.
- 1895 EVANS, H. MONTAGU, 2, Mount Tamar Villas, St. Budeaux, Devon.
- 1886 Evans, J. J. Ogilvie, 1, Orchard Gardens, Teignmouth.
- 1880*EVANS, Parker N., Park View, Brockley, West Town, R.S.O., Somerset.
- 1902*Eve, The Hon. Sir H. T., Yarner, Bovey Tracey.
- 1901 Every, Rev. H., M.A., Holy Trinity Vicarage, Barnstaple.
- 1904 Every, Richard, Marlands, Heavitree, Exeter.
- 1905pEXETER, The Rt. Rev. THE LORD BISHOP of, The Palace, Exeter (VICE-PRESIDENT).
- 1912 Fairbrother, G. H., Whitehall, Bideford.
- 1905 Falcon, T. A., M.A., Hill Close, Braunton, Devon.
- 1896 Firth, H. Mallaby, Knowle, Ashburton.
- 1896*Firth, R. W., Place, Ashburton.
- 1903 Fisher, Arthur, St. Aubyns, Tiverton.
- 1911 Fitzherbert, S. W., Norbury, Kingswear, Dartmouth.
- 1912 Flavell, Rev. T., M.A., Christow Vicarage, near Exeter.
- 1911 Fleming, George McIntosh, c.c., Loventor Manor, Totnes.
- 1908 Foakes, E. J., J.P., Westbury House, Dunmow, Essex.
- 1906 Fortescue, Rt. Hon. the Earl, Castle Hill, South Molton.
- 1910 FOSTER, M. T., Fore Street, Cullompton.
- 1867*Foster, Rev. J. P., M.A., Cotswold Park, Cirencester.
- 1908 Fouracre, J. T., J.P., 16, Portland Square, Plymouth.
- 1876*Fowler, Rev. Canon W. W., Earley Vicarage, Reading.
- 1876*Fox, Charles, The Pynes, Warlingham-on-the-Hill, Surrey.
- 1892 Francis, H., C.E., 12, Lockyer Street, Plymouth.
- 1900 Francken, W. A., Okehampton.
- 1911 Frean, George Moore, Cranicombe, Branksome Avenue, Bourne-mouth.
- 1911 Frean, William Peek, Gramercy Tower, Dartmouth.
- 1909†Freeman, Mrs. Lucy Emma, High View, Mannamead.
- 1894*Frost, F. C., F.S.A., Regent Street, Teignmouth.
- 1912 FROUDE, ASHLEY A., C.M.G., Collapit Creek, Kingsbridge, S. Devon (PRESIDENT-ELECT).
- 1908 Fulford, Francis A., Great Fulford, Dunsford, Exeter.
- 1880 Furneaux, J., Tor View, Buckfastleigh, Devon.
- 1908 Gallsworthy, Frank, Wellesley Buildings, Wellington Street, Leeds.
- 1912 Gandy, The Very Rev. Monsignor, The Presbytery, South Street, Exeter (VICE-PRESIDENT).
- 1906 Gardiner, John, The Elms, Rudgeway, R.S.O., Glos.
- 1901 Gauntlett, George, 27, Dix's Field, Exeter.
- 1909 Geen, Harry, Brandize, Avenue Road, Torquay.
- 1910 Geen, Henry, J.P., Tenby House, Okehampton.

- 1908 Gervis, Frederick H., Roborough House, Torquay.
 1900*Gervis, Henry, M.D., F.R.C.P., F.S.A., J.P., 15, Royal Crescent, Bath.
 1910 Gidley, G. G., M.D., Heyford House, Cullompton.
 1912 Gidley, Mrs. G. G., Heyford House, Cullompton.
 1909 Giffard, Edward Walter, 13, Chesham Place, London, S.W.
 1901 Giles, Rev. A. L., M.A., The Vicarage, Paignton.
 1892*Gill, Miss, St. Peter Street, Tiverton.
 1877*Glyde, E. E., F.R.Met.Soc., 323, Ross Street, Edmonton, Alta, Canada.
 1902 Goaman, Thomas, J.P., 14, Butt Gardens, Bideford.
 1911 Goodridge, A., Carlton Terrace, Dartmouth.
 1911 Grant, W. J., Parade House, Dartmouth.
 1871 Gregory, A. T., *Gazette* Office, Tiverton.
 1896 Grose, S., M.D., F.R.C.S., Bishopsteignton, Teignmouth.
 1902 Groves-Cooper, J., Wear Gifford, Bideford.
 1910 Gundry, Lieut.-Col., H. B., J.P., The Grange, Honiton.
 1873*Guyer, J. B., F.C.S., Wrentham, Torquay.
- 1892^pHALSBURY, The Right Hon. the Earl of, 4, Ennismore Gardens, London, S.W.
 1889 Hamling, J. G., F.G.S., The Close, Barnstaple.
 1880*Hamlyn, Joseph, Fullaford, Buckfastleigh.
 1878 Hamlyn, W. B., Widecombe Cot, Barrington Road, Torquay.
 1895 Harding, T. L., Elmington, Chelston, Torquay.
 1912 Hardy, Francis James, Gittisham Hill, Honiton.
 1892 Harpley, Rev. F. R. A., B.A., Harleston, Northampton.
 1893 Harris, Miss, Sunningdale, Portland Avenue, Exmouth.
 1905 HARTE, WALTER J., Royal Albert Memorial College, Exeter.
 1909 Hart-Smith, C. L., Castle Street, Launceston.
 1908 Harvard University Library, Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A., per Messrs. Edward G. Allen and Son, Ltd., 14, Grape Street, Shaftesbury Avenue, London, W.C.
 1898*Harvey, Henry Fairfax, Croyle, near Cullompton.
 1900 Harvey, Sir Robert, D.L., J.P., Dundridge, Totnes.
 1892*Harvey, T. H., J.P., Blackbrook Grove, Fareham, Hants.
 1875*Hatt-Cook, Herbert, Hartford Hall, Cheshire.
 1910 Hawkins, Rev. Edward J., B.A., 18, Marlborough Road, Exeter.
 1912 Headridge, Miss J., Episcopal Modern School, Exeter.
 1912 Hearn, Mrs. Eliza Christine, Ford House, Alphington Road, Exeter.
 1909 Hebbert, Ernest, Berrynarbor, near Ilfracombe.
 1890*Heberden, W. B., C.B., Elmfield, Exeter (VICE-PRESIDENT).
 1906 Henning, Rev. J., M.A., Cockington Vicarage, Torquay.
 1888*Hepburn, Sir T. H., Knt., J.P., C.C., Dunmore, Bradninch, Cullompton (VICE-PRESIDENT).
 1907 Herron, H. G. W., c/o Messrs. Grindlay & Co., 54, Parliament Street, S.W.
 1908 Hext, George, Kingstone, Newton Abbot.
 1882*HIERN, W. P., M.A., F.R.S., Castle House, Barnstaple.

- 1909 Hill, Rev. H. A., Worlington Rectory, Morchard Bishop,
North Devon.
- 1892*Hingston, C. A., M.D., 3, The Esplanade, Plymouth.
- 1907 Hitchcock, Arthur, Haddon Corner, Kilmington, Axminster.
- 1912 Hitchcock, Walter M., 48, Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street,
London, E.C.
- 1898 HODGSON, T. V., Municipal Museum, Plymouth.
- 1901 Holman, H. Wilson, 4, Lloyd's Avenue, Fenchurch Street,
London, E.C.
- 1901 Holman, Herbert, M.A., LL.B., Haldon Lodge, Teignmouth.
- 1893 Holman, Joseph, Downside House, Downlewne, Sneyd,
Bristol.
- 1906 Holman, Francis Arthur, Jerviston, Streatham Common,
London, S.W.
- 1906 Holman, Ernest Symons, The Rookery, Streatham Common,
London, S.W.
- 1906 Holmes, Harold, Cherryford, Martinhoe, Parracombe.
- 1872 Hooper, B., Bournbrook, Torquay.
- 1910 Hooppell, Rev. J. L. E., St. Peter's Vicarage, Hoxton Square,
London, N.
- 1911 Hopper, A. E., Bridge Buildings, Barnstaple.
- 1892†Hornbrook, W., J.P., Garfield Villa, Stuart Road, Devonport.
- 1912 Horsburgh, J., 43, Pennsylvania Road, Exeter.
- 1912 Horsburgh, Mrs. Alice Frances, 43, Pennsylvania Road, Exeter.
- 1896*Hosegood, S., Chatford House, Clifton, Bristol.
- 1912 Houghton, Mrs. Mary J., St. Kerrians, Exeter.
- 1895*HUGHES, T. CANN, M.A., F.S.A., Town Clerk, Lancaster.
- 1901 Humphreys, H. Howard, A.M.I.C.E., Glenray, Wembly-by-
Harrow.
- 1868*HUNT, A. R., M.A., F.G.S., F.L.S., Southwood, Torquay.
- 1906 Hunt, Rev. J. Lyde, M.A., Efford, Paignton.
- 1876 Hurrell, J. S., The Manor House, Kingsbridge.
- 1886 Huxtable, James, 2, Brockman Road, Folkestone.
- 1908 Hyde, The Venble. H. B., The Vicarage, Bovey Tracey.
- 1893 Iredale, A., Strand, Torquay.
- 1890*Jackson, Mark, Homelea, Purley, Surrey.
- 1904 Jackson, Rev. Preb. P., Kingsteignton Vicarage, Newton
Abbot.
- 1912 Jago, Miss Bessie, St. Margaret's, Exeter.
- 1912 James, C. Carkeet, The Ministry, Cairo, Egypt.
- 1908 James, S. Boucher, Hallsannery, Bideford.
- 1901 Jerman, J., F.R.I.B.A., F.R.M.S., The Bungalow, Topsham Road,
Exeter.
- 1912 Jerman, Richard, 22, St. David's Hill, Exeter.
- 1911 JOCE, THOMAS JAMES, 3, Manor Crescent, Newton Abbot.
- 1911 Jones, Miss Mary, Wonford House, Heavitree, Exeter.
- 1906 Jones, Tom, J.P., Royal Castle Hotel, Lynton.

1883 JORDAN, W. F. C., The Laurels, Teignmouth.

1899*JULIAN, Mrs. HESTER, Redholme, Torquay.

1879*Kelland, W. H.

1912 Kelly, E., Clifton, Torquay Road, Newton Abbot.

1912 Kendall, Percy John, Wayside, Union Road, Exeter.

1872*Kennaway, The Rt. Hon. Sir J. H., Bart., M.A., Escot,
Ottery St. Mary.

1880 King, C. R. Baker, A.R.I.B.A., 35, Oakley Square, London, N. W.

1912 Kingdon, Mrs. Susanna Kingdon, Taddyforde, Exeter.

1912 Knapman, Theophilus, Dennysmead, Exeter.

1901 Knight, Mrs. J. H., The Firs, Friar's Walk, Exeter.

1911 Knollys, Major L. F., C.M.G., The Wilderness, Dartmouth.

1909 Knowles-Jones, J. T., M.D., M.R.C.P.

1909 Koebel, O., Murley Grange, Bishopsteignton, Teignmouth.

1903 Laing-Oldham, Philip M. T., M.A., Mount View, Oke-
hampton.

1871 Lake, William Charles, M.D., Benton, Teignmouth.

1907 Lane, John, The Bodley Head, Vigo Street, London, W.

1904 Lang, Charles Augustus, Vigo House, Weybridge.

1898 Langdon, Rev. F. E. W., Membury, near Chard.

1903 Langley, Miss Helen, Postbridge, Princetown.

1906 LARTER, Miss C. ETHELINDA, F.L.S., 2, Summerland Terrace,
St. Marychurch, S. Devon.

1905 LAYCOCK, C. H., Cross Street, Moretonhampstead.

1889*Lee, Col. J. W., Budleigh Salterton, South Devon.

1897pLETHBRIDGE, Sir ROPER, K.C.I.E., D.L., J.P., M.A., The Manor
House, Exbourne, R.S.O., Devon (VICE-PRESIDENT).

1911 Lindsay, W. A., J.P., D.L., K.C., M.A., F.S.A., Windsor Herald,
College of Arms, London, E.C., and Deer Park, Honiton.

1898 Little, J. Hunter, Lisnanagh, Exmouth.

1906 Llewellyn, W. M., C.E., 8, Lawn Road, Cotham, Clifton.

1912 Long, Rev. Ernest Charles, 47, St. David's Hill, Exeter.

1890*Longstaff, G. B., M.D., Twitcham, Morthoe, R.S.O.

1912 Loram, A. T., J.P., Rosamondford, Aylesbeare, Devon (VICE-
PRESIDENT).

1911 Lort-Phillips, E., J.P., Gunfield, Dartmouth.

1900 Lovejoy, H. F., North Gate, Totnes.

1898 LOWE, HARFORD J., Barne House, Christow, Exeter.

1912 Lucas, John Archibald, F.S.I., A.R.I.B.A., Alexandra House,
Denmark Road, Exeter.

1863*Lyte, F. Maxwell, M.A.

1886*MacAndrew, James J., J.P., F.L.S., Lukesland, Ivybridge.

1908 MacCormick, Rev. F., F.S.A.Scot., M.R.A.S., Wrockwardine
Wood Rectory, Wellington, Salop.

1906 MacDermot, E. T., Yenworthy, Lynton, S.O., North Devon.

1894 Mallet, W. R., Exwick Mills, Exeter.

- 1904 Manchester Free Reference Library, King Street, Manchester.
 1905 Manisty, George Eldon, Nattore Lodge, Budleigh Salterton.
 1903 Manlove, Miss B., Moor Lawn, Ashburton.
 1901 Mann, F., Leat Park, Ashburton.
 1897* Mardon, Heber, 2, Litfield Place, Clifton.
 1901 Marines, The Officers Plymouth Division R.M.L.I., Royal Marine Barracks, Plymouth.
 1904 Marshall, James C., Far Cross, Woore, Newcastle, Staffs.
 1909 Marshall, Miss, Gwynfra, Brockley View, Forest Hill, S.E.
 1871* MARTIN, JOHN MAY, C.E., F.M.S., Musgrave House, 6, Denbigh Gardens, Richmond, Surrey.
 1906† Mathieson, Mrs., Otterbourne, Budleigh Salterton.
 1908 Matthews, Lieut.-Colonel Arthur, Gratton, Bow, N. Devon.
 1887 Matthews, Coryndon, F.E.S., Stentaway, Plymstock, S. Devon.
 1896 Matthews, J. W., Erme Wood, Ivybridge.
 1894 Maxwell, Mrs., Lamorna, Torquay.
 1909 May, W. H., 23, Lockyer Street, Plymouth.
 1912 McCrea, Andrew, 59, Magdalen Street, Exeter.
 1907 McLennan, Frank, Lynch Villa, Axminster.
 1898 Melhuish, Rev. George Douglas, M.A., Ashwater Rectory, Beaworthy.
 1902 Messenger, Paymaster Arthur W. B., R.N., H.M.S. *Æolus*, c/o General Post Office.
 1900 Mildmay, F. B., M.P., Flete, Ivybridge.
 1910 Miller, A. N., St. George's Well, Cullompton.
 1910 Monkswell, Right Hon. Lord, 6, Albemarle Street, London, W.
 1905 Moon, W. J., J.P., 20, Home Park Villas, Devonport.
 1911† Moriarty, Mrs. J. S., 7, Elmsleigh Park, Paignton.
 1906 Morley, The Rt. Hon. the Earl of, Saltram, Plympton.
 1909 Morris, R. Burnet, M.A., LL.B., 24, Bramham Gardens, London, S.W.
 1908 Morrison-Bell, Captain E. F., M.P., Pitt House, Chudleigh.
 1910 Morrison-Bell, Major A. C., M.P., 88, St. James' Street, London, S.W.
 1898 MORSHEAD, J. Y. ANDERSON, Lusways, Salcombe Regi, Sidmouth.
 1886* Mortimer, A., 1, Paper Buildings, Temple, London.
 1912 Mortimer, Fleet-Surgeon, Edgar F., R.N., Rock Mount, Torrington, N. Devon.
 1912 Mortimer, John, M.B., 12, Southernhay West, Exeter.
 1912 Mortimer, Thomas Sandford, J.P., 26, St. Leonard's Road, Exeter.
 1874* Mount Edgcumbe, Right Hon. the Earl of, Mount Edgcumbe, Plymouth.
 1904 Murray, O. A. R., The Admiralty, London, S.W.
 1908 Murrin, A. J., J.P., C.C., Avon House, Newton Abbot.
 .
 1911 Nance, J. T., Ford Hill, Dartmouth.
 1885* NECK, J. S., J.P., Great House, Moretonhampstead.

- 1912 Newman, Sir Robert, Bart., D.L., J.P., Mamhead Park, Exeter (VICE-PRESIDENT).
 1902 Newton Club (*per* T. W. Donaldson, Esq., Hon. Sec.), Newton Abbot.
 1908 Nisbet, A. T., M.D., The Laurels, Powderham Road, Newton Abbot.
 1900 Nix, J. A., Tilgate, Crawley, Sussex.
 1909 Norman, W. C., St. Michael's Mount, Honiton.
 1908 Northcote, Gordon Stafford, Willowmead, Budleigh Salterton.
 1909 Northcote, The Lady Rosalind, Pynes, near Exeter.
 1896 Northmore, John, 4, Abbey Mead, Tavistock.
 1910 Norton, J. H., Hillside, Christow, Exeter.
 1903 Norton, W. Joseph, The Shrubbery, Teignmouth.
 1904 Nourse, Rev. Stanhope M., Shute Vicarage, Axminster.
 1903 Nowell, Capt. S., 17, Rock Park, Rock Park Ferry, Liverpool.
- 1912 Opie, Mrs., Woodcockswell, Cullompton.
 1907 O'Reilly, Rev. Father Michael, Lyme Road, Axminster.
 1912 Owen, J. G., Minalto, Barnfield Road, Exeter (VICE-PRESIDENT).
- 1910 Palmer, Frederick William Morton-, M.D., M.A., B.C. (Cantab.), 13, Orchard Gardens, Teignmouth.
 1904 Palmer, W. P., Waterloo Cottage, Exmouth.
 1911 Pannell, Rev. A. P., Bulmer Vicarage, Sudbury, Suffolk.
 1906 Parry, H. Lloyd, B.A., B.Sc., LL.B., Guildhall, Exeter (VICE-PRESIDENT).
 1912† Parson, R. H., *Devon and Exeter Gazette* Office, Exeter.
 1912 Pastfield, John Robinson, Olivedale, 3, Prince's Street, South, Exeter.
 1903 Patch, Col. R., C.B., Fersfield, Newton Abbot.
 1908 Pateman, Arthur F., Broadway Cottage, Littleham, Exmouth.
 1902 Patey, Rev. Charles Robert, Sowton Rectory, Exeter.
 1903 Peacock, H. G., L.R.C.P., M.R.C.S., Mem. Brit. Mycol. Soc., The Moors, Bishopsteignton, Teignmouth.
 1901 Pearse, James, 11, Salutory Mount, Heavitree, Exeter.
 1896 PEARSON, Rev. J. B., D.D., 35, Marlborough Road, Bournemouth, W.
 1910 Peck, Miss Charlotte L., Maidencombe House, St. Marychurch, Torquay.
 1911 Peek, C., Deer Park, Stoke Fleming, near Dartmouth.
 1905 Peet, A. W., Penrallt, Kingskerswell, near Newton Abbot.
 1882 Penzance Library, Penzance.
 1908 Peter, Claude H., Town Clerk's Office, Launceston.
 1897 Peter, Thurstan C., Redruth.
 1883 Petherick, J., 8, Clifton Grove, Torquay.
 1910 Pilditch, Philip E., Weybridge, Surrey.
 1912 Pinder, William Henry, Shillingford Lodge, near Exeter.

- 1899 Pinkham, Charles, J.P., C.A., Linden Lodge, 7, Winchester Avenue, Brondesbury, N.W.
 1879 Plymouth Free Public Library, Plymouth.
 1884 Plymouth Proprietary Library, Cornwall Street, Plymouth.
 1880 Pode, J. D., Slade, Cornwood, Ivybridge.
 1892^pPOLLOCK, Sir F., Bart., LL.D., F.S.A., etc., 21, Hyde Park Place, London, W.
 1900*Ponsonby, Rev. Preb. Stewart Gordon, M.A., Rectory, Stoke Damerel, Devonport.
 1900*Pope, John, Coplestone House, Copplestone.
 1878*Powell, W., M.B., F.R.C.S., Hill Garden, Torquay.
 1909 Prance, H. Penrose, Whitchurch, Mannamead, Plymouth.
 1888 PRICKMAN, J. D., Okehampton.
 1911 Prideaux, Colonel W. F., C.S.I., Hopeville, St. Peters-in-Thanet, Kent.
 1901 Prideaux, W. de C., F.R.S.M., L.D.S.ENG., 12, Frederick Place, Weymouth.
 1912 Pring, T. C., Maryland, Spicer Road, Exeter (VICE-PRESIDENT).
 1912 Pring, W. J., Spreytonway, Exeter.
 1887 PROWSE, ARTHUR B., M.D., F.R.C.S., 5, Lansdown Place, Clifton.
 1891 Prowse, W. B., L.R.C.P., M.R.C.S., 31, Vernon Terrace, Brighton.
 1894*Pryke, Rev. Canon W. E., M.A., The Close, Exeter (VICE-PRESIDENT).
 1903 Prynne, G. H. Fellowes, F.R.I.B.A., 6, Queen Anne's Gate, Westminster, London, S.W.
 1893 Punchard, Rev. Canon E. G., D.D., St. Mary's Vicarage, Ely.
- 1901 Radford, A. J. V., F.S.A., Vacye, College Road, Malvern.
 1898*Radford, Arthur L., F.S.A., Bovey House, Beer, Devon.
 1889 Radford, Sir C. H., J.P., 4, The Crescent, Plymouth.
 1888 RADFORD, Mrs., Chiswick House, Ditton Hill, Surbiton, Surrey.
 1896 REED, HARBOTTLE, F.R.I.B.A., 57, St. David's Hill, Exeter.
 1912 Reed, Herbert, Thornlea, Cowley Road, Exeter.
 1912 Reed, William Henry, Thornlea, Cowley Road, Exeter.
 1911 Reeve, J. Arthur, Yarrow Bank, Kingswear, Dartmouth.
 1909 Reform Club, Pall Mall, London, S.W. (*per* Librarian).
 1885*Reichel, L. H., Beara Court, Highampton, North Devon.
 1872 REICHEL, Rev. OSWALD J., B.C.L., F.S.A., A la Ronde, Lymington, Devon.
 1911 Rendell, Dr., 19, Norfolk Crescent, Hyde Park, London, W.
 1904 Reynell, B., 152, Selhurst Road, South Norwood, London, S.E.
 1898*Reynell-Upham, W. Upham, 13, Constantine Road, Hampstead, London, N.W.
 1912 Rice, Dr. George, The Gables, Bideford.
 1912 Roach, Albert Edward, 10, Wonford Road, Exeter.

- 1912 Roberts, C. T. K., Fairhill, Wonford Road, Exeter (VICE-PRESIDENT).
 1906 Roberts, Rev. R. O., East Down Rectory, Barnstaple.
 1909 Rogers, R. B., Hexworthy, Lawhitton, near Launceston.
 1902* Rogers, W. H., J.P., Orleigh Court, Bideford.
 1912 Ross, Charles Josiah, Ibsley, Exeter.
 1902 Ross, Rev. J. Trelawny, D.D., Ham, near Devonport.
 1906 Ross, H. M., Seawood House, Lynton.
 1900 Row, R. W. Harold, B.Sc., Mount Vernon, Exeter.
 1911 Rowand, Commander Alexander, R.N., D.S.O., Upcott, Okehampton.
 1909 Rowe, Mrs. J. Brooking, Castle Barbican, Plympton.
 1912 Rowe, Charles Edward, J.P., Loma Loma, Exeter.
 1912 Rowe, Thomas Bradley, Lafrowda, Exeter.
 1912 Rowley, F. R., F.R.M.S., Royal Albert Memorial Museum, Exeter.
 1899 Rudd, E. E., 119, West End Lane, West Hampstead, London, N.W.
 1905*Rundell, Towson William, F.R.MET.SOC., 25, Castle Street, Liverpool.
 1910 Rundle, Miss Julia, Kimberley, South Brent, S. Devon.
- 1912 ST. CYRES, The Rt. Hon. Viscount, J.P., M.A., Pynes, near Exeter (PRESIDENT).
 1910 Salter, Miss Mary, Romsdal, Torquay.
 1904 Sanders, James, J.P., C.C., 23, South Street, South Molton.
 1912 Sanders, The Ven. Archdeacon, M.A., The Close, Exeter (VICE-PRESIDENT).
 1912 Satow, The Rt. Hon. Sir Ernest M., P.C., G.C.M.G., Beaumont, Ottery St. Mary (VICE-PRESIDENT).
 1881*Saunders, Ernest G. Symes, M.D., 20, Ker Street, Devonport.
 1877*Saunders, George J. Symes, M.D., Lustleigh, Burlington Place, Eastbourne.
 1895 SAUNDERS, Miss H., 95, East Street, South Molton.
 1910†Savery, G. B., Silverton, near Exeter.
 1910 de Schmid, E. H., 44, St. David's Hill, Exeter.
 1906 Scott, S. Noy, D.P.H. LOND., L.R.C.P. LOND., M.R.C.S. ENG., Elmleigh, Plymstock.
 1900*Scrimgeour, T. S., Natsworthy Manor, Ashburton.
 1906 Segar, Richard, 64, St. Gabriel's Road, Cricklewood, London, N.
 1894 Shapland, A. E., J.P., Church House, South Molton.
 1902 Shapland, J. Dee, M.R.C.S., Burnside, Exmouth.
 1912 Shapland, John, 8, Topsham Road, Exeter.
 1906 Sharland, A., 25, Charleville Circus, West Hill, Sydenham, London, S.E.
 1910 Shattock, Miss Lucy, Sunny Slope, Exmouth.
 1909 Sheldon, Gilbert, High Park, Bideford.
 1910 Sheldon, Miss Lilian, High Park, Bideford.

- 1912 Sheldon, Rev. J. F., St. Leonard's Rectory, Exeter.
 1882 Shelley, Sir John, Bart., Shobrooke Park, Crediton.
 1879 Shelly, John, Princess House, Plymouth.
 1907 Shepperson, Claude, A.R.W.S., 18, Kensington Court Place, London, W.
 1885 Sibbald, J. G. E., Mount Pleasant, Norton S. Philip, Bath.
 1898 Sidmouth, The Right Hon. Viscount, Upottery Manor, Honiton.
 1907 Simpson, S., Tregear, Exeter.
 1902 Skinner, A. J. P., Colyton.
 1906 SKINNER, Miss EMILY, 21, St. Peter Street, Tiverton.
 1878 Slade, S. H., 65, Westbury Road, Westbury-on-Trym, Glos.
 1912 Smith, F., Westcroft, Exeter Road, Exmouth.
 1895*Smith, The Hon. W. F. D., M.P., 3, Grosvenor Place, London, S.W.
 1907 Smyth, H. J., M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P., South Molton.
 1908 Snell, Henry John, 6, Grimston Villas, Houndiscombe Road, Plymouth.
 1905 Snell, M. B., J.P., 5, Copthall Buildings, London, E.C.
 1909 Snell, William D., 27, Chapel Street, Stonehouse, Plymouth
 1912 SNOW, THOMAS, J.P., Union of London and Smith's Bank, Exeter (HON. LOCAL TREASURER).
 1912 Soper, H. Tapley, F.R.HIST.S., The Monastery, Waverley Avenue, Exeter.
 1891 Southcomb, Rev. H. G., M.A., Orchard Dene, Budleigh Salterton.
 1906 Sparks, Miss F. Adeline, Suffolk House, Putney Hill, London, S.W.
 1906 Sparks, Miss Hilda Ernestine, Suffolk House, Putney Hill, London, S.W.
 1899 Stawell, George, Penhallam, Torrington.
 1868**p*STEBBING, Rev. T. R. R., M.A., F.R.S., Ephraim Lodge, The Common, Tunbridge Wells, Kent.
 1901 STEVENS, JOHN, F.R.M.S., 50, St. David's Hill, Exeter.
 1900 Stiff, J. Carleton, Alfoxden, Torquay.
 1898*St. Maur, Harold, D.L., J.P., Stover, Newton Abbot (VICE-PRESIDENT).
 1912 Stocker, John, 66, Cowick Street, Exeter.
 1885*Strode, George S. S., D.L., J.P., Newnham Park, Plympton.
 1911 Stuart, Capt. J. F., R.N., Fairlea, Bideford.
 1875*Sullivan, Miss.
 1906†Sumner, H. G., Church Stile, Monkokehampton, Winkleigh.
 1899 Symonds, F. G., The Firs, Sturminster Newton, Dorset.
 1896 Swansea Devonian Society (*per* S. T. Drew), Swansea.

 1899*Tanner, C. Peile, B.A., Chawleigh Rectory, Chulmleigh.
 1910 Tanqueray, W. H., Townlands, Willand, Cullompton.
 1890 Tavistock Public Library, Bedford Square, Tavistock.

- 1900 Taylor, Alfred, The Mission House, Sehore, Bhopal State Central India.
- 1886 Taylor, Arthur Furneaux, Ingleside, Hanwell, London, W.
- 1868 THORNTON, Rev. W. H., M.A., Rectory, North Bovey, Moreton-hampstead.
- 1912 Thurgood, Ernest Charles, West Hill Lodge, Budleigh Salterton, S. Devon.
- 1910 Tilley, Miss Edith, Elmfield, Coombeinteignhead.
- 1903 Tindall, J., Marino, Sidmouth.
- 1906 Toley, Albert, Devonian, Golden Manor, Hanwell, W.
- 1908 Torquay Public Library, Torquay.
- 1910 Torr, Edward R. Berry, Instow, R.S.O., North Devon.
- 1912 Townsend, W., 19, St. Leonard's Road, Exeter.
- 1908 Treglohan, William Thomas, B.A., Ringmoor, Yelverton.
- 1902**Trist, Pendarves.*
- 1887 TROUP, Mrs. B. FRANCES ROSE-, West Hill, Harrow-on-the-Hill.
- 1876 TUCKER, R. C., J.P., C.A., The Hall, Ashburton (HON. AUDITOR).
- 1911 Tudor, Rev. John Lechmere, M.A., Esgarston Vicarage, Lambourn, Berks.
- 1910 Toker, Miss M. A. R., Ashe House, Musbury, Devon.
- 1905 Turner, Alfred, M.D., Plympton House, Plympton.
- 1906 Turner, C. S., Kelbuie, Westbourne Terrace, Budleigh Salterton.
- 1912 Turner, Mrs. Richard, c/o G. Radford, Esq., M.P., Chiswick House, Surbiton, Surrey.
- 1911 Ulyat, William Francis, Port Meadow, Totnes.
- 1910 Upcott, Colonel Sir Frederick, C.S.I., K.C.V.O., 227, St. James' Court, Buckingham Gate, London, S.W.
- 1881 Varwell, H. B., 2, Pennsylvania Park, Exeter (VICE-PRESIDENT).
- 1911 Varwell, P., Ford Bank, Dartmouth.
- 1912 Veitch, Peter C. M., J.P., Elm Grove House, Exeter.
- 1884 Vicary, W., The Knoll, Newton Abbot.
- 1902*Vidal, Edwin Sealy, 32, Sticklepath, Barnstaple.
- 1906 Vinen, G. Starling, 11, Lombard Street, London, E.C.
- 1912 Vlieland, C. J., M.D., J.P., 20, Southernhay West, Exeter (VICE-PRESIDENT).
- 1910 Vodden, H., Jaffa House, Cullompton.
- 1907 Wainright, Capt. L. A., Bowden, Bovey Tracey.
- 1893 Wainwright, T., The Square, Barnstaple.
- 1912 Walker, Colonel D. Corrie, The Lodge, Westend, Hants.
- 1893 Walker, Robert, M.D., 7, East Terrace, Budleigh Salterton.
- 1912 Walker, Walter, Ardenvohr, Oldfield Park, Bath.
- 1907 Wall, Mrs., Watcombe Priors, St. Marychurch, S. Devon.
- 1895 Walpole, Spencer C., 94, Piccadilly, London, W.
- 1910 Walrond, The Hon. Lionel, M.P., Bradfield, Cullompton.

- 1911† Ward, Francis Wyndham, Heathcote, Milngavie, near Glasgow.
 1901 WARD, Rev. JOSEPH HEALD, 16, Hartley Road, Exmouth.
 1908 WATKIN, HUGH R., Hummersknott, Chelston, Torquay.
 1904 Watts, Francis, Laureston Lodge, Newton Abbot.
 1907 WATTS, H. V. I., M.A., Edgemoor, Bovey Tracey, S. Devon.
 1900 Watts, Mrs. R. I., Greenbank, Yelverton, S. Devon.
 1908 Waymouth, Cecil, 33, Park Road, St. Mary Church, Torquay.
 1900*WEEKES, Miss LEGA-, Sunny Nook, Rugby Mansions, West Kensington, London, W.
 1911 Wellacott, Rev. Thomas William, M.A., The Vicarage, Totnes.
 1911 Wells, Lionel Bury, Stonehanger, Salcombe, Kingsbridge.
 1870*Were, T. Kennet-, M.A., J.P., D.A., Cotlands, Sidmouth.
 1900*Wethey, Charles Henry, The Green, Shaldon, Teignmouth.
 1912 Wheaton, Frederick, 18, Powderham Crescent, Exeter.
 1872†Whitaker, W., B.A., F.R.S., F.G.S., Assoc. Inst. C.E., F. San. Inst., 3, Campden Road, Croydon.
 1893 White, T. Jeston, 39, Burne Street, London, N.W.
 1875 White-Thomson, Col. Sir R. T., C.B., J.P., Broomford Manor, Exbourne, North Devon.
 1907 Whiteway-Wilkinson, W. H., F.R.C.S.E., Inverteign, Teignmouth.
 1897 WHITLEY, H. MICHELL, M.Inst.C.E., Broadway Court, Westminster.
 1912 Widgery, F. J., 11, Howell Road, Exeter.
 1890*Wilcocks, Horace Stone, Mannamead, Plymouth.
 1883*Willcocks, A. D., M.R.C.S., Park Street, Taunton.
 1877*Willcocks, G. Waller, C.B., M.Inst.C.E., Local Government Board, Whitehall, S.W.
 1877*Willcocks, R. H., LL.B., 4, College Hill, Cannon Street, London, E.C.
 1876*Willcocks, W. K., M.A., 6, Stone Buildings, Lincoln's Inn, London, W.C.
 1912*Willey, Mrs. Emilie L., Pennsylvania Park, Exeter.
 1912 Willey, Miss Lilian May, Pennsylvania Park, Exeter.
 1893 Willis, W. H., Ivanhoe, 28, Keswick Road, East Putney, London, S.W.
 1912 Wills, Sir E. Channing, Bart., M.A., F.C.S., Harcombe, Chudleigh, S. Devon (VICE-PRESIDENT).
 1911 Wilson, A. H., Sandridge Park, near Totnes.
 1911 Wilton, T., J.P., C.C., Harwarden, Dartmouth.
 1875*WINDEATT, EDWARD, Heckwood, Totnes.
 1896 WINDEATT, GEORGE E., Totnes.
 1896 Winget, W., Glen Almond, Cockington, Torquay.
 1872*Winwood, Rev. H. H., M.A., F.G.S., 11, Cavendish Crescent, Bath.
 1884*Wolfe, J. E., 24, Belsize Crescent, Hampstead, N.W.
 1884*WOODHOUSE, H. B. S., 7, St. Lawrence Road, Plymouth.
 1907 Woolcombe, Rev. A. A., Leusden Vicarage, near Ashburton.
 1904 WOOLLCOMBE, GERALD D., Cranmere, Newton Abbot.
 1901*Woolcombe, Robert Lloyd, M.A., LL.D., F.I.Inst., F.R.G.S., F.R.E.S., F.S.S., 14, Waterloo Road, Dublin.

- 1891 WORTH, R. HANSFORD, MEM. INST. C.E., F.G.S., 32, Thornhill Road, Plymouth.
- 1909 Worthington, Rev. Jeffery, Chudleigh Cottage, Cullompton.
- 1912 Worthington, Robert, M.A., F.R.C.S., 30, East Southernhay, Exeter.
- 1876 Wright, W. H. K., 6, Seaton Avenue, Mutley, Plymouth.
- 1895* Wykes-Finch, Rev. W., M.A., J.P., The Monks, Chaddesley Corbett, Kidderminster; and North Wyke, near North Tawton.
- 1897 Yacht Club, The Royal Western, The Hoe, Plymouth.
- 1910 Yale University Library, New Haven, U.S.A., per Messrs. Edward G. Allen and Son, 14, Grape Street, Shaftesbury Avenue, London.
- 1900* Yeo, Miss Mary E. J., Holsworthy, Rossi Street, Yass, New South Wales.
- 1900 Yeo, W. Curzon, 10, Beaumont Avenue, Richmond, Surrey.
- 1912† Young, Rev. David, Pilton House, St. David's Hill, Exeter (VICE-PRESIDENT).
- 1895 Young, E. H., M.D., Darley House, Okehampton.
- 1912 Young, James Frederic, Duryard Grange, Exeter.
- 1906 Young, Thomas, M.R.C.S., Woolacombe, N. Devon.

The following Table contains a Summary of the foregoing List.

Honorary Members	.	.	.	.	.	2
Life Members	.	.	.	.	.	95
Annual Members	.	.	.	.	.	505
Total, 1st November, 1912	.	.	.	.	.	<u>602</u>

INDEX.

By R. PEARSE CHOPE, B.A.

NOTE.—The Rev. O. J. Reichel's papers being separately indexed on pp. 353–65, are not fully indexed here. Devonian personal and place names are indexed more fully than others, and persons included in the *Dictionary of National Biography* are identified by the dates of birth and death within brackets. The chief subject entries are printed in small capitals.

- Abbeys. *See* Monasteries
 Abbots Bickington : *Bot.*, 128
 Abbotsham : *Biog.*, 43 ; *Bot.*, 127
 Abbotskerswell : *Met.*, 139, 141–53 ; *Topog.*, 598, 601, 604
 Abraham, Ezekiel, 469
 Accombe family. *See* Hacombe
 Acland, Sir H. W. (1815–1900), 10
 Act Book of the Chamber of the City of Exeter (*Harte*), 206
 Adams : Edw., 471 ; Sir G. P., 35 ; H. C., obit., 35 ; John, 468–70 ; Maxwell, 9, 23, 25, 31–4, 70, 703 ; S. P., 9 ; Will., 477
 Addiscot, Rich., 587
 Advancement of Science (*Hunt*), 616
 Alanus, prior, 197
 Alderman, office of, 207–11
 Aldouss, J. and J., 112
 Alexander, J. J., 9, 21 ; Paper by : Parliament, Devon County Members of, 1213–1327, 366
 Aleyn, Hen., 506
 Alford, Rev. D. P., obit., 35
 Alger, W. H., obit., 37
 Aller stream (St. Mary Church), 600
 Alleyn, Will., bishop, 213
 Alms bowls and dishes, 86–125
 Almsgiving. *See* Charity.
 ALMSHOUSES : Dartmouth, 671 ; Exeter, 105, 227, 277, 413, 450, 510–1, 549
 Alneto, De. *See* Dawney
 Alphington : *Bot.*, 129 ; *Hist.*, 201 ; *Topog.*, 446, 597
 Alwington : *Biog.*, 495
 Alyn, Hen., 582
 Amery, J. S., 9, 21, 33–4, 139
 Amye, Edw., 536
 Ancient monuments, Committee on, 22, 34
 Andrew (or Andrews) : Johanna, 111 ; Matth., 588 ; Sid., 9, 31–2
 Angel, Jos. and John, 109
 Anneriday, John, 659
 Annery (Monkleigh), 377
 Anstey's Cove (St. Mary Church), 134
 Anthony : Edw., 88, 451 ; John, 451
 Antonay, Joyce, 574
 Aplysia. *See* Molluses
 Aqua, Reimund de, 195
 Archæology. *See* Barrows ; Brasses ; Castles ; Caves and cave-dwellers ; Christian art and symbolism ; Coins ; Earthworks (archæology) ; Heraldry ; Iron implements ; Man — Origin and antiquity ; Monasteries ; Monuments ; Pottery ; Seals (Numismatic) ; Stone implements ; Tokens ; *also* names of parishes, subhead *Arch.*
 Archerton (Dartmoor), 140
 Arkesworthe, Edm., 587
 Arlington : *Bot.*, 127
 Arms, Coats of. *See* Heraldry
 Arno, Pet., 477
 Art, Christian. *See* Christian art and symbolism
 Arundel, John, 255
 Ashburton : *Biog.*, 41, 53 ; *Bot.*, 131–2 ; *Hist.*, 368 ; *Manuf.*, 578 ; *Meetings*, 10 ; *Met.*, 136, 139, 141–53
 — Baron. *See* Dunning, John
 Ashcombe : *Biog.*, 375
 Ashe, Mary, 476

- Ashe (Musbury), 67
 Ashford : *Bot.*, 126
 — and Co., 469
 Ashreigney : *Bot.*, 129
 Ashton : *Bot.*, 129 ; *Church*, 234
 — Farm (Countisbury), 704
 Ashwater : *Dial.*, 71-3, 79
 Askham, Nich., 269
 Assize of bread and ale, 197
 Association (Devonshire), Origin of
 (*Harpley*), 154
 Atte Weye, Rob., 562-3
 Atwell, Tho., 588
 Atwill, John, 587, 589
 Atwyll, Phil., 588
 Audry, John, 459, 462
 Augustine, John, 270
 Aulnager. *See* Woollen manu-
 facture
 Austen (afterwards Godwin-Austen),
 R. A. C., 166
 Austin, Rob., 662
 Avery, Averie, John, 88, 442, 445,
 458, 461-2
 Aveton Gifford : *Biog.*, 494
 Avon, River, 609, 677
 Axe River, 130
 Axminster : *Bot.*, 130 ; *Dial.*, 72,
 80 ; *Hist.*, 452 ; *Meeting*, 10
 Aylesbeare : *Manuf.*, 569
 Ayssheton, Nich., 255

 Babage, Mich., 657
 Babbage, John, 466-7
 Babcome, Tho., 224
 Baddiford, Tho., 672, 675
 Badley, Alnett. *See* Budlye
 Baggewell, Mark, 214
 Bagwell, John, 657
 Bagwill, Dav., 536
 Baker : Diggory, 269 ; Rev. G. G.,
 34 ; John, 397, 399-400, 588 ;
 Rich., 588 ; Sir S.W. (1821-1893),
 10
 Bakers' Company, Exeter, 420-1,
 438
 Balance sheet, 20
 Balker, John, 588
 Balkwill, A., 155
 Ball : E. J., 70 ; Grace, 659 ; Rob.,
 659
 Balle, John, 468, 469
 Baller : Anth., 552 ; Cath., 552 ;
 Jos., 552 ; Susanna, 552
 Bampton : *Biog.*, 497-8 ; *Manuf.*,
 577, 579
 Banfill, Sam., 125
 Banks : Mrs. Eliz., 102 ; Rev.
 Will., 101
 Bant, I., 108

 Barbanson, Martin, 212
 Barber-Surgeons' Company, Exeter,
 428, 438
 Baring : Eliz., 555 ; John, 553-5 ;
 Sir Tho., 556-7
 Baring-Gould. *See* Gould
 Barnard, E., 121
 — E. E. J. and W., 95-8, 102,
 106, 109, 112-3, 116, 119, 122, 125
 — Emes and, 121
 Barne, Rev. Cha., 124
 Barnes : Geo., 452 ; Hester, 452 ;
 John, 452 ; Marg., 452 ; Ralph,
 102 ; Susanna, 452 ; Will., 661,
 668
 Barnstaple : *Biog.*, 43, 48, 58, 67,
 89, 439, 443, 449, 465, 477, 494,
 574, 576, 578-9, 583, 651, 716 ;
Bot., 127 ; *Hist.*, 368, 577, 665 ;
Manuf., 576-9, 587 ; *Meetings*,
 10 ; *Met.*, 139, 141-53 ; *Shipping*,
 534, 539, 545.
 Baron : John, 587 ; Undirhill, 587
 Barran, Cha., 137, 140
 Barrington, John, 675
 BARROWS : Report of Committee
 on (*Worth*), 83
 Barry : Alex., 612-4 ; Rich., 588
 Bartlett : Bern., 449 ; Rev. John,
 449 ; Mary, 449 ; Rich., 269 ;
 Rev. Will., 449 ; Will., 444, 448-
 50, 456
 Barton, Rob., 539
 Barum. *See* Barnstaple
 Baskerville : Sir Simon (1574-
 1641), 275 ; Tho., 269, 275, 449
 Bastaple, Edith, 451
 Bastard, Will., 655-6, 659
 Bate, C. S., 10, 154-5, 188, 692-3
 Bateman, Hester, 108
 Bath, Earl of. *See* Bouchier, Will.
 Battersby, Dr., 164, 166
 Baunton, Walt., 199
 Bayley, Will., 94
 Bayliffe, Matt., 222
 BEACHES, 692-702, 726-8
 Beacon Hill (Maldon), 600
 Bealde, Rob., 418
 Beamport (Bishop's Nympton), 374
 Beaple : Sir Reg., 374 ; Sir Rob.,
 372, 374-5, 377, 379-80
 Beare : Edw., 536 ; John, 536,
 672 ; Pet. de, 372
 — family, 378
 Beauchamp, Sir Hum., 371, 376-7,
 380
 Beaudyn, Sir Rob., 370, 378-80
 Beaumont : Sir John, 380 ; Sir
 Rich., 380 ; Rev. Rob., 511 ;
 Will., 547

- Beauple. *See* Beaple
 Beaupyne, Tho., 573-4
 Beaver, Ja., 536
 Bedford, Earls of. *See* Russell
 Beer : John, 475 ; Tho., 468, 658
 Beer Alston (Beerferris), 50, 138-9, 141-53
 Beerferris : *Biog.*, 50, 374-5, 377, 380 ; *Church*, 233 ; *Met.*, 138-9, 141-53
 Beggar's Bush (Chudleigh), 597, 602
 Belebuche : Matilda, 511 ; Nich., 511 ; Phil., 511
 Belli : John, 587 ; Walt., 587
 Belstone : *Bot.*, 128 ; *Zool.*, 684
 BENEDICTINES, 193
 Bennett : Mrs. Eliz., 451 ; E. A., 140 ; Sampson, 477-8
 Bennick, Jos., 477
 Benton (Teignmouth), 140-53
 Bere Alston. *See* Beer Alston
 — Ferrers. *See* Beerferris
 Berkeley, Ja., bishop, 241
 Bernardus, 195
 Berners, Will., 510
 Berry Head (Brixham), 721, 725-7, 729, 731
 Berrynarbor : *Biog.*, 446
 Berry Pomeroy : *Biog.*, 41 ; *Bot.*, 135 ; *Met.*, 137, 140-53 ; *Topog.*, 600
 Berthey, Will., 536
 Bery : Geo., 269 ; John, 418 ; Nich., 588
 Besley, —, 787
 Betson, —, 224
 Betty, John, 264, 587
 Bevis, Rich., 269, 274, 536
 BIBLIOGRAPHY : Joanna Southcott (*Lane*), 757
 Bickford, W. G. T., obit., 37
 Bickford, Capt. Will., 37
 Bickleigh, near Plympton : *Biog.*, 43
 — near Tiverton : *Biog.*, 63
 Bidder, G. P. (1806-1878), 10
 Bideford : *Biog.*, 43, 449, 465, 553 ; *Bot.*, 127 ; *Meetings*, 10 ; *Shipping*, 534
 — Bridge, 495
 Bidgood, Anne, 548-9
 Bidlake, Rich., 468
 Biffin, —, 129
 Bigbury : *Biog.*, 376, 380
 — Sir John, 376, 380
 Billensley, Billingsley, Hen., 527, 529
 Biography. *See* under names of persons and places
 Birche, Rich., 588
 Bird, Mrs., 736
 BIRDS : in South Hams District (*Elliot*), 605. *See also* under common names.
 Birks, Rev. H. A., 560
 Birland, 372
 Bishop : Fra., 477-8 ; Noah, 734 ; Sam., 120
 Bishop's Nympton : *Biog.*, 374 ; *Bot.*, 128
 — Tawton : *Bot.*, 127 ; *Hist.*, 201
 — Teignton : *Bot.*, 131, 134
 Bitton, Tho. de, bishop, 94
 Blackabrook (West Dart River), 83-5
 Blackall : John, 219, 223, 230, 269, 271 ; Tho., 270-1
 Blackaller, John, 204, 223
 Blackborough : *Biog.*, 567
 Blackdown Beacon, 669
 Blackenway, 600-1
 Blackford, Blachford : John, 223 ; Sam., 477-8
 Blackler, T. A., 9
 Black Torrington : *Biog.*, 734
 Blacoler, John, 524
 Blacollers, Blackley, Tho., 524, 529
 Blagdon (Paignton), 375
 Blake, Tho., 466-7
 Blakeborn, Hen. de, 238, 241
 Blakelond, John, 582
 Blaker, John, 588
 Blancheford, John, 418
 Blanchflower, Grace, 547
 Blaunchard, John, 578
 Blayney, Mich., 270
 Blee, Lieut., 666
 Blewet, Major, 666
 Blomstut, Martin, 536
 Blondy, Rich., bishop, 239
 Bluett, Sir Roger, 501
 Blundell, Pet. (1520-1601), 67
 Blundell's School (Tiverton), 35, 63, 99-100
 Blunt, Lieut.-Col., 666
 Bodley, Sir Tho. (1545-1613), 54
 Body, Martin, 9
 Bohun, Marg. de, 246-7
 Bond of Association, Exeter (*Cresswell*), 266
 Bondman, Steven, 662
 Bonefaunt, Rob., 588
 Bonevyll, Will., 581
 Bonville, Sir Will., Lord Bonville, 253-64
 Bonvisi, Antonio (*d.* 1558), 571
 Boon : Abr., 431 ; Tho., 661
 Borough, Borowe : Sir John, 603 ; Walt., 270, 274, 536

- Bosen : Edm., 581 ; John, 581
 Bosyn, Rich., 582
 BOTANY : Report of Committee
 (*Hiern*), 126
 Bothamley, Rev. Westley, 559
 BOULDERS, 692, 694-6
 Bounde, Tho., 588
 Bourchier, Bourchier : Rev. Hen.,
 499 ; Tho. (1404 ?-1486), arch-
 bishop, 256 ; Tho., 499 ; Sir Will.,
 Lord Fitzwarren, 255, 498 ; Will.,
 3rd Earl of Bath, 652-3
 Boure, Rev. John, 497
 Bourne, John, 230
 Boutel, John, 478
 Bovey Tracey : *Biog.*, 274, 547,
 560 ; *Bot.*, 132-3 ; *Geol.*, 185-7 ;
Manuf., 569 ; *Zool.*, 684
 Bowden : Rich., 662 ; —, 655
 Bowers, W. H., 430, 560
 Bowhode, Nich., 582
 Bowring, Sir John (1792-1872), 10,
 155-6, 188-9
 Boyes, Phil., 657
 Boyle, Tho., 588
 Bracton, Hen. de (*d.* 1268), 48
 Bradeham, Brodeham (Littleham),
 196-7
 Bradford : *Met.*, 138-9, 141-53
 Bradford, Eliza, 116
 Bradford Pool (Drewsteignton), 684
 Bradninch : *Hist.*, 368
 Bradworthy : Alice de, 511 ; Rob.
 de, 511
 Bragg, Rob., 536, 545
 Braggingston, Rev. Laur., 395
 Bramford, Ralph, 377-8, 380
 Brampford Speke : *Hist.*, 201
 Brandis Corner (Bradford), 138-9,
 141-53
 Brandon, John, 510
 Branscombe : *Bot.*, 130
 Brantingham, Tho. de, bishop
 (*d.* 1394), 199, 413
 Brass dishes, 100, 123
 BRASSES, 654, 667
 Bratton Fleming : *Bot.*, 127
 Braunton : *Biog.*, 378, 381 ; *Bot.*,
 127 ; *Geol.*, 692-702
 Brayley, Will., 217
 Breghnok, Roger, 574
 Brendon : *Arch.*, 716
 Brereton, Tho., 207
 Breton, Rev. Hugh, 83
 Brewar, John, 524, 529
 Brewer, Will., bishop, 242
 Brewers' Company, Exeter, 428,
 438
 Brice, T., 757
 Bridestowe : *Biog.*, 396 ; *Zool.*, 684
 Bridford : *Biog.*, 548-9, 560 ; *Hist.*,
 408
 Bridgeman, Brydgmán : Jasper,
 446-7 ; John (1577-1652), 445,
 447, 450 ; Sir Orlando (1606 ?-
 1674), 445, 450 ; Tho., 269, 274,
 445, 447
 BRIDGES : 203, 495
 Bridgetown (Totnes), 600
 Bridson, Miss M. F. C., 9
 Briggs, J. H. Mead-, 136, 140
 Bright : Ellen, 108 ; —, 212
 Brinley, John, 465, 477
 Brinnimore Common (Dartmoor),
 684
 Brinsmead, Rob., 535
 Brithenbottom (Halberton), 71
 Brixham : *Arch.*, 175-8 ; *Biog.*,
 787 ; *Geol.*, 721, 725-9, 731
 Broad Clyst : *Biog.*, 376, 381
 Broadhembury : *Biog.*, 549
 Broadhurst, Edw., 467
 Broad Sands (Churston Ferrers),
 720
 Brock : Moses, 402 ; Simon, 396
 Brogan, John, 419
 Brokenshire, F. A., 127
 Brooking : John, 669 ; Will., 662-3
 Brooks, John, 270
 Broomford (Jacobstowe), 378
 Brown, Browne : Alice, 510 ; Benj.,
 459, 462, 464-5 ; Ezekiel, 469 ;
 Hum., 419 ; John, 468, 507 ;
 Nich., 455, 458-9, 461-2, 464-6,
 479 ; Will., 466-7, 587 ; —,
 734
 Browne, A. J. Jukes-, Paper by :
 Torbay, The Making of, 718
 Browning, Rob., 587
 Bruerton, Tho., 269, 271
 Brushfield, T. N., 10
 Bryant : Rev. Rich., 455 ; Will.,
 455, 458, 462
 Bryce, Rich., 588
 Brycknoll, John, 507
 Brydgmán. *See* Bridgeman
 Buckfast Abbey, 198
 Buckfastleigh : *Bot.*, 134-5 ; *Meet-*
ing, 22
 Buckland Abbey, 198
 Buckland Brewer : *Biog.*, 495
 Buckland Filleigh : *Biog.*, 451
 Buckland-in-the-Moor : *Bot.*, 131-2
 Buckland Monachorum : *Dial.*, 70 ;
Zool., 684
 Buckland, Will. (1784-1856), 634
 Buckman, Geo., 662
 Bucks Mills : *Biog.*, 43
 Budleigh Salterton : *Bot.*, 130
 Budley, John, 661, 663

- Budlye, Alnet, 270, 274, 536
 Bugge, John, 582
 Bukenham, Will., 204
 Bulkworthy : *Biog.*, 495-6
 Buller : Sir Fra. (1746-1800), 52 ;
 Ja., 124 ; John, 223 ; Will.,
 bishop, 736
 Bulley : John, 673 ; Phil., 662
 Bullye, Will., 270
 Bullyn, Rich., 442, 446
 Bunce, J., 472, 475
 Burd : Rev. Laur., 91 ; Pet., 673
 Burdon, John, 115, 466, 477-8
 Burgeyn, Will., 203
 Burgh, Rich., 588
 Burlescombe : *Zool.*, 684
 Burleston, Will., 581
 Burnard : Rich., 576, 578-9 ; Rob.,
 9-10, 33-4, 140
 Burnete, Rob., 536
 Burrator (Sheepstor), 682, 684
 Burrige, Tho., 118
 Burrington : *Biog.*, 395 ; *Bot.*,
 128-9
 Burrows, Mrs., 735
 Burt, Will., 387
 Bury : Art., 112 ; Dr., 549 ;
 John, 510, 573
 Bush, Geo., 387
 Buskin (Exbourne), 394, 399, 401,
 403-5
 Butchers' Company, Exeter, 428,
 438
 Buteler, Nich., 579
 Butler, Ja., Earl of Wiltshire
 (1420-1461), 255
 Butter Brook (Dartmoor), 680
 Buzzard, Common, 605
 Bydewill, John, 578
 Bydown House (Swymbridge), 396
 Bye-laws of Association, 16
 Byne, Tho., 473, 475, 585-6
 Byrde, Tho., 223

 Cadbury : *Bot.*, 129 ; *Church*, 449 ;
 Hist., 201
 Cadwell, Rich., 524, 529
 Caley, Rob., 658
 Calle, Sam., 453
 Callendar, Rev. Reg., 559-60
 Calmady : John, 396 ; Shilston,
 396
 Campion, H., 9
 Campo Arnulphi. *See* Champ-
 ernowne
 Camps. *See* Earthworks (archæo-
 logical)
 CANALS : Burlescombe, 684 ; Exeter,
 29, 274, 531, 682-4
 Candlesticks, 93

 Canter, Wilton, 659
 Cappers', Haberdashers', and Felt-
 makers' Company, Exeter, 428,
 438
 Carelles, John, 223
 Carew : Bampfylde Moore (1693-
 1770 ?), 63-6 ; Sir Pet. (1514-
 1575), 272
 Carpenters' and Masons' Company,
 Exeter, 428, 438
 Carter : Geo., 471 ; John, 658 ;
 Susannah, 735
 Cary, Carey : Edw., 527, 529 ;
 Sir Geo., 529, 651 ; Geo., 524,
 529 ; Sir Hen., 665
 Castell, Nich., 662
 Castle Hill (Filleigh), 136, 140-53
 CASTLES : Dartmouth, 664-5 ;
 Kingswear, 656, 664 ; Lydford,
 254 ; Tiverton, 257
 Catkill, Rob., 476
 Caunter, W. G., 474-5
 Cave : Simon, 230 ; Sir Steph.
 (1820-1880), 10
 CAVES AND CAVE-DWELLERS : Brix-
 ham, 175-8
 Ceilings, 660
 Chadwick, Ja., 107, 111, 122
 Chaffe : John, 669 ; Pascha, 275 ;
 Rob., 270, 275 ; Tho., 270, 275-6
 Chafy, Rev. W. K. W. C., 116
 Chalices and covers, 86-125, 443-6,
 449-50, 452, 456, 479
 Chalk, Rev. E. S., 9
 Challacombe : *Biog.*, 375, 381
 Challons, Sir John, 377, 380
 Chalouns, Pet. de, 372
 Champernowne : Sir Hen., 371,
 374, 376 ; Otho, 497 ; Sir Rich.,
 372, 379-81 ; Sir Will., 374-6,
 379-80
 Champion : Miss E. H., 389 ;
 Rich. (1743-1791), 58, 385-6,
 389, 393 ; Sarah, 385, 388
 Chanter : Rev. J. F., 9, 33-4, 70,
 703, 705-6, 716 ; J. R., 716
 Chanter, Rev. J. F., Papers by :
 Church Plate Committee, Report
 of, 86 ; Exeter Goldsmiths' Guild,
 438
 Chapel Hill (Torquay), 723
 Chapell : John, 536 ; Tho., 269,
 273, 545, 613-5 ; Will., 270, 273
 Chapelman, Rob., 588
 Chapman : Rev. C., 9-10, 34 ;
 S. C., 140
 Chapple : Will., 390 ; W. E. P.,
 9, 34
 Chardon, Hugh, 230
 CHARITY, 201-2

- Charles II at Dartmouth, 669-71
 Charleton : *Biog.*, 452
 Chawleigh : *Biog.*, 399 ; *Bot.*, 128
 Chekston, Will., 573
 Chester : John, 524, 529 ; Sir Will., 529
 Chestnuts (Newton Abbot), 140
 Cheyney : Sir Nich., 376, 380 ; Sir Will., 376
 Chichester, Rob., bishop (*d.* 1155), 239
 Chick : Edw., 536 ; Elijah, 420, 430
 Chimney-pieces, 661
 Chimneys (geological), 694, 696-7, 701
 China (porcelain). *See* Pottery
 China Clay Corporation, Ltd., 678-80
 Chisbeach, Rich., 370, 372, 377-80
 Chittlehamholt : *Bot.*, 128-9
 Chittlehampon : *Bot.*, 129 ; *Church*, 456
 Cholmeley, Hugh, 447
 Cholwell, John, 460
 Chope : Rev. C. R., 650 ; John, 658 ; R. P., 9, 33-4, 70, 529, 732, 757
 Chope, R. P., Paper by : Aulnager in Devon, 568
 Chrismatory, 440
 CHRISTIAN ART AND SYMBOLISM : 231-51
 Christianity, Deanery of, 86-125
 Christow : *Dial.*, 79
 Chubb, Matth., 425
 Chuddeleigh, Ja. de, 577, 581
 Chudleigh : *Biog.*, 30, 228 ; *Manuf.*, 569 ; *Topog.*, 597 ; *Various*, 199
 Chudleigh Knighton (Hennock), 684
 Chudleigh : Sir Geo., 660, 662 ; Ja., 662
 Chulmleigh : *Bot.*, 128 ; *Manuf.*, 569, 578
 Churches. *See* under names of parishes
 Churchill, John, 1st Duke of Marlborough (1650-1722), 67
 Church plate. *See* Plate
 Churston Ferrers : *Biog.*, 375, 380 ; *Geol.*, 720-1, 727 ; *Topog.*, 601
 Chuton, 253, 255
 CIVIL WAR, 604, 661-7
 Clapp, Rob., 396-7, 400, 671-2
 Clare Portion (Tiverton), 447
 Clark, Clarke : Rich., 524 ; Tho., 478 ; Walt., 496
 Clarke, Miss K. M., 9 ; Paper by : St. Nicholas' Priory, Exeter, Records of, 192
 Classenwell Pool (Dartmoor), 684
 Clayden, A. W., 9, 34
 Clayhidon : *Biog.*, 36
 Cleeve, Rev. I. K., 100
 Cleeve (St. Thomas, Exeter), 396
 Clennon Hill (Paignton), 722
 Clerk, Clerke : Avys, 220 ; Rich., 588
 Clibborn, Abr., 387
 Clifford : Col. E. T., 9, 26 ; L. H. H. 9th Baron Clifford of Chudleigh, 9-10 ; Sir Nich., 517
 Clifford, Col. E. T., Paper by : Drake's Treasure, 512
 Clifton-Dartmouth-Hardness. *See* Dartmouth
 Climate. *See* Meteorology
 Clinton, Baron. *See* Trefusis
 Clist. *See* Clyst
 Cliston, 408
 Clistwick, 408
 Cloister Hall (Frithelstock), 552-3
 Cloth trade. *See* Woollen manufacture
 Clyst Bridge, 261
 Clyst Champernowne (Ilfracombe), 374
 Clyst Heath, 253, 261-3
 Clyst Hydon : *Biog.*, 552
 Clyst River, 261
 Clyst St. George : *Biog.*, 446 ; *Ety.*, 260
 Clyst St. Lawrence : *Biog.*, 447
 Clyst St. Mary : *Bot.*, 129 ; *Ety.*, 260 ; *Zool.*, 683-4
 Cockington : *Biog.*, 375, 380, 529 ; *Geol.*, 721 ; *Zool.*, 684
 Cockington : Sir Roger, 375-6, 380 ; Sir Tho., 380-1
 Cockles, 635
 Cockwood (Dawlish), 684
 Codrington, Lieut.-Col., 666
 Coffin : Tho., 120, 466-8 ; Will., 468, 476
 Coffinswell : *Topog.*, 600
 Cogan, Milo de, 195
 COINS : Edw. the Confessor, 31 ; Roman, 715-7 ; testoons, 219-20. *See also* Tokens.
 Coke, John, 582
 Colborne, Hon. Mrs., 34
 Colcomb (Colyton), 264
 Cole : Edm., 270 ; John, 656 ; Jos., 465
 Colefin, Major, 666
 Coleman, Dan., 466, 467
 Coleridge : B. J. S., 2nd Baron Coleridge, 9-10 ; Sir J. D., 1st Baron Coleridge (1820-1894), 10 ; S. T. (1772-1834), 46

- Coles, Ja., 466
 Coleshill, Tho., 534
 Collacombe (Lamerton), 520, 522
 Collaton, 408
 Collier : Jos., 477 ; Rob., 2nd Baron Monkswell, 10 ; R. P., 1st Baron Monkswell (1817-1886), 10
 Collins, Collins : Ja., 449 ; John, 270, 536 ; Will., 510, 554
 Collumpton. *See* Cullompton
 Collyns. *See* Collins
 Colston, Tho., 496
 Colyn : John, 576, 578, 587 ; Tho., 440
 Colyton : *Biog.*, 43, 374, 381, 447 ; *Church*, 43 ; *Hist.*, 264, 408
 Combe Martin : *Bot.*, 127
 Combe Raleigh : *Bot.*, 130
 Combe St. Nicholas, 195
 Commin, J. G., 9
 Committees, Special, 33
 Compton (Marldon), 601, 721
 Compton, Rev. Will., 116
 Cono, prior, 193
 Constable, Will., 651
 Conway, Capt., 666
 Conyam : Anne, 547 ; Eliz., 548 ; John, 548 ; Tho., 547
 Cooode, Will., 663
 Cook, Cooke : Edw., 212, 224 ; John, 501 ; Tho., 108, 502
 Cookbury : *Biog.*, 377, 381, 493
 Cookworthy : Benj., 391 ; Will. (1705-1780), 28, 55-8, 382-93
 Coombes, J. E., 140
 Cooper, C., 475
 Coopers' and Hellyers' Company, Exeter, 428
 Copleston, Coplestone : Anth., 613-5 ; John, 255, 499, 507-8, 575, 577, 579, 583
 Corbet, G. V., 139
 Cordwainers' Company, Exeter, 416-9, 438
 Corman : Ja., 588 ; John, 588
 Cormorant, Common, 609
 Cornewe, Cornu : Constance, 494 ; Walt., 494, 581
 Cornish, R. S., 105-6
 Correham (Halberton), 374
 Coscomb, John, 507
 Cosens, Rich., 658
 Cosway, Rich. (1740-1821), 67
 Cotelar, John, 507
 Cotleigh : *Biog.*, 379-80
 Cottager, Chris., 658
 Cotton, Cotyn : John, 443 ; Will., 440
 Council, Report of, 22
 Countess Weir : *Church*, 86, 89-90, 124 ; *Hist.*, 530 ; *Zool.*, 683-4
 Countisbury : *Arch.*, 703-17 ; *Biog.*, 703-4, 716
 Courtail, Lewis, 467
 Court Barton (Exbourne), 401, 404
 Courtenay, Courtney : Fra., 675 ; Hen., 256-8 ; Hen. Reg., bishop (1741-1803), 739 ; Sir Hugh, 581 ; Hugh, 256, 372 ; John, 253, 257, 260 ; Pet., bishop (*d.* 1492), 241 ; Sir Pet., 581 ; Sir Phil., 253, 257-8, 581 ; Rob., Baron of Okehampton, 367 ; Tho., Earl of Devon, 252-64 ; Sir Tho., 256-7 ; Will., archbp. (1342?-1396), 239, 241 ; Sir Will., 367, 373 ; W. R., 11th Earl of Devon (1807-1888), 10
 Courtes, Roger, 212
 Court Grange (Abbotskerswell), 139
 Cowie : Alice Marg., 92 ; Very Rev. B. M. (1816-1910), 10, 91
 Cowley Bridge, 29
 Cowley ponds, 684
 Cowper, Walt., 270
 Cowsic Valley, 140-53
 Coyton, Will., 588
 Crane, Tho., 524
 Crawthorne, Sir Matth., 370, 373, 378-81
 Crediton : *Biog.*, 52 ; *Bot.*, 128 ; *Hist.*, 368 ; *Manuf.*, 569, 577, 579 ; *Meeting*, 10
 Creedy Park (Sandford), 684
 Cresswell : Miss B. F., 9, 21, 26, 28, 34 ; J. B., 95
 Cresswell, Miss B. F., Paper by : Exeter Bond of Association, 266
 Crests. *See* Heraldry
 Crewes, Geo., 212
 Crewkerne, John, 656
 Cripps, Mark, 100
 Croberd, Geo., 224
 Croft, Sir A. W., 9-10, 33-4, 139
 Croiditch Fair. *See* Fairs.
 Cross, Crosse : John, 269, 274 ; Rev. T. U., 100
 Crossing, Rich., 562
 Crudge, Will., 595
 Cruets, Church, 115
 Crutchett, Rich., 469
 Cubitt, Jos., 668
 Cucking-stool, 221
 Cullompton : *Biog.*, 264-5, 453 ; *Hist.*, 193, 201 ; *Manuf.*, 577, 587 ; *Meeting*, 10 ; *Met.*, 139, 141-53
 Cullompton, Will. of, 200, 202
 Culmstock : *Manuf.*, 576-7
 Cuthberd, Rob., 502
 Cutler, Ja. the, 656

- Cutlers' Company. *See* Smiths', etc., Company
- Dabernon, John, 495-6, 499
- Dabrown, John, 573
- Daddy Hole Plain (Torquay), 720, 730-1
- Dallinger, Rev. W. H., 10
- Danelles, Renold, 524
- Darbie, Rich., 270
- Dartington: *Biog.*, 668; *Bot.*, 135; *Various*, 264
- Dartmoor: *Arch.*, 83-5; *Biog.*, 264; *Dial.*, 74; *Geol.*, 678-80; *Met.*, 137, 140-53; *Zool.*, 684
- Dartmouth: *Biog.*, 377, 380, 468, 476, 478-9, 531-2, 649-76; *Bot.*, 132; *Hist.*, 368, 603-4, 649-76; *Manuf.*, 577; *Meetings*, 10; *Shipping*, 530, 532, 534, 542, 651, 668
- Dartmouth Borough and Mayors (*Windeatt*), 649
- Dartmouth: Butterwalk, 660, 671
- Dartmouth Castle, 664-5
- Dartmouth churches: St. Peter's, 654, 671; St. Saviour's, 650, 653, 655-6, 659, 662, 667, 671; Townstall, 664
- Dartmouth parishes: St. Peter's, 654; St. Saviour's, 672, 675; Townstall, 659, 661
- Dartmouth, Receivers of, 649, 652-5, 663
- Dartmouth, Recorders of, 659, 672
- Dartmouth, Steward of, 661
- Dart River, West, 83-5
- Daryot, Will., 532
- Daubeney, C. G. B. (1795-1867), 10
- Davey, F. H., 134-5
- Davies, Will., 9, 34
- Davis: John, 536; Tho., 545
- Davy, Davye: Edm., 658; Hugh, 230; I., 108; John, 212, 271; Tho., 424; —, 228
- Daw, Dawe: John, 473; Rich., 95; Rob., 108
- Dawlish: *Biog.*, 43; *Bot.*, 131; *Meeting*, 10; *Shipping*, 545; *Zool.*, 684
- Dawney, Sir Nich., 372, 377, 380
- Deanery of Christianity, 86-125
- Denbury: *Biog.*, 441; *Church*, 441
- Denham: G., 799; —, 665
- Denney, Will., 123
- Dennis, Sir Rob., 375
- Denny, Rev. —, 738
- Denys: Gilb., 270; Walt., 226, 270
- Depford, John, 536
- Depree, F., 114, 119
- Depree and Young, 102
- Deptford Bridge, 495
- Derby, Rich., 270
- Devil's Tor (Dartmoor), 140-53
- Devon, Earl of. *See* Courtenay
- Devonian period. *See* Geology, Stratigraphic
- Devonport: *Biog.*, 468, 475, 478; *Meeting*, 10
- DIALECT: Verbal provincialisms, Report of Committee on (*Laycock*), 69; 762
- Diamond, Rob., 443
- Dick, Chris., 657
- Dier: John, 217; Will., 270
- Digbys (Exeter), 684
- Dittisham, Ditsam: *Hist.*, 663
- Dodderidge: Benedicta, 482; Will., 482
- Doddesham, Will., 255
- Dode, Ensign, 666
- Dodscott (St. Giles-in-the-Wood), 275, 379
- Doe, G. M., 9, 33-4, 70, 140; Paper by: Torrington Church History, *temp.* Eliz., 611
- Doe Tor (Dartmoor), 684
- Doel, —, 393
- Dokmanton, Tho., 585
- Dolbear, John, 669
- DOMESDAY BOOK: Domesday Hundreds (*Reichel*)—South Tawton, 343; Wenford or Wonford, 278
- Donleley, Tho., 671
- Dorchester, Rich., 218, 269, 274, 536
- Dotton, Geo., 673
- Douai, Walt. de, 498
- Dove, Stock, 609
- Dowlyng, Walt., 588
- Downe: John, 270; Moris, 269; Rich., 397, 399-400; Will., 574
- Downes (Creditor), 52
- Downing, Capt., 666
- Down St. Mary: *Bot.*, 129
- Dowryssh, Tho., 499
- Dracher, Will., 589
- Drake: Bern., 612, 615; Sir Fra. (1540?-1596), 276, 512-29; F. M., 9; Geo., 270, 276; Mrs. J. C., 134; John, 524-5, 529; Tho., 524-5; Will., 454-5, 461-2, 464
- Drake, F. M., Paper by: Exeter Cathedral, Stained Glass of, 231
- Drake's Treasure (*Clifford*), 512-29
- Drasher, —, 449
- Drew: Benedict, 507; Lieut., 666; Rob., 649; Sergeant, 649

- Drewsteignton : *Bot.*, 132 ; *Zool.*, 684
 Druell, Rich., 421
 Druid (Ashburton), 136, 139
 Dryver, Phil., 442, 446
 Duchy of Cornwall, 652
 Duck : Scaup, 607 ; White-eyed, 606 ; Wild, 609
 Ducke : Eliz., 552 ; Martha, 548 ; Rich., 551
 Duke : Capt., 666 ; H. E., 9 ; Rich., 440
 Dulche : Agnes, 502 ; John, 502
 Duncalf, Lieut., 666
 Duncan, A. G., 9
 Dunkswell : *Bot.*, 130
 Dunning, John, 1st Baron Ashburton (1731-1783), 53, 555
 Dunscombe (Chudleigh), 597
 Dunsford : *Bot.*, 132
 Dunsford, Will., 479
 Dunsland : *Biog.*, 37-8
 Dunster, Will., 587
 Dunterton : *Biog.*, 374, 381
 Duppy, Tho., 670
 Durant, John, 502
 Durling, Martin, 200, 481-2
 Dyer : Eliz., 651 ; Nich., 270 ; Rich., 651
 Dyer, —, bookseller, 490
 Dyke, Rich., 584
 Dymond, A. H., 9, 33
 Dynham, Oliver de, 371
 Dyrin, Frances, 221
 Dyscher, Rich., 582
 Dythe, John, 588

 Earle, Rt. Rev. Alf., Bishop of Marlborough, 9-10
 EARTHWORKS (archæology) : Old Burrow Camp, Exmoor (*Gray*), 703 ; Milber Down, 601
 East Bray (South Molton), 379
 East Down : *Bot.*, 127
 Eastlake, John, 418
 East Oggwell : *Biog.*, 672
 East Putford : *Biog.*, 495
 Easton, C., 449
 Eatatare, Rich., 536
 Ebin, Raynold, 587
 Ector, John, 588-9
 Edes, John. *See* Eydes
 Edginswell (St. Mary Church), 600
 Edmonde, Heddmond, Will., 582
 Edmondes, Will., 612-5
 Edmonds, Rev. W. J., 9-10, 34
 Edward, John, 108
 Edwards, Geo., 453-4
 Efford (Egg Buckland), 378
 Egg Buckland : *Biog.*, 378, 380

 Eick, Tho., 658
 Ekins, Will., 454-5, 458-62, 465, 479
 Elbury Cove (Churston Ferrers), 721
 Eldon, Lieut., 666
 Elegh, John, 511
 Elford : Eliz., 35 ; Sir Will., 35
 Eliot : Pet., 476 ; Tho., 540, 585-7
 Elliott, —, 507
 Elkington plate, 103
 Ellacott : Hen., 206, 211, 228, 269, 272, 536 ; John, 270, 272, 536 ; Rob., 510
 Ellett, Will., 658
 Elliot : Alice, 662 ; E. A. S., 9, 33 ; John, 662
 Elliot, E. A. S., Paper by : Birds in South Hams District, 605
 Elliott, Nich., 673
 Ellis : Eliz., 552 ; Hen., 471 ; H. D., 479 ; W., 114, 119
 Ellis, Depree, and Tucker, 114, 119
 Ellys : Rob., 224 ; Tho., 225
 Elston : Rev. Fra., 394 ; John, 88, 104-5, 110-1, 113, 120, 456, 458-62, 464-5, 477-8 ; Phil., 99, 464-7, 478
 Elwill, Nich., 509
 Elworthy, F. T., 10
 Elwyn, Nich., 585-6
 Elyot : Edw., 529 ; Laur., 524, 529
 Emes, R., 121
 Emes and Barnard, 121
 Enfield (Torrington), 140
 Enys, J. D., 9-10, 27, 29
 Estington (North Tawton), 497
 Eston, Tho., 582
 Ettery, —, 704
 Etymology of place-names. *See* under names of places
 Eustace, Tho., 468, 469
 Evans : H. M., 9, 33 ; Nich., 270
 Evans, H. M., Paper by : Sand Formation, Saunton Down Cliffs, 692
 Eveleigh : Rev. Will., 548-9 ; Will., 468
 Every : Hen., 445 ; John, 536 ; Jos., 536
 Exbourne : *Hist.*, 394-405
 Excetre, Rev. John de, 566
 Exe Bridge, 203
 Exe River, 129, 254
 Exeter almshouses : Hurst's, 227 ; St. Anne's, 277 ; St. John's Hospital, 413, 450, 510-1, 549 ; Wynard's Hospital, 105
 Exeter and Dartmouth Road (*Joce*), 597

- Exeter, Bailiffs of, 211, 440-1, 447, 452-5, 574, 582-4, 587-8
- Exeter Banks, 471, 484-7
- Exeter : *Biog.*, 36, 41, 50, 54, 86-125, 378, 390, 438-79, 536, 545, 548, 550, 554-5, 560, 574, 584, 636, 657, 734-41, 758-9, 783, 787, 799
- Exeter, Bishops of. *See* under surnames
- Exeter Book, 193
- Exeter Bond of Association (*Cresswell*), 266
- Exeter : *Bot.*, 129-30
- Exeter Canal. *See* Canals
- Exeter Cathedral : burials in, 445, 450; canons of, 494, 548, 554; cemetery of, 480-1; deans of, 91, 258, 371; fabric of, 198; history of, 257-9; plate of, 87, 90, 91-4; priest vicars of, 413-4, 553; sermons in, 272; Stained Glass of (*Drake*), 231; sub-deans of, 447, 548; treasurers of, 548; vicars choral of, 408-9, 413-5, 491
- Exeter chapels : Holy Trinity (St. Lawrence), 416-9; Lady Chapel (Cath.), 249; St. Andrew's (Cath.), 238; St. Anne's (St. James), 105; St. Gabriel's (Cath.), 233, 235, 247; St. Mary Magdalen (Cath.), 233, 235, 247, 251; St. Mary Magdalen (St. Mary Major), 113; St. Mary Major, 412, 484; St. Paul's (Cath.), 412, 484; St. Peter the Less, 412, 481-4, 487, 491, 504-6; St. Simon and St. Jude, 481; Wynard's, 86, 105
- Exeter chapter-house, 233, 251
- Exeter churches : All Hallows, Goldsmith St., 89, 94-5, 438, 441, 450; All Hallows on the Wall, 95-6; Bedford Chapel, 96; Emmanuel, 99-100; Holy Trinity, 89-90, 103-5, 444; St. David's, 89, 96-8, 443, 445; St. Edmund's, 89-90, 98-9, 443, 445; St. George's, 86, 90, 100-1; St. James's, 105-6; St. John's (Bow Church), 89-90, 100, 106-7, 195, 201, 443, 456; St. Kerrian's, 86, 89, 107-8, 449; St. Lawrence's, 90, 108, 417; St. Leonard's, 108-9; St. Martin's, 86, 89, 109-10, 273, 453, 511; St. Mary Arches', 89-90, 110-1, 442-3; St. Mary Major's, 87, 111-2, 412, 450-1, 454, 484, 491; St. Mary Steps, 113-4; St. Matthew's, 114; St. Michael's, 86, 114-5; St. Olave's, 87, 115-6, 192-3, 198, 201; St. Pancras', 86, 89, 94, 116, 444; St. Paul's, 86, 89, 117, 412; St. Peter's. *See* Exeter Cathedral; St. Petrock's, 87, 89-90, 107, 117-8, 272, 440-1, 443, 447, 451-2, 455, 506-7; St. Sidwell's, 87, 89-90, 119-21, 443, 445; St. Stephen's, 90, 121-2
- Exeter City, Act Book of Chamber of (*Harte*), 206
- Exeter City Companies, 214-5, 270-6, 406-30, 438-79
- Exeter coffee-houses : Hawkins', 458-63; Moll's, 739; Mules', 458; Richards', 463
- Exeter Corporation Estate in Ireland (*Pearson*), 431
- Exeter : Deaf and Dumb Institution, 557
- Exeter : *Dial.*, 74
- Exeter : Eye Infirmary, 557
- Exeter Garrison, 557
- Exeter Gates : Broad Gate (or St. Michael's), 441-2, 450, 486, 501, 508-9; East Gate, 200, 224, 413, 427; North Gate, 201, 215; South Gate, 201, 212, 214, 446, 507; West Gate, 200, 216
- Exeter Guildhall, 25, 89, 194, 262, 273, 276
- Exeter guilds : Goldsmiths' (*Chanter*), 438; Kalenders and Trade-gilds before the Reformation (*Rose-Troup*), 406; Merchant Adventurers', 270-6, 428, 438, 537-8, 577
- Exeter : *Hist.*, 257, 366, 368
- Exeter houses, etc. : Cloth hall, 505; Crekepyttmylles, 216; Rougeмонт House, 29; St. Paul's Well, 200; Snaile Tower, 453; Tailors' Hall, 458
- Exeter manors : Duryard, 440; Exc Island, 451; Harald's Fee, 193; St. David's Down, 205; St. Stephen's Fee, 510
- Exeter : *Manuf.*, 574-83, 587-9, 594
- Exeter, Maritime Trade of (*Whitley*), 530
- Exeter, Mayors of : 9, 25-6, 28, 30-1, 205, 207, 215, 219, 223, 228, 230, 259-60, 263-4, 271-6, 396, 421-2, 441-2, 454-5, 460, 482, 502-3, 505-7, 509, 511, 536, 554, 575, 582-3, 587-8, 636, 651, 740

- Exeter : *Meetings*, 10, 22, 24
 Exeter : *Met.*, 140-53
 Exeter monasteries : Friars Minor, 496 ; St. Nicholas' Priory (*Clarke*), 192 ; St. Peter's, 480
 Exeter parishes : All Hallows, Goldsmith St., 445-7, 453, 455-6 ; Holy Trinity, 225, 454 ; St. David, 203, 205, 419 ; St. George, 444, 447 ; St. Lawrence, 276, 417-9 ; St. Martin, 451-2, 454, 503, 509-10 ; St. Mary Arches, 418, 420, 453-4 ; St. Mary Major, 113, 446, 449 ; St. Olave, 275, 454 ; St. Pancras, 440, 444 ; St. Paul, 418 ; St. Petrock, 440-1, 445, 451, 505, 509 ; St. Sidwell, 223, 447, 450
 Exeter Pictorial Record Society, 29
 Exeter, Receivers of, 205, 211, 454-5
 Exeter, Records of, 223, 257, 264-5, 507, 561
 Exeter : Royal Albert Memorial, 26-9
 Exeter School, 455
 Exeter, Sergeants of, 211-2, 224
 Exeter, Sheriffs of, 9, 25, 27, 29, 211, 272-3, 276, 444
 Exeter : *Shipping*, 275, 534, 541-2, 544-5
 Exeter Staple, 505, 531, 535
 Exeter, Stewards of, 274-6
 Exeter streets, etc. : Basin Yard, 130 ; Bonhay, 451 ; Combe St., 201 ; Friernhay (Brytan), 201, 222 ; Gandy St. (Curre St.), 201, 551 ; Goldsmith St., 89, 94-5, 438, 471 ; High St., 200, 256, 440, 446, 481, 484, 493, 500-2, 506-7, 510-1 ; Kalenderhay, 409, 413, 491 ; Magdalen St., 564 ; Northernhay, 276 ; North St., 201, 440 ; Northgate St., 493, 550 ; Preston St., 200 ; Prustes St., 413 ; St. David's Mount, 199, 440 ; St. Martin's Lane, 409 ; St. Paul St., 200-1 ; St. Peter's Yard, 200 ; Smythen St., 200, 413 ; South St., 201, 787 ; Stepcot (Strippcote) Hill, 226
 Exeter taverns : Barlow's, 463 ; Fountain, 463 ; Globe, 463 ; Phoenix, 463 ; Swan, 463 ; Tabard, 262 ; Vine, 463
 Exeter : *Various*, 497, 757, 759, 769, 784, 791
 Exeter : *Zool.*, 684
 Exe Valley, 683-4
 Exminster : *Biog.*, 536, 553, 653 ; *Zool.*, 684
 Exmoor : *Arch.*, 703-17 ; *Met.*, 140-53
 Exmouth : *Biog.*, 35, 42 ; *Bot.*, 130 ; *Hist.*, 408 ; *Meeting*, 10 ; *Shipping*, 275, 534, 539-40, 543-6 ; *Zool.*, 684
 Exon. *See* Exeter
 Exon Domesday. *See* Domesday Book
 Exwick : *Bot.*, 129-30 ; *Church*, 86, 89, 124 ; *Zool.*, 684
 Eydes : *Eliz.*, 447 ; Rev. John, 447 ; John, 447
 Facey, Tho., 104
 Fairfax, Tho., 3rd Baron Fairfax of Cameron (1612-1671), 604, 663-6
 Fairmile (Talatton), 734
 FAIRS : Exeter, 196, 204
 Falcon : Peregrine, 610 ; Red-footed, 606
 Fardell, Tho., 583
 Farewell, Rich., 212
 Faringdon : *Biog.*, 548, 560
 Farr, Ja., 658
 Farringdon : *Eliz.*, 508 ; Rob., 508
 Fauna. *See* Birds ; Molluscs ; Rotifera
 Fayreman, Tho., 483
 Felsite. *See* Rocks
 Feniton : *Biog.*, 53
 Fen Ottery. *See* Venn Ottery
 Ferley, John, 585-6
 Ferrers, Ferers : Sir Hugh, 375, 380 ; Martin, 581 ; Matilda, 233 ; Sir Reg., 372, 374-5, 377, 380 ; Roger, 375 ; Will., 233, 371, 375, 377, 578
 Ferris : Geo., 94, 463, 470-4 ; Rich., 469-70
 Fight at Clyst in 1455 (*Radford*), 252
 Filleigh : *Biog.*, 529 ; *Bot.*, 129 ; *Met.*, 136, 140-53
 Finney, Mary, 396 ; Rev. Sam., 395-7, 402 ; Rev. Tho., 395, 400-1, 405
 Fishacre : Sir Martin, 378, 380 ; Sir Pet., 378
 Fisher, B. J., 121
 Fitz-James, Ensign, 666
 Fitz-John, John, 378
 Fitz-Martin family, 375
 Fitz-Stephen, Rob., 195
 Fitzwarren : *Eliz.*, 498 ; Fulk, 498 ; Thomasine, 498
 Fitzwarren, Lord. *See* Bouchier
 Five Lanes (Marldon), 600-1
 Flagons, Church, 86-125

- Fletcher, Rev. Fra., 524, 529
 Flint implements. *See* Stone implements
 Flood, —, 740
 Flora. *See* Botany
 Floud, Tho., 673, 676
 Floyd, G., 757
 Fluder (Coffinswell), 600
 Follett : Joan, 661 ; John, 269, 274
 661 ; Judith, 656 ; Rob., 653,
 661 ; Silphine, 661 ; Sir W. W.
 (1798-1845), 53
 Fonte, Pet. de, 200
 Foot, Foote, Tho., 458, 461-2, 464-5
 Ford : Eron, 658 ; John, 270 ;
 Major, 666
 Ford Head (Dartmouth), 654
 FORESTS, SUBMERGED : 728
 Fortescue : Anne, 451 ; Col., 664 ;
 Sir Edm., 662 ; Geo., 524, 529 ;
 Ja., 507 ; Joanna, 552 ; Sir John
 (1394?-1476?), 48 ; John, 507 ;
 Rich., 529 ; Roger, 451
 Fortibus, Isabella de, Countess of
 Devon, 372, 530
 Fortifications, Ancient. *See* Earth-
 works
 Fossils, "Pengelly Collection" of,
 184
 Foster : Dennes, 524 ; M. T., 9, 34,
 139
 Fouracre, J. T., 34
 Foweraker, Rev. E. T., 430
 Fowler, John, 474, 524
 Fowle, Rich., 658
 Fox, C. T. and G., 120
 Fox : Eliz., 388 ; Miss, 389
 Francis, John, 658
 FRANCISCANS : 496
 Francken, W. A., 34
 Franklyn : Mary, 451 ; Will., 451
 Franke : Rev. Abr., 394-5, 397,
 400-1, 403-4 ; Rich., 395
 Franklin. *See* Franklyn
 Frankpledge, View of, 197
 Freeman, Rich., 462, 467, 477-8
 Fremington : *Biog.*, 449 ; *Bot.*, 127
 Frend, Will., 587
 Friars Minor. *See* Franciscans
 Frithelstock : *Biog.*, 495, 551-3, 560
 Frost : Nich., 402 ; Thomazin, 402
 Froude, J. A. (1818-1894), 10
 Frye : Rich., 230 ; Rob., 270
 Fulford : Baldwin, 496 ; Major,
 666 ; R. M., 558 ; —, 121
 Fulling-mills, 569
 Fulton, J., 472, 475
 Fulwood, Fra., 550
 Fungi. *See* Botany
 Funnel, Church, 121
 Furbur, Pet. le, 481
 Furney, Gaven, 441
 Fursdon : Miss, 130 ; Tho., 214
 Fussere, Reg. le, 412
 Gabriel, Rich., 494
 Gallant's or Gallions Bower (Dart-
 mouth), 652, 664-5
 Galley, Lethery, 536
 Galmpton (Churston Ferrers), 601,
 721, 725
 Galton, Rev. J. L., 119
 Gandy : Rev. Hen., 550-1 ; Rev
 John, 550 ; Very Rev. Mon-
 signor, 9 ; —, 555
 Garget, Launsolet, 524
 Garret, —, 450
 Gastropods. *See* Molluscs
 Gatcombe (Colyton), 374
 Gay : Anth., 551, 553 ; Eliz.,
 552-3 ; Gilb., 551 ; Rev. Ja.,
 552 ; Ja., 552-3 ; John (1685-
 1732), 58-63 ; John, 551-2 ;
 Laur., 551 ; Mary, 553 ; Rev.
 Nich., 552-3 ; Rev. Rich., 551-4 ;
 W. A., 205, 277, 430
 Gaydon, Walt., 418
 Geffery, Geffray, Geoffrey : Hen.,
 588 ; Rich., 427 ; Tho., 270
 Genys, Walt., 427
 GEOLOGY—GENERAL : Sand For-
 mation, Saunton Down Cliffs
 (*Evans*), 692 ; Torbay, The Mak-
 ing of (*Jukes-Browne*), 718. *See*
 also Granites ; Mineralogy ; Phy-
 sical geography ; Rocks ; Sand
 GEOLOGY—STRATIGRAPHIC : De-
 vonian, 719-21 ; Permian, 721-4 ;
 Pleistocene. *See* Glacial period ;
 Pliocene, 724-6
 George Nympton : *Bot.*, 129
 Geret, W., 270
 Germyn, Germin : Alex., 270, 272,
 536 ; Hugh, 259, 264, 422, 587 ;
 Mich., 214, 269, 272 ; Will., 270,
 272
 Gerveys, Will., 511
 Gibbs, Tho., 203
 Gibbons, Tho., 662
 Gibbs : Mary, 549 ; Sir Vicary
 (1751-1820), 50
 Gidleigh : *Biog.*, 374, 381
 Giffard, H. S., 1st Earl of Halsbury,
 9-10
 Gifford, Rob., 1st Baron Gifford
 (1779-1826), 52
 Gig mills, 537, 594
 Gilbert : Adrian, 275 ; Humphrey,
 270, 275 ; Sir John, 510 ; John,
 527 ; Tho., 467

- Gilds. *See* Guilds.
 Gill : Rev. John, 140 ; John, 587 ; Will., 495, 587
 Gillett, Rev. C. C., 560
 Gittisham : *Biog.*, 733, 782
 GLACIAL PERIOD, 726-9
 Glanville, Sir John (1542-1600), 49
 Glass painting. *See* Stained glass
 Glaziers' Company, Exeter, 428, 438
 Glenthorne (Countisbury), 703, 713
 Glovers' Company, Exeter, 438
 Glubbe, Geo., 270
 Glyde, Sam., 466-7
 Godolphin, Fred., 527
 Godsall, John, 536
 Goitan, Will., 582
 Golde, Maud (Maiota), 582
 Goldinge, —, 449
 Goldsmith : Hen. the, 441 ; John the, 440
 GOLDSMITHS AND SILVERSMITHS : 86-126 ; 438-79
 Goldsmiths' Guild, Exeter (*Chanter*), 438
 Goldworthy (Parkham), 551
 Good, Cha., 658
 Goodfellow, Sam., 549
 Goodleigh : *Zool.*, 684
 Goodman, John, 270, 475
 Goodrington (Paignton), 721, 724-5
 Goose, Pink-footed, 606
 Gorges, Georges : Joan, 496 ; Theobald, 496 ; Tho., 527, 529
 Goring, Geo., Baron Goring (1608-1657), 604, 663
 Goscombe, Will., 574
 Gosegh, Rev. Roger, 511
 Gossyn, Rich., 496
 Gotfalek, B. M., 524, 529
 Gould : Rich., 107 ; Rev. S. Baring, 9-10, 33-4, 806 ; Tho., 668 ; Zachary, 668
 Gourney : John, 663 ; Sir Rich., 650 ; Tho., 650
 Gove, John, 227
 Goweke, Will., 269
 Grandison, John (1292 ? - 1369), bishop, 237, 413
 Granite boulders. *See* Boulders
 GRANITES, 678-80
 Grant : Mauger, 375 ; Will., 375, 380
 Grantlond : Hen., 588 ; John, 588
 Gratwicke, G. F., 9
 Gray, H. St. G., Paper by : Old Burrow Camp, Exmoor, 703
 Great Aish (South Brent), 140
 Greene, Edm., 510
 Greenway (Churston Ferrers), 601
 Greenway, John, 270, 276
 Greenwood : Tho., 270, 275 ; Will., 270, 275, 446
 Gregory, J., 475
 Gremell, Will., 588
 Grendon, Simon, 582
 Grenville, Greynville, Grendfield, Sir Rich. (1541 ? - 1591), 612, 615
 Grepe, John, 524
 Griffin : Eliz. P., 119 ; F. A., 119
 Griffith, Grifethe : Rich., 225 ; Tho., 214
 Grigg, Will., 536
 Grilles, John, 574, 582
 Gruscote, John, 588
 Grygge, —, 269
 GUILDS : Barnstaple Guild, 577 ; Exeter Goldsmiths' Guild (*Chanter*), 438 ; Kalenders and Exeter Trade-Gilds before the Reformation (*Rose-Troup*), 406 ; Merchant Adventurers', 270-6, 428, 438, 537-8, 577
 Gull : Estuarine, 608 ; Great Black-backed, 608 ; Lesser Black-backed, 608
 Gunterus, Monk, 193
 Gurney : Rich., 108 ; Will., 659
 Gylles, Tho., 657
 Haberdashers' Company. *See* Cappers' etc. Company
 Hacombe : *Biog.*, 376, 380 ; *Bot.*, 131 ; *Hist.*, 376
 Hacombe : Sir Jordan, 376 ; Sir Steph., 372, 376, 380
 Hackney (Kingsteignton), 598, 600-1
 Hackworthie, John, 422
 Haddeleggh, Pet., 574
 Hakewill, —, 205
 Hakeworth, Roger, 582
 Halberton : *Biog.*, 374, 376, 381 ; *Ety.*, 71
 Halcott, Wilton, 212
 Haldon, 30, 597
 Hall : Emanuel, 548 ; Joan, 549 ; Rev. Nich., 548-50 ; Nich., 549 ; Tho., 549 ; Will., 549
 Hall and Co., Martin, 101
 Hallcombe, Anth., 270
 Halliday : Miss C. C., 703, 713 ; Rev. W. S., 716
 Halls, Frank, 127
 Hals, Halse : Chris., 524, 529 ; Joan, 510 ; John, 494, 529
 Halsbury, Earl of. *See* Giffard
 Halsewood, Rich., 220
 Halsford, 408
 Halwell : *Church*, 446

- Hamilton, A. H. A., 10
 Hamling, J. G., 702
 Hamlyn : Hen., 203 ; John, 194, 264, 427 ; Nich., 588 ; Pet., 588
 Hammond, Col., 664
 Hamoaze (Plymouth), 521
 Hamond, John, 270
 Hampton : Rob. de, 572 ; Tho., 269, 274
 Hancock : Dav., 270 ; Will., 270
 Handleigh, John, 466
 Hankeford : Anne, 495, 498-9 ; Blanche, 496 ; Christine, 494-6 ; Eliz., 497, 499 ; Joan, 496 ; John, 494-7 ; Rich., 494-501 ; Thomasia, 497, 499 ; Sir Will. (*d.* 1422), 494-5, 497, 501, 581
 Hankford (Bulkworthy), 496
 Harald of Exeter, 193
 Harcombe (Chudleigh), 30
 Hardwyne : Beatrice, 511 ; Will., 511
 Hardwicke, Hen., 442, 447
 Hare, Mrs. Marcus, 139
 Harman : Edm., 445-7 ; —, 450
 Harpford : *Bot.*, 131 ; *Manuf.*, 569
 Harpley, Rev. W., 9-10, 24, 27, 33, 154-6, 188 ; Paper by : Association (Devonshire), Origin of, 154
 Harries, Marg., 445
 Harris : Cha., 124 ; Chris., 522-3, 525 ; C. S., 109 ; Rob., 424
 Harry, Walt., 536
 Harrys : Hen., 216 ; John, 269 ; Nich., 212
 Hart, Tho., 100
 Harte, W. J., 9 ; Paper by : Exeter City, Act Book of Chamber of, 206
 Hartland : *Biog.*, 495 ; *Manuf.*, 569
 Harvey : Rev. H. H., 127-8 ; Will., 468
 Hastings, Tho., 587
 Hache, Nich., 270
 Hatherleigh : *Biog.*, 395, 400
 Hawk : *Lucus gouldi*, 608 ; Sparrow, 607
 Hawker, Rev. J. M., 10
 Hawkins, Hawkyns : Benj., 458 ; Dav., 468 ; John, 515, 517-8, 527
 Hawley, John, 531-2
 Haydon, John, 203
 Hayes House (Exbourne), 405
 Hayes Manor, 418
 Hayle, Tho., 584
 Haylston, Tho., 524
 Hayman : Geo., 120 ; John, 105 ; M., 660 ; Rich., 649, 660
 Hayne, John, 88, 449-52
 Haynes : John, 672 ; Tho., 467
 Haysham, Tho., 476
 Hayward, Will., 501
 Hayworde : Hawarde, 222 ; Lord Tho., 222
 Hazell, Rev. Hen., 395
 Head, Jos., 473-4
 Head Weir (Meavy), 140-53
 Heanton Punchardon : *Bot.*, 127
 Heanton Sachville (Huish), 395
 Hearder, J. N., 155
 Hearn, Rev. Ja., 787
 Heath : Benj. (1704-1766), 468, 554 ; Cha., 547-8 ; Sir Rich., 672
 Heathfield (Bovey Tracey). *See* Bovey Tracey
 Heatree (Manaton), 40
 Heavitree : *Biog.*, 101-2, 274, 736-7 ; *Bot.*, 130 ; *Church*, 86, 101-3
 Heberden, W. B., 9
 Hellyers' Company. *See* Coopers' etc. Company
 Hemyock : *Biog.*, 276
 Henleg : John de, 481 ; Lucy de, 481
 Hennock : *Zool.*, 684
 Henstecote, Nich., 585-6
 Hepatica. *See* Botany
 Hepburn, Sir Hen., 9
 HERALDRY : *Arms of Athelstan* (King), 242 ; Berkoley, 241 ; Blondy, 239 ; Brewer, 242 ; Chafy, 116 ; Chichester, 239 ; Cordwainers' Company, 416 ; Courtenay, 239 ; Drake, 276 ; Exeter City, 457 ; Ferrers, 667 ; Gournay, 650 ; Herte, 274 ; Hurst, 276 ; Kennaway, 105 ; Leofric (Bishop), 242 ; Martyn, 272, 277 ; Maynwarding, 277 ; Muschamp, 667 ; Osbern (Bishop), 239 ; Peryam, 272 ; Richard, Earl of Cornwall, 492 ; Roach, 667 ; Royal, Fourteenth Century, 241 ; Smyth, 651 ; Stafford, 239 ; Stapeldon, 242 ; Staplehill, 667 ; Tomkins, 97 ; Walker, 111-2 ; Warelwast, 242 ; Wike, 567 ; Wyse, 566 ; Arms not identified, 92, 115, 122 ; general and not described, 232, 239, 241, 246-7, 251, 392, 653, 655-6, 667, 671, 676
Crests of Baskerville, 275 ; Chaffe, 275 ; Tomkins, 97 ; Walker, 111 ; not identified, 92
 Heren, Cha., 547-8
 Hereward, Sir Hamlyn, 379 ; Sir Will., 371-3, 378-80
 Horle, John, 566, 581

- Herman, Hermann : Alice, 450 ; Jane, 450 ; Ralph, 88, 450-2 ; Marg., 450
- Heron, Cha., 550
- Herrick., Rob. (1591-1674), 46-7
- Herte, Edw., 269, 274
- Hervy, Will., 574
- Herward, John, 582
- Hey, 495
- Hicking, J., 128
- Hickman, Walt., 595
- Hicks : Ja., 553 ; Jos., 108, 469-71 ; Mary, 553 ; Rev. —, 553
- Hiern, W. P., 9, 21, 34 ; Paper by : Botany Committee, Report of, 126
- High Bickington : *Bot.*, 128
- High Bray : *Bot.*, 127
- Highweek : *Topog.*, 599
- Hill : Rev. J., 107 ; John, 213, 564, 657-8 ; Symon, 443
- Hill fortresses. *See* Earthworks
- Hilliard : Alice, 447 ; Anne, 444 ; Rev. Ezekiel, 444 ; Frances, 444 ; Grace, 447 ; Jeremy, 444, 447 ; John, 447 ; Laur. (Mrs.), 444 ; Mary, 444, 447 ; Nich., (1537-1619), 444 ; Parnell, 444 ; Rich., 89, 98, 119, 442-5, 447 ; Will., 447
- Hine, Ja., 9-10, 24, 34
- Hingston, Rich., 673
- Hinlay, Lieut., 666
- Hippo, Suffragan Bishop of, 202
- Hodge : John, 675 ; Rich., 101
- Hodgekinson, Rev. Tilleman, 454
- Hodges, Mrs. Chambers, 101
- Hodgson, T. V., 9, 34
- Hody, John, 507
- Hoel, Will., 195
- Hogges, Tho., 524
- Hoker, John. *See* Hooker
- Holcombe Burnell : *Biog.*, 453
- Holdsworth, Art., 671-2
- Hole : Agnes, 418 ; Mary, 102 ; Will., 403
- Holin, Rich., 476
- Hollabombe, Rob., 657
- Hollan, Roger, 541
- Holland : Hen., Duke of Exeter, 264 ; John, Duke of Exeter (1395-1447), 498
- Hollaway, —, 613
- Holle, Will., 587
- Holley, E. H., 140
- Hollman, John, 656
- Holmes : E. M., 134 ; Joan, 397, 400
- Holne : *Biog.*, 497 ; *Bot.*, 131-2 ; *Met.*, 137, 140-53
- Holne Cross (Ashburton), 41
- Holsworthy : *Biog.*, 494
- Holt, Jason, 467
- Honiton : *Biog.*, 447, 734 ; *Hist.*, 368 ; *Manuf.*, 577-8, 587 ; *Meeting*, 10
- Hood, Tho., 524, 529
- Hooker, *alias* Vowell : John (1526?-1601), 198, 217-8, 228, 263, 442 ; Pet., 218
- Hooker : Rich. (1554?-1600), 218 ; Rob., 446 ; Roger, 218
- Hookwells (Paignton), 601
- Hooper : Major, 666 ; Montgomery, 474 ; Percy, 474 ; Miss Swan, 556 ; Will., 98
- Hoper, Hen., 588
- Hope's Nose (St. Mary Church), 727-8
- Hopton, Ralph, 1st Baron Hopton (1598-1652), 662
- Horrabridge, 684
- Horsewill, Will., 524
- Horsey, Horssey : Jasper, 270, 274 ; Jos., 536 ; Walt., 536
- Horsham, Tho., 98
- Horton : Capt., 666 ; Edw. de, 497
- Horwood : Alex., 449 ; Joan, 449 ; Will., 88, 447-9, 479
- Hospitium de le Egle, Exeter (*Legaweekes*), 480
- Houlditch : Rev. Edw., 556 ; Rev. Rich., 557 ; Edw., 560
- Hound Tor (Manaton), 133
- Housman, Rev. J. R., 560
- Howard : Alice G., 99 ; And., 548 ; L. A., 99 ; R. G., 99
- Howarth, Frank, 140
- Howell, John, 210, 269, 274, 442
- Huccaby (Dartmoor), 140-53
- Huchyns, Rich., 230
- Hudleston, W. H., 10
- Hughes, T. C., 9, 34 ; Paper by : St. Leonard's, Exeter, Rectors of, 547
- Huish : *Biog.*, 395, 498
- Hull : Hen., 269, 274, 511, 582 ; John, 561-2 ; Margery, 511 ; Rob., 581
- HUNDREDS : South Tawton Hundred in Early Times (*Reichel*), 343 ; Wonford Hundred, Domesday (*Reichel*), 278 ; Wonford Hundred, Early Descents of Manors in (*Reichel*), 312
- Hunt : A. R., 9, 720-1 ; John, 636 ; Lieut., 666 ; Tho., 636 ; T. H., 636 ; Will., 221, 536
- Hunt, A. R., Paper by : Advancement of Science, 616

- Hurn : Alice atte, 506; Roger atte, 506
 Hurst, Will., 204-5, 212, 215, 223, 227, 230, 270, 276
 Hurt, Edw., 270
 Huse, Hewes, John, 524, 529
 Hutchings : Adam, 477-8; Jane, 450; Sarah, 450
 Hutchins : John, 450; Mary, 455
 Hutteneslegh, 511
 Huysh, Rev. Fra., 552
 HYBRIDISM : 605
 Hyde, Ven. Archdeacon, 560
 Hyndeston, John, 583-4
 Hyston : Rob., 582; Tho., 582
- Iddesleigh : *Biog.*, 446
 ———, Earl of. *See* Northcote
 Ilfracombe : *Biog.*, 374, 376, 380; *Bot.*, 126-7; *Meeting*, 10; *Met.*, 140-53
 Ilsham (St. Mary Church), 724, 730
 Ilington : *Bot.*, 134
 INDEX to Hundreds of Wonford and South Tawton, 353
 Instow : *Biog.*, 495; *Church*, 444; *Shipping*, 545
 Insula, Pet. de, 371
 Ipplepen : *Biog.*, 566
 IRON IMPLEMENTS : 710-2, 714-5, 717
 Irving, Mrs. H. Bell, 133
- Jackson, J. R., 130
 Jacob, Will., 548
 Jacobstowe : *Biog.*, 378, 380, 395-6
 Jago : Alice, 668; Pascho, 654; Rich., 668; Tho., 668, 672-3; Walt., 668, 672
 Jakman : John, 587; Will., 587
 James : John, 223; Jos., 663; Nich., 662
 Jane, Gregory, 229
 Jarvis, Ja., 422
 Jarvis, *alias* Lovett, John, 658
 Jeart, Geo., 536
 Jefferye : Jane, 658; John, 658
 Jemes, Powell, 524
 Jenkins : Alex., 469; Ja., 467; Rich., 467-70; Will., 471
 Jere, Geo., 536
 Jerman : Hugh, 587; Phil., 458, 462; ———, 463
 Jermyn, Eliz., 447
 Jesse ceiling, 660
 Jew, Sir Roger, 379-81
 Joce, T. J., 9, 70; Paper by : Exeter and Dartmouth Road, 597
 Johnson : Edw., 658; Lieut., 666
 Joiners' Company, Exeter, 438
- Jones : Agnes, 221, 445; Alice, 445, 447; Dav., 467-8; John, 88-9, 103-4, 107-8, 111, 117, 123-4, 221, 442-3, 445-7, 450; Tho., 120; Zachary, 445; ———, 737
 Jonsone, John, 582
 Jordan : W. F. C., 9, 38; W. R. H., obit., 38
 Jouet, Pet., 476-7
 Jubilee Meeting of Association, 24
 Julian, H. F., obit., 39; 44, 191; Mrs. H. F., 9, 28, 40, 44; Paper by : Pengelly, Will. (1812-1894), 157
 Jurdaïne, Ingnalius, 536
- Kalenders and Exeter Trade-Gilds before the Reformation (*Rose-Troup*), 406
 Kalenders, Fraternity of, 409, 483, 491
 Keare, Sue, 510
 Keith : I. J., 105, 123; J., 102, 105, 114
 Kelby, John, 588
 Kelly, Kellegh, Kelli : Art., 674; John, 494, 588; Will., 587
 Kellyr, Abr., 659
 Kemp, John, 571
 Kenedon (Lamerton), 529
 Kenford (Kenn), 597
 Kenn : *Topog.*, 597
 Kennaway, Will., 105
 Kennick (Christow), 140-53
 Kent, Will., 655
 Kentisbeare : *Biog.*, 548
 Kentisbeare, Will., 549
 Kentisbury : *Biog.*, 556, 560
 Kenton : *Biog.*, 31, 536; *Shipping*, 534, 542-5
 Kent's Cavern, 165-6
 Kerr, John, 270
 Keys, Roger, 258
 Kidde, John, 524
 Kigan, Lieut., 666
 Kilkenny : And. de, 371; Will. de, 372
 Killigrew, Sir John, 655
 Kilmorie (St. Mary Church), 720
 King : Jane, 484; Lieut., 666; Pet., 1st Baron King of Ockham (1669-1734), 50; R. J. (1818-1879), 10; Will., 484
 Kingsuod, Roger, 524
 King's Ash (Paignton), 601
 Kingsbridge : *Biog.*, 55, 382, 389, 452, 554, 560; *Dial.*, 79; *Manuf.*, 577; *Meeting*, 10; *Met.*, 140-53; *Zool.*, 605-10

- Kingskerswell : *Topog.*, 604
 Kingsley, Rev. Cha. (1819-1875), 10, 169, 189-90
 King's Nympton : *Church*, 456
 Kingsteignton : *Bot.*, 131-2; *Topog.*, 597-8, 600-1; *Zool.*, 684
 Kingswear : *Shipping*, 275, 534; *Topog.*, 601
 Kingswear Castle, 656, 664
 Kingwell, Miss C. M., 140
 Kinnicott, Geo., 674
 Kirkeby, John de, 372
 Kirkham : John, 375; Sir Nich., 375-6, 380
 KISTVAENS : 83-5
 Kitson : Miss H., 70; John, obit., 40; Will., 40
 Kivell, R. N., 140
 Knapp, Tho., 532
 Kneel, —, 29
 Knight, —, 228
 Knolls, Will., 212
 Knowlles, Gilb. de, 372
 Knowles, Will., 270
 Knowing : Geo., 452-3; Joan, 452; Rob., 452
 Knowstone : *Biog.*, 374, 377, 380
 Krall : C., 114; G., 101
 Kyrton, Ambrose, 225-6

 Laby, Will., 657
 Ladubed, Railandus, 194
 Lake : Grace, 553; Hen., 474-5; J. E., 474-5; W. C., 140
 Lake and Son, J. Ellet, 91-2
 Lambell, Gilb., 536
 Lambert, Col., 664
 Lamby, Tho., 583
 Lamerton : *Biog.*, 520, 522, 529
 Lammas Fair. *See* Fairs
 Landkey : *Bot.*, 127; *Zool.*, 684
 Lane, Cha., Papers by : Southcott, Joanna — Bibliography, 757; Life, 732
 Lane, Will., 122
 Langdon : Capt., 660; J., 475; Tho., de 482
 Langford (Abbotskerswell), 604
 Langmead, —, 38
 Langstan, Sam., 105
 Langtree : *Biog.*, 551
 Lante, Will., 442
 Lapford : *Biog.*, 374, 381; *Bot.*, 128
 Laployd (Bridford), 140-53
 Larkbeare (Talatan), 554
 Larkstoke, Rich., 582
 Larter, Miss C. E., 9, 33-4, 70, 127-9, 131-3, 135
 Lash, John, 658
 Latham : Baldwin, 138-9; T. W., 140
 Launceston : *Meeting*, 10
 Launceston, John of, 377, 381
 Lauriston Hall (Torquay), 557
 Laus, Jhan, 524, 529
 Lavington, And., 553
 Laycock, C. H., 9, 33-4, 70; Paper by : Verbal Provincialisms, Report of Committee on, 69
 Leach, Rev. —, 735-6
 Leawood (Bridestowe), 396
 Lecompt, Ja., 466
 Lee, Leigh : John, 466; Jos., 458, 462; Major, 666; Sir J. T., 557; Sophia T., 557; Rev. Tho., 551
 Leech, —, 649
 Lee Moor (Shaugh), 683-4
 Lega-Weekes. *See* Weekes
 Lege, —, 408
 Legge, Legee, Will., 524
 Legh Challons (Plympton), 377
 Legis Mire (Dartmoor), 684
 Leigh. *See* Lee
 Lelie, Lilia, Tho., 574, 578-9
 Lemon stream (Teign River), 599-602
 Leofric (*d.* 1072), bishop, 193
 Leslye, Joan, 547
 Lethbridge : Chris., 396; Rev. John, 396, 402; Sir Roper, 9-10, 25, 33-4; Tho., 396-7, 399-400
 Lethbridge, Sir Roper, Paper by : Tithe Commutation in Exbourne in Seventeenth Century, 394
 Levermore, Livermore : John, 536; Moryshe, 223, 230
 Lewis : Ja., 553; Mary, 553
 Ley, John, 668
 Libull, Lieut., 666
 Lichens. *See* Botany
 Lillierap, F. W., 140
 Lillington, Ja., 456
 Lincombe (Torquay), 720
 Liston : Edw., 652; Luce, 652
 Littleham, near Exmouth : *Bot.*, 130; *Dial.*, 70
 Littleton, Sir Tho. (1402-1481), 48
 Little Torrington : *Bot.*, 128
 Livermead Sands (Cockington), 724
 Livermore. *See* Levermore
 Locke : Anne, 547; Chris., 548
 London, Benedict de, 482
 London Devonian Association, 26
 Long, Rich., 424
 Loram, A. T., 9
 Lovecock : Alice, 511; Maurice, 511
 Lovejoy, H., 140

- Lovell : Abr., 477-8 ; Rob., 109
 Lovering, John, 671
 Lovett, Mrs., 658
 Lowe : H. J., 9 ; —, 643
 Loxhore : *Bot.*, 127
 Lucy, Rob. de, 563
 Lukome, Nich., 536
 Lumley, Symon, 673
 Lunde, Symonde, 536
 Luscombe, Densum, 662
 Luwell, John, 574
 Luxmoore, Capt., 393
 Lyd River (Tavy River), 684
 Lyddon, Geo., 442, 445, 479
 Lydford : *Biog.*, 43, 254 ; *Bot.*, 135 ; *Hist.*, 368
 Lydford Castle, 254
 Lydford, Edw., 507
 Lyen, Rob., 238-51
 Lymbeere, Rich., 221
 Lymptone : *Biog.*, 557 ; *Bot.*, 130 ; *Church*, 444 ; *Dial.*, 78 ; *Hist.*, 258
 Lymouth (Lynton), 140-53
 Lynton : *Bot.*, 126-7 ; *Meeting*, 10 ; *Met.*, 140-53
 Lyons, J., 475

 MacEney, Rev. J., 166, 634
 Mackye, And., 270
 Maddacombe Cross, 601
 Maeyr, John, 422
 Malewayn, John, 573
 Mallack, —, 205
 Mallard. *See* Duck, Wild
 Mallett, Sergeant, 205
 MAN—ORIGIN AND ANTIQUITY : 176-8
 Manaton : *Biog.*, 40 ; *Bot.*, 132-4
 Manby, John, 476, 478
 Mandevil, Lord, 661
 Mandeville, Godefried de, 194
 Maninge, Rich., 270
 Mannoway, Manoway, Will., 673, 675
 Mannyng, Will., 582
 March, Fre., 140
 Mardon (Hennock), 140-53
 Mardon Down (Dartmoor), 684
 Mariner, John, 524
 Marisco, Adam de, 195
 Maritime Trade of Exeter (*Whitley*), 530
 Markele, Rob., 581
 Markes, Tho., 524
 Marlborough, Bishop of. *See* Earle
 Mardon : *Bot.*, 133 ; *Geol.*, 721 ; *Topog.*, 600-1
 Marreys, John, 571, 573-4
 Marriott, W., 140
 Marrocke, Nich., 228
 Marshall : Ja., 478 ; John, 536 ; Rev. —, 734-5
 Marten, John, 524, 529
 Martin, Martyn : Edw., 269, 272 ; Rev. Geo., 116 ; John, 524 ; J. M., 9 ; Marg., 654 ; Nich., 269, 272, 536, 654 ; N., 228 ; Rich., 272, 525 ; Rob., 661 ; R. M., 650 ; Tho., 269, 272 ; Thomasine, 661 ; Will., 269, 272, 372, 447, 544
 Maryon, Jane, 478
 Mary Tavy : *Bot.*, 135
 Marwood : *Biog.*, 48, 555
 Masons' Company. *See* Carpenters' etc. Company
 Masters, Phil., 668
 Matford, 569
 Mathew : Kath., 104 ; Pascho, 658 ; Roger, 661 ; Tho., 89, 439, 443
 Matthew, Roger, 673
 Matthews, Roger, 652
 Maurice, Prince, 662-3
 Mawdytt, Rich., 270, 275
 Mawnder, Hen., 219
 Mawnswell, Rich., 212
 May : Rich., 270 ; Will., 582
 Maynard : E. C., 470, 473, 476 ; Sir John (1602-1690), 49 ; Will., 471 ; W. T., 473, 474, 476
 Maynwaring : Geo., 270, 277 ; Oliver, 277
 Mayor, Office of, 206-7
 Maypole, 660
 Mazers, 95, 118
 Meadfoot (Torquay), 720, 730-1
 Meavy : *Zool.*, 684
 Meckes, Tho., 524
 MEETINGS, ANNUAL, 10, 24
 Melhuish, Rev. G. D., 33, 70
 Melun, Micon, 477, 478
 Members of Parliament. *See* Parliament, Members of
 Merchant Adventurers' Company, Exeter, 270-6, 428, 438, 537-8, 577
 Merivale, Very Rev. Cha. (1808-1893), 10
 Merrifield, A., 121
 Mershe, Will., 199
 Merton : *Biog.*, 395
 Merton, Rich. de, 372
 Merwode, John, 499
 Meryfield : Johanna, 201 ; John, 201 ; Walt., 507
 Metcalfe, Rev. J. W., 560
 METEOROLOGY : Climate, Report of Committee on (*Worth*), 136

- Methodists, 735
 Mew, Rich., 100
 Michelmores: Hen., obit., 41; Tho., 41
 Midsummer procession or watch, 215, 416, 428-30
 Midwinter, Mydwynter: John, 204, 223, 230; Rob., 223, 228
 Milber Down, 134, 600-1
 MILITARY HISTORY: Fight at Clyst in 1455 (*Radford*), 252; Siege of Dartmouth in 1666-7, 668-9; 656-7, 675. *See also* Civil War
 Millard, E., 475
 Millbrook, 534
 Milles, Ja., 524
 MINERALOGY: Pinite, 678-80
 MINES, 372
 Minifie, —, 735-6, 775
 Mitchell, Edw., 91
 Mixstow: Alice, 502; Chris., 502
 Moase, Rowland, 553
 Modberd, Stenene, 533
 Modbury: *Biog.*, 377, 379-81, 477
 Modbury Monastery, 198
 Molland: *Bot.*, 129
 MOLLUSCS: 635
 Molyneux, Edm., 583-4
 MONASTERIES: Buckfast Abbey, 198; Buckland Abbey, 198; St. Nicholas' Priory, Exeter (*Clarke*), 192; St. Peter's Monastery, Exeter, 408; Modbury, 198; Newenham, 198; Torre Abbey, 198, 497, 634; Totnes, 198
 Monk: Geo., 1st Duke of Albemarle (1608-1670), 46, 67; W. J., 136, 140
 Monkleigh: *Biog.*, 377, 495; *Bot.*, 127
 Monkswell, Baron. *See* Collier
 Monumental brasses. *See* Brasses
 MONUMENTS: Plumleigh, 654; Ridler, 454; Tucker. *See also* Brasses
 Moon, Mone, Tho., 524, 529
 Moore: Archdeacon, 737, 763; Eliz., 548; Rev. Fra., 547-8; Fra., 547-8; Rev. Geo., 554; John, 548; Rich., 662; Tho., 229, 547-8; Will., 510; W. F., 155
 Mordecai, Moses, 479
 More: John, 264-5, 269; Rich., 585-9; Steven, 88, 442, 446, 479
 Moretonhamstead: *Dial.*, 76, 78
 Morley, Morleigh: *Biog.*, 378, 380; *Hist.*, 378
 Morris, Geo., 536
 Morrison, Rev. Tho., 553
 Morshead, J. Y. A., 9
 Morte-hoe: *Bot.*, 126-7; *Met.*, 140-53
 Mortimer, John, 455, 458-62, 464
 Morton, Will., 582
 Mosses. *See* Botany
 Moulhangre, 497
 Mount Radford (Exeter), 548
 Mount Tamar (Beerferris), 138
 Mour, Nich., 524
 Moyle, Walt., 255
 Mudd, Ambrose, 672
 Mudge, Mary Ann, 162
 Mules, John, 499, 507-8
 Murch, John, 477
 Musbury: *Biog.*, 67, 367, 734, 737
 Muster book, 657-8
 Muston, Hen., 462, 465, 478
 Mychell, Rob., 270
 Mydwynter. *See* Midwinter
 Nancarrow, John, 383
 Napoleon relic, 31
 Nathan, B. S., 468
 Nawe: Nich., 588; Will., 588
 Neale, Rich., 107
 Neck, J. S., 9, 33
 Neel, John, 576, 579
 Nelson, General, 390
 Nemot, Nimet, Alice, 582
 Neolithic implements. *See* Stone implements
 Nethercombe, 48
 Netherexe: *Hist.*, 201
 Nettlecombe chalice, 91
 Neville, Geo. (1433?-1476), bishop, 241-2
 Newcome, Will., 270, 276
 Newcomen, Newcomin: Bathsheba, 668; Tho., 663, 668
 Newcourt (Topsham), 95
 Newenham Abbey, 198
 Newton, Rich. de, 190
 Newfoundland Trade, 603, 651, 671-2
 Newland, 494, 497
 Newman: Sir Rob., 9; Tho., 652, 672, 674
 Newport, Earl of, 664-6
 Newton, Rob., 588
 Newton Abbot: *Biog.*, 41, 229; *Dial.*, 73, 78; *Hist.*, 603-4; *Manuf.*, 577; *Meeting*, 10; *Met.*, 140-53; *Topog.*, 598-600, 602, 604
 Newton Bushell. *See* Newton Abbot

- Newton St. Cyres : *Biog.*, 552-3 ; *Bot.*, 128
 Newton Ferrers : *Biog.*, 374
 Nicholls, Will., 442, 445
 Nichols, Hugh, 553
 Nicholys, Tho., 270
 Nimet. *See* Nemot
 Nix, B. W., 103
 Nonant : Sir Guy, 376 ; Roger, baron of Totnes, 376 ; Sir Roger, 374-7, 379, 381
 Nonconformists, 395
 Norbrook, Grace, 445
 Norice : Noryce, Hen., 204
 Norman architecture, 486
 Norman : Ethel H., 99 ; Phil., 91
 Norris : H., 475 ; Rich., 536
 North, John, 89, 96, 442-3, 445
 Northam : *Bot.*, 127 ; *Shipping*, 534
 North Bovey : *Bot.*, 132
 Northbrook, John, 223
 Northbrook, Lord. *See* Baring
 Northcote : Sir S. H., 1st Earl of Iddesleigh (1818-1887), 26-7 ; S. H. S., Viscount St. Cyres, 9-10, 26, 28 ; presidential address, 44
 Northcott, Sir John, 432
 Northlew : *Bot.*, 128
 North Molton : *Bot.*, 128-9 ; *Manuf.*, 569
 Northmore : John, 396 ; Tho., 123, 396
 Northmore House (Okehampton), 397
 North Tawton : *Biog.*, 497 ; *Dial.*, 71, 75
 North Wyke, *alias* Chawleigh Wyke, 565
 North Wyke (South Tawton), 565
 Norton Daune (Dartmouth), 377
 Nosworthy, Mary, 548
 Nott, J. Pyke., 396
 Nourse, Rev. S. M., 34
 Numan, Tho., 574
 Numismatics. *See* Coins ; Seals, Numismatic ; Tokens
 Nutcombe, Rev. Chancellor, 763
 Nutwell (Woodbury), 408
 Nymet Tracy : *Biog.*, 497
 Nythers, Sir Fra., 672
 Oaklands (Okehampton), 137, 140
 OBITUARY NOTICES : 35. *See also* under names
 Oblie, Bern., 574
 Oburnford (Halberton), 376
 Ockment River, East, 684
 Officers of Association, 9
 Oke, Will., 582
 Okehampton, Ockhernton : *Biog.*, 367, 396 ; *Hist.*, 368, 386 ; *Manuf.*, 577 ; *Meeting*, 10 ; *Met.*, 137, 140-53 ; *Various*, 214
 Okiston, John de, 482
 Old Burrow Camp, Exmoor (*Gray*), 703-17
 Oldridge Chapel, 89, 123-4
 O'Mealie, John, 658
 Openshaw, Rev. John, 560
 Oreng, Rich., 263, 427
 Ornithology. *See* Birds
 Osborn, John, 494
 Osbern or Osbert (*d.* 1103), bishop, 193-4, 239, 408
 Osborn, Osborne : Hen., 446 ; Hugh, 446 ; Rich., 88, 442, 446
 Osment : Edw., 475 ; Eliza, 475 ; John, 471-3 ; Phil., 475
 Otterton : *Bot.*, 130
 Ottery St. Mary : *Biog.*, 46, 53, 203, 556, 560, 733, 798 ; *Manuf.*, 587
 Owen, J. G., 9
 Owke, John, 658
 Oxland, —, 155
 Oxton (Kenton), 31
 Oxton : Sir Alex., 377 ; Sir Ja., 372, 377, 379, 381 ; Joan, 377, 379
 Paffin, Martin, 200
 Paganell, Family of, 498
 Paganus, 195
 Page, Tho., 649-50
 Paignton : *Biog.*, 42, 375, 380 ; *Bot.*, 131 ; *Church*, 42 ; *Geol.*, 719-22, 724 ; *Meeting*, 10 ; *Topog.*, 601
 Paignton Waterworks, 138-9
 Pain, Will., 101
 Painted glass. *See* Stained glass
 Painter, Phil., 482
 Painters' Company, Exeter, 438
 Palerna, Pet. de, 483
 Palmer : Clement, 657 ; John, 456, 587, 676 ; Rich., 657 ; Rob., 465, 476 ; Will., 676
 Palton : Commr., 35 ; Matilda Winsloe, 35
 Panter, John, 582
 Papes, Lewis, 545
 Parfitt, Edw., 129, 135
 Parker, Roger, 595
 Parkham : *Biog.*, 551
 Parkin, Isaac, 470-2
 Parkman, Farman, John, 576, 578-9

- PARLIAMENT, MEMBERS OF : Devon
County Members 1213-1327,
(*Alexander*), 366; 271, 386, 396,
442, 567, 650, 654, 661
Parracombe : *Dial.*, 75
Parrat, Rob., 662
Parry, H. L., 9, 25-6, 34, 430
Pascow : Geo., 502; Margery,
502; Will., 502
Pasmore, Pet., 549
Passmore : Mary, 447; R., 475
Patch : Rev. Gayer, 555; John,
555; R. B., 555
Patens, 86-125, 456, 479
Patteson : Sir John (1790-1861),
53; John Coleridge (1827-1871),
53
Paule, Rich., 553
Payne : Hen., 270, 274; Will., 269
Paynton, Nich., 673
Peacock, H. G., 34, 129, 131, 134-5
Peard, Rev. Oliver, 449
Pearson, Rev. J. B., 9, 560; Paper
by : Exeter Corporation Estate
in Ireland, 431
Peck, Miss C. L., 34, 128, 130-1
Peckitt, Will., 231, 242-3
Pecok, John, 570-1
Peek, Lady, 140
Peirce, Jos., 467, 469
Pelet, Moses, 466
Pengelly : Alf., 163; Hester, 40;
Rich., 157; Sir Tho., 171; Will.
(1812-1894), 10, 27, 40, 44,
154-5, 157-91, 616-20, 622-4,
629, 635, 638, 643-6, 693-4
Pengelly, William (1812-1894),
(*Julian*), 157
Penny, Hen., 656
Pennycott Manor (Shobrook), 404
Penwayn, Tho., 543
Peppedon, John, 582
Peregrine Falcon. *See* Falcon
Permian period. *See* Geology,
Stratigraphic
Pierocke, Tho., 225
Perrott, Rob., 651
Pery, Rich., 270, 274
Peryam : John, 204, 207, 269,
272-3; Sir Will. (1534-1604),
272
Peryman, Geo., 269, 272
Peter, John, 207, 223, 227-8, 230
Peters, Rev. Hugh, 666-7
Petrockstowe : *Biog.*, 450
Petrography. *See* Rocks
Petrut : John, 572; Rich., 574, 582
Peverel, Will., 564
PEWTER : 95, 108, 111, 116, 121
Phear, Sir J. B., 10
Pheasant, Hybrid, 605
Philips, John, 553
Phillips : John, 117; Major, 666
Phillpotts, Hen. (1778-1869),
bishop, 556
PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY : Sand For-
mation, Saunton Down Cliffs
(*Evans*), 692; Torbay, The
Making of (*Jukes-Browne*), 718.
See also Geology
Pidgeons Heathfield (Woodbury),
553
Piepowder, Court of, 674-5
Piers, John, 589
Pike : John, 477; Tho., 120
Pilcome Slades (Broadhembury),
549
Pinhoe : *Hist.*, 201
Pinite. *See* Mineralogy
Pippet, Cha., 473
Pirates, 652, 655, 668
Pitman, John, 574, 578-9
Pitt : Herman, 450; Julian, 450;
Tho., 385-7
Places of meeting of Association, 10
Plague, 651, 657
Plasterwork, 660-1
PLATE : Church Plate Committee,
Report of (*Chanter*), 86; 440,
443-7, 449-52, 454-6, 479
Player, Roger, 524
Pleistocene period. *See* Glacial
period
Plint, Rich., 476, 478
Pliocene period. *See* Geology,
Stratigraphic
Plumleigh : Barbara, 654; John,
654; Will., 653-4, 656, 661
Plummer, John, 595
Plymouth : *Biog.*, 37, 382, 389-90,
393, 454, 462, 468, 472, 475-9;
Bot., 134; *Hist.*, 368, 518-21,
663, 669; *Manuf.*, 577, 579;
Meetings, 10; *Met.*, 140-53;
Shipping, 530, 535, 538, 540;
Various, 372, 758, 771, 778
Plymouth : Athenæum, 155
Plymouth china. *See* Pottery
Plymouth Church (St. Andrew's),
449, 669
Plymouth Dock. *See* Devonport
Plymouth Garrison, 384
Plymouth Guildhall, 391
Plymouth, Mayor of, 37
Plymouth streets, etc. : Coxside,
387; High St., 386-7; Notte
St., 387-8
Plympton : *Biog.*, 67, 377, 380;
Hist., 368; *Manuf.*, 577, 579,
587; *Meeting*, 10

- Plymtree: *Biog.*, 735, 737
 Podge, J. D., 34
 Pole: Sir John, 205, 432; John, 269
 Pollard: Capt., 666; Sir Hugh, 666; Hugh, 213; Lieut., 666; Walt., 581
 Pollimone, Rob., 524
 Pollock, Sir Fre., 9-10
 Polsloe Park (Heavitree), 102-3
 Pomeroy: Roger, 672; Rev. Jos., 735-40, 743, 760, 768, 770, 783-5, 787-8, 790
 Pope, Will., 472, 475
 Porcelain. *See* Pottery
 Porringers, 97, 105, 112, 454
 Porter: Rev. Geo., 557-8; John, 582; Tho., 557-8
 Porton, Isaac, 651
 PORTRAITS: Bothamley, Rev. Westley, 559; Callendar, Rev. Reg., 559; Houlditch, Rev. Edw., 556; Hurst, Will., 276; Kitson, John, 40; Patch, Rev. Gayer, 555; Peryam, John, 272; Porter, Rev. Geo., 558; Sheldon, Rev. J. F., 559; Spicer, Nich., 273
 Portreeve, Office of, 381
 Postbridge (Dartmoor), 137, 140-53
 Poter, Rich. le, 482
 Potter, Tho., 107
 POTTERY: Ancient, 710, 712, 714, 717; Plymouth China (*Radford*), 382; 28, 55-8
 Poughill: *Biog.*, 394; *Hist.*, 194, 201
 Powderham, 253, 257-8, 260, 534
 Powell: Dav., 491; Major, 666
 Praed, Ensign, 666
 Pratt, Will., 70
 Prayer Book Rebellion, 272
 PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: St. Cyres, Viscount, 44
 Presidents of Association, 10
 Prestecote, John, 581
 Preston (Paignton), 724
 Prestwode, Rich., 228
 Prestwood, Tho., 204-5
 Prickman, J. D., 9, 33
 Pride, Lieut.-Col., 664
 Prideaux: John, 389; Lady, 448; Lydia, 389; Nich., 418-9
 Pridis, Geo., 536
 Prigg, H. V., 140
 Princetown (Dartmoor): *Meeting*, 10; *Met.*, 137, 140-53; *Zool.*, 684
 Pring, T. C., 9, 25, 27, 29
 Priorities. *See* Monasteries
 Prous: Sir Hugh, 374, 381; Sir Will., 372, 374, 381
 Prouse, Rich., 269, 271
 Prout, Sam. (1783-1852), 157-8
 Prouwet, Pruet: Matilda, 511; Rich., 511
 Prouz, —, 228 ^{287, 288}
 Prouze, John, 270, 276
 Provincialisms, Verbal. *See* Dialect
 Prowse: A. B., 9, 34; John, 536; Rich., 536
 Prowte, Ja., 658
 Pryer, Walt., 269
 Pryke, Rev. W. E., 9, 28
 Punchard, Rich., 669
 Punchardon: Alice de, 511; John de, 511; Marg. de, 511; Rob. de, 511; Will. de, 511
 Purvys, Pet., 269
 Putford Bridge, 495
 Pymon, —, 228
 Pynnefolde, Will., 206, 441
 Pyx-box, 116
 Quick, Pet., 443
 Quinel: Anger, 511; Rev. John, 511; John, 481; Matilda, 511; Rev. Pet., 511
 Quivil or Quivel, Pet. de (*d.* 1291), bishop, 371, 482-3
 Rackenford: *Biog.*, 557; *Hist.*, 201
 Radcliffe, Jasper, 90, 118, 451-2
 Radcott, Rich., 270
 Radford: A. J. V., 34; A. L., 34; Miss C. M., 137, 140; Mrs. G. H., 9, 28, 33-4; Nich., 255, 257-8, 264
 Radford, Mrs. G. H., Papers by: Fight at Clyst in 1455, 252; Plymouth China, 382
 Rainfall. *See* Meteorology
 Raised beaches. *See* Beaches
 Raleigh: Sir Hen., 371-2, 374-5, 381; Sir Tho., 375, 381; Sir Walt. (1552?-1618), 603
 Ramsay: E., 475; Rev. H. F., 136, 140
 Randolph, Edw., 124
 Rattery: *Biog.*, 668; *Bot.*, 135
 Rayment, Raymond, Gregory, 524, 529
 Raymond, Tho., 209-10, 270
 Reynolds, Major, 666
 Rede House (Hatherleigh), 395
 Rede, John, 574
 Redwood: Abiah, 550; Charity, 550; John, 550; Rev. Nich., 550; Nich., 550

- Reed : Harbottle, 9, 26, 29, 34, 560 ; John, 466, 477 ; Tho., 466 ; Will., 453
 Reeve : Nich., 442, 445-6 ; W. H., 136, 140
 Reginildis, 194
 Reichel, Rev. O. J., 9, 21, 33-4, 70 ;
 Papers by : South Tawton Hundred in Early Times, 343 ; Wonford Hundred, Domesday, 278 ; Wonford Hundred, Early Descents of Manors in, 312. (For an Index to these Papers, see p. 353)
 Religious art. *See* Christian art and symbolism
 Renell Rich., 427
 Reve : Barnabas, 223 ; Nich., 230
 Rewe : John, 588 ; Will., 588
 Reynell : Rebecca, 672 ; Tho., 672
 Reynolds : Hum., 613-5 ; Sir Joshua (1723-1792), 67 ; Tho., 462, 464-5, 476
 Richard, Earl of Cornwall, 492
 Richard : Ensign, 666 ; Tho., 587
 Richards, Edm., 87, 97, 100, 112, 458-60, 462, 464-6, 476, 478
 Richardson, Tho., 545
 Riche, John, 418
 Ridler : John, 453-4 ; Sarah, 454
 Rigsby, —, 734
 Ringmoor, Plym Valley, 83
 Rippon Tor (Ilsington), 134
 Risdon : Pet., 270, 276 ; Tristram (1580?-1640), 275
 Risk, Rev. J. E., 155
 Roach, A. E., 559
 ROADS AND WAYS : Exeter and Dartmouth Road (*Joce*), 597
 Roberts : C. T. K., 9 ; Will., 657
 Robertson, Rt. Rev. Archib., Bishop of Exeter, 9-10, 43
 Robin : John, 587 ; Rich., 587
 Robinson, C. E., obit., 41
 Roborough : *Met.*, 140-53
 Rock House (Lynmouth), 140
 Rockbeare : *Biog.*, 557-8
 Rocks : Petrography of Dartmoor (*Worth*), 677 ; schists, 643-4
 Rof, Will., 511
 Roger, prior, 199
 Rogers, Rev. W. M., 126-127
 Rokke, Will., 574
 Rolle : Col., 395 ; Hen., 395 ; John, 432 ; Rebecka, 395 ; Sam., 675
 Ronewill, Rich., 501
 Ronwell, Rich., 588
 Rooke, Benj., 672
 Rooker, A., 155
 Roope : Ambrose, 672 ; Edw., 672 ; John, 650 ; Phil., 662
 Rose-Troup. *See* Troup
 Rose-water dish, 93
 Rosier, John, 396
 Ross, C. J., 29, 474-5
 Rossiter, G., 140
 Rothernford Bridge, 495
 ROTIFERA of Devon (*Stevens*), 681
 Rotre, John, 649
 Roundham Bay (Paignton), 722
 Roundhill (Dartmoor), 83-5
 Rousdon : *Met.*, 140-53
 Rowe : J. Brooking-, 10, 188 ; Nich., 230 ; Walt., 536
 Rowland, John, 585-6
 Rowles, Rich., 524
 Rowlestone Barton, Manor of, 193
 Rowley : F. R., 29, 34 ; —, 489
 Rowse, Tho., 427
 Rudgeway, —, 510
 Rules of Association, 11
 Rumleigh (Beerferris), 139
 Russell : Fra., 2nd Earl of Bedford (1527?-1585), 219-20 ; John, 1st Earl of Bedford (1486?-1555), 261, 272 ; Lord John, 1st Earl Russell (1792-1878), 10 ; John, 574, 582
 Ruthven, Col., 662
 Rycraft, Will., 230
 Ryder : John, 510 ; Martyn, 676 ; Will., 510
 Ryve, —, 228
 Sachevyll, Rich., 496
 Sacred art. *See* Christian art and symbolism
 Sadelere, Roger, 582
 St. Clare, Livery Dole (Heavitree), 86, 103
 St. Cyres, Viscount. *See* Northcote
 St. Giles-in-the-Wood : *Biog.*, 275, 379-80, 395
 St. Leonard's, Exeter, Rectors of (*Hughes*), 547
 St. Mary Church : *Bot.*, 132, 134 ; *Dial.*, 71 ; *Geol.*, 720, 724, 727 ; *Meeting*, 10 ; *Topog.*, 600
 St. Maur, R. H., 9
 St. Nicholas' Priory, Exeter, Records of (*Clarke*), 192
 SAINTS IN ART : St. Barbara, 239, 244 ; St. Catherine, 239-40, 244-5, 249, 251 ; St. Edmund, 245 ; St. Edward, 245 ; St. Gabriel, 244 ; St. Helena, 245 ; St. Margaret, 239 ; St. Martin of Tours, 241 ; St. Mary the

- Virgin, 241; St. Mary Magdalen, 239-40; St. Michael, 244; St. Peter, 242; St. Sidwella, 245
- St. Thomas, near Exeter: *Biog.*, 396, 449, 451, 454, 550; *Church*, 89; *Topog.*, 124
- Salcombe: *Shipping*, 530, 534, 656
- Saltash, 526-9
- Salter: Anth., 452, 454; Jane, 452; John, 658; Tho., 88, 454, 458-9, 461-2, 464-5, 477-8
- Saltern Cove (Paignton), 720-2
- Salvers, Church, 105, 120
- Sampford, John, 228, 269, 273
- Sampford Courtenay: *Biog.*, 549; *Etym.*, 80; *Manuf.*, 569
- Sampford Peverel: *Various*, 504
- Sampson: Capt., 666; Tho., 465-6, 476-7
- Sams, Rich., 467-70, 476
- SAND: Sand Formation, Saunton Down Cliffs (*Evans*), 692-702
- Sanders: E. A., 103; Ven. F. A., 9; John, 669; —, 205
- Sanders and Co., 471
- Sandford: *Zool.*, 684
- Sandford Orleigh Farm (Newton Abbot), 598, 600
- Sands Copse (Kingsteignton), 597
- Sandy Gate (Clyst St. Mary), 129
- Sandygate (Kingsteignton), 597
- Sanford, John, 581
- Sankey, Sir Hierome (Jerome), 432, 435
- Santon. *See* Saunton
- Satow, Sir E. M., 9
- Saule, Nich., 400
- Saunders: Miss H., 9, 33-41, 70, 128-9, 135; T. C. K., 484; —, 205, 734
- Saunton (Braunton), 378, 692-702
- Savery, G. B., 129
- Sawtell, S., 475
- Schillingford, Ralph, 563
- Schists. *See* Rocks
- Schotybrok, 511
- Scut: Adam, 582; John, 582
- Sea-hares. *See* Molluscs
- SEALS, NUMISMATIC, 412, 427, 479, 492, 511, 548-9
- Searle: Lieut.-Col., 666; Lieut., 666
- Searte, Edw., 270
- Seaton: *Biog.*, 558; *Bot.*, 130; *Meeting*, 10; *Shipping*, 545; *Zool.*, 684
- Selbey, Roger, 269, 275
- Selby, Will., 532
- Seldon, Laur., 269, 275-6
- Servante: Fra., 465; Hen., 465
- Seymour: Alice, 758, 765-6, 771, 778, 807; Col., 665-6; Sir Edw., 649, 651, 663
- Seynter, Tho., 270
- Shag Rock (Torquay), 720
- Shaldo, John, 589
- Shaldon: *Biog.*, 40
- Shaplegh: John, 579, 581-2; Roger, 582; Will., 582
- Sharland, A., 34, 127, 130
- Shaugh: *Zool.*, 684
- Shears, G., 121
- Sheepstor: *Zool.*, 682, 684
- Sheffield plate, 96, 109, 124
- Sheldon, Rev. J. F., 558-9
- Sheppard: Tho., 269, 275; Will., 269, 275
- Sher, John, 651
- Sherborne (Newton Abbot), 600
- Sheriffs of Devon, 370, 374, 375-6, 378-9, 497, 566, 577-8, 661
- Sheriffs of Exeter. *See* Exeter, Sheriffs of
- Shillabere, Will., 658
- Shillingford: *Biog.*, 497
- Shillingford, John, 507
- Shilston, Roger, 227
- Shiphay Collaton (Torquay), 133
- Shirlok, Nich., 570
- Shirwell: *Biog.*, 380-1
- Shobrook: *Biog.*, 404, 511; *Zool.*, 684
- Sholle, Will., 524
- Shute: *Biog.*, 258, 432
- Sidmount (Sidmouth), 140
- Sidmouth: *Biog.*, 734; *Bot.*, 131; *Hist.*, 408; *Meeting*, 10; *Met.*, 137, 140-53; *Shipping*, 544, 546
- Silver cup, 31
- Silversmiths. *See* Goldsmiths, etc.
- Silverton: *Biog.*, 455; *Bot.*, 129; *Zool.*, 683
- Simonsbath, 140-53
- Singe, Cha., 675
- Siward's Cross (Dartmoor), 140-53
- Skardon, T. G., obit., 41
- Skelton, Sir John, 669
- Skinner: Miss E., 9; Matth., 467-8, 476; Nich., 536; Phil., 508; Will., 270
- Skinner's Company, Exeter, 421-2, 438
- Skua, 608
- Slade, 497
- Slade, Dan., 455, 458-62, 464-5, 479
- Slanner, Lieut., 666
- Slapton: *Church*, 446; *Manuf.*, 659
- Slapton Ley, 684

- Smale : Christian, 399 ; John, 225, 339, 553
 Smith : Agnes, 441 ; Gilb., 651 ; John, 510, 651, 654 ; Rich., 441 ; Miss R. E. Carr-, 34 ; S., 475 ; Tho., 510 ; Rev. Will., 555 ; Will., 441 ; Rev. W. W., 555-6
 Smiths' and Cutlers' Company, Exeter, 428
 Smyth, Smythe : Sir Geo., 442 ; Gilb., 269, 274 ; John, 269, 274, 650-1 ; Rob., 587 ; Tho., 226 ; Will., 524
 Snow, Snowe : Hen., 222 ; John, 553 ; Tho., 9, 536 ; —, 87
 Snuff-box, 107
 Sobey : E., 475 ; G. F., 94 ; Will., 471, 475 ; W. R., 94-5, 471-4
 Somervail, Alex., 631, 642-3
 Soper, H. Tapley-, 28, 34, 430
 Sothern, Thb., 524
 Sourton : *Topog.*, 418
 Southampton, Hen. de, 482
 South Brent : *Met.*, 140-53
 Southcott, Southcot, Southcote : Hannah, 733 ; Sir John, 653 ; Jos., 768 ; Tho., 228, 510 ; Will., 733, 784
 Southcott, Joanna (1750-1814) : Bibliography (*Lane*), 757 ; Life (*Lane*), 732
 South Molton : *Biog.*, 379-80, 536 ; *Bot.*, 128-9 ; *Hist.*, 368 ; *Manuf.*, 536, 569, 577, 579 ; *Meeting*, 10
 South Tawton : *Biog.*, 565 ; *Dial.*, 74 ; *Manuf.*, 578-9
 South Tawton Hundred in Early Times (*Reichel*), 343
 Sowle, Edm., 587
 Sowy, Godfrey de, 482
 Sparke : John, 673 ; Rich., 536
 Speer, Will., 265
 Speke, Sir Geo., 651
 Spere, Tho., 587
 Spicer : Chris., 270, 273, 536 ; Edw., 88, 270, 273, 455, 459, 461-2, 464-5, 476, 509 ; John, 273, 573 ; Nich., 217, 269, 273 ; Tho., 203, 218, 269, 273, 506, 536 ; Will., 270, 273, 536
 Spoons, silver, 86-125, 444, 446-7, 450-2, 454-6, 479
 Sprattshayes (Littleham, near Exmouth), 70
 Spriggs, Lydia, 170
 Spurway : Jone, 653 ; Tho., 652-3, 655, 661 ; Will., 668
 Spycer. *See* Spicer
 Squabmoor, 684
 Stabick, Marg., 107
 Stafford, Edm. de (1344-1419), bishop, 199, 239
 STAINED GLASS : Exeter Cathedral (*Drake*), 231 ; 391
 Stanbury, Edwin, 70
 Standard, John, 583
 Standing Orders of Association, 16
 Stansley, Rich., 269
 Stapeldon : Mabilla, 494 ; Sir Rich., 371, 377-8, 381, 493, 497-8 ; Rob., 494 ; Tho. de, 492-3 ; Thomasia, 494, 497 ; Walt. de (1261-1326), bishop, 237, 242, 372, 377, 494 ; Sir Will., 377 ; Will., 494
 Stapeldon (Cookbury), 377, 493
 Staplehill, Steplehill : Aldred, 661 ; Alex., 662 ; Gilb., 667 ; John, 667 ; Tho., 661 ; Walt., 223
 Stapleton, Alex., 659
 Starcross : *Zool.*, 684
 Start, Capt., 666
 Staverton : *Biog.*, 668 ; *Bot.*, 131-2
 Stawell, Will., 675
 Stebbing, Rev. T. R. R., 9-10
 Stephens, John, 229
 Stere, Will., 587
 Stevens : J., 9 ; Ja., 110, 478
 Stevens, J., Paper by : Rotifera of Devon, 681
 Stevenstone (St. Giles - in - the - Wood), 395
 Sticklepath (Sampford Courtenay), 80
 Stockhey, Sir Rob., 378, 381
 Stockleigh Pomeroy : *Biog.*, 380 ; *Church*, 449
 Stokeclimsland, 444
 Stoke Fleming : *Hist.*, 664
 Stoke Gabriel : *Biog.*, 374 ; *Geol.*, 720
 Stoke-in-teignhead : *Biog.*, 376, 380, 548-9 ; *Bot.*, 131-2
 Stoke Marshes (Exeter), 684
 Stockenham : *Biog.*, 42 ; *Bot.*, 130, 134-5 ; *Zool.*, 607
 Stoke Rivers : *Bot.*, 126-7
 Stone : F. E., 475 ; John, 472-5 ; Tho., 475 ; T. H., 473-4
 STONE IMPLEMENTS : 709-10, 712-13
 Stonehouse : *Biog.*, 37
 Stourton : Joan, 496 ; Sir John, 255
 Stover Lake (Teigngrace), 694
 Straining spoons, 86-125
 Strang, Ja., 110, 466, 476
 Streatham Hall (Exeter), 684
 Stret, Sturt, Pet., 582
 Strete Raleigh (Whimble), 374
 Stringfellowe, Rich., 595

- Strong : Edw., 477 ; Tho., 468
 Strybbinge, Tho., 214
 Stuart, W. G., obit., 42
 Stubbs, Rt. Rev. C. W., 10, obit., 42
 Stucky, John, 222
 Studd, E. F., 31
 Sturt. *See* Stret
 Submerged forests. *See* Forests,
 Submerged
 SUBSIDIES, Clerical, 199
 Suger, John, 477-8
 Summers, Rich., 387
 Sutton, 496
 Sutton or Plymouth. *See* Plymouth
 Swan, Ralph, 574, 583
 Sweet : Edw., 475-6, 478 ; Mary
 553 ; Rev. Will., 556
 Sweetland, Rich., 120
 Swote : Rich., 269, 273 ; —, 218
 Sweting, Simon, 587
 Symmbridge : *Biog.*, 396 ; *Bot.*, 127
 Symonds : John, 540 ; Mrs., 736 ;
 Rich., 232, 247
 Symons : Pentecost, 477 ; R. B.,
 467 ; Tho., 536 ; Will., 658

 Tailler, John, 657
 Tailors' Company, Exeter, 422-7,
 438
 Talaton : *Biog.*, 554, 734
 Talbot : John, 502-3, 511, 575, 581,
 583 ; Margery, 511 ; Matilda,
 511 ; Will., 511
 Taleford (Ottery St. Mary), 733
 Tamerton : *Church*, 444
 Tancoek, Rev. O. J., 37
 Tarnier : Will., 536 ; Rev. —, 735
 Tapelegh (Westleigh), 494
 Tapelegh, Walt., 224
 Tapp, Oliver, 536
 Tapper, John, 536
 Tarford. *See* Taleford
 Tasker, Gerard, 583
 Tattam, M. W., 140
 Tattershall : Geo., 396-7, 400, 404 ;
 J. A., 405
 Tavistock : *Biog.*, 35-7, 49, 529 ;
 Hist., 368 ; *Manuf.*, 577, 579 ;
 Meetings, 10 ; *Met.*, 140-53
 Taw Marsh (Belstone), 128, 684
 Tawstock : *Biog.*, 497 ; *Bot.*, 127
 Taylor : John, 588 ; Rich., 212,
 270 ; Walt., 549 ; Wilmet, 270 ;
 Mrs. —, 735-7
 Taylour, Mary, 549
 Tedbury, Valentine, 270
 Teignbridge, 598-9, 601
 Teign-ford, 600
 Teigngrace : *Zool.*, 684
 Teign-Harvey, Tingharvey (Stoke-
 in-teignhead), 376, 549
 Teignmouth : *Biog.*, 38-9 ; *Meet-*
 ings, 10 ; *Met.*, 140-53 ; *Ship-*
 ping, 534, 541-6
 Teignton : *Various*, 371
 Temperature. *See* Meteorology
 Temple, Rt. Rev. Fre., bishop, 10,
 190, 558
 Test, Walt., 412
 Testoons. *See* Coins
 Tewiss, Tho., 658
 Thatcher Stone (Torquay), 720,
 724, 727-8, 731
 Thomas : F., 463 ; Geoffray, 269,
 271 ; John, 501, 587, 734 ;
 Rich., 572
 Thomson, B. H., 10
 Thorn, 496
 Thorn, John, 583
 Thornbi, Rich., 587
 Thorne, Tho., 468
 Thornton, Rev. W. H., 9
 Thorverton : *Biog.*, 451
 Tiger's Marsh (Dartmoor), 684
 Tiller, Will., 669
 Tindal, Matth. (1653 ?-1733), 50
 Tingcombe, John, 468
 Tingharvey. *See* Teign-Harvey
 TITHES : Commutation in Ex-
 bourne in seventeenth century
 (*Lethbridge*), 394
 Tiverton : *Biog.*, 67, 276, 447, 477,
 536 ; *Bot.*, 130 ; *Hist.*, 262 ;
 Manuf., 569, 587 ; *Meetings*, 10
 Tiverton Castle, 257
 TOKENS, 453
 Token : John, 212, 228 ; Valentine,
 227
 Tolcher, —, 477
 Tollow, John, 583
 Tombs, Will., 41
 Tomkins : Rev. Chichester, 98 ;
 Eliz., 98 ; Will., 97
 Tomlyne, Alex., 222
 Topsham : *Biog.*, 53, 95, 477 ;
 Hist., 124 ; *Shipping*, 217, 530-1,
 534, 539-40, 541-6, 652 ; *Various*,
 29
 Torbay, The Making of (*Jukes-*
 Brown), 718
 Torbay : *Shipping*, 534, 543
 Torcross Ley (Stokenham), 607
 Torkington, Rich., 478
 Torquay : *Biog.*, 40-1, 161-5, 167,
 557 ; *Bot.*, 131, 133-4 ; *Dial.*,
 71, 73, 75-6, 81 ; *Geol.*, 718-31 ;
 Meetings, 10 ; *Met.*, 138, 140-53
 Torquay Mechanics' Institute, 162,
 168, 173

- Torquay Natural History Society, 164-8, 191, 619, 631, 635, 643
 Torre Abbey, 198, 497, 634
 Torrington : *Biog.*, 552-3 ; *Dial.*, 70, 72, 77, 80-1 ; *Hist.*, 368 ; *Manuf.*, 577, 579 ; *Meetings*, 10 ; *Met.*, 140
 Torrington Bridge, 495
 Torrington Church History, *temp.* Eliz. (*Doe*), 611
 Tothill : Geoffrey, 212, 226, 503 ; Grace, 441 ; John, 509 ; Rich., 503 ; Will., 441
 Totnes : *Biog.*, 35, 448, 476-9, 536 ; *Bot.*, 134 ; *Hist.*, 368, 651, 653, 657, 662-3 ; *Manuf.*, 577, 587 ; *Meetings*, 10 ; *Met.*, 140-53 ; *Shipping*, 657 ; *Topog.*, 600 ; *Various*, 656
 Totnes, Mayors of, 668
 Totnes Monastery, 198
 Totton, Parva, 497
 Tou, Harry, 507
 Touse : Even, 654 ; Marg., 654
 Towker, John, 583, 587
 Townsend : Geo., 448 ; Nich., 655
 Towsington (Exminster), 553
 Tozer : J. C., 38 ; Rev. Will., 739, 745, 750, 774, 795
 Trackways. *See* Roads and ways
 Traies, Ja., 479
 Treasurer's report, 20
 Treby, Sir Geo. (1644 ?—1700), 676
 Trees. *See* Botany
 Trefusis, C. H. R., 20th Baron Clinton, 10
 Tregasco, John, 426
 Trelew, Agnes, 221
 Trelosk, Sir And., 372-5, 381
 Tremayne, Edm., 520, 522-3
 Trickey, John, 658
 Tripo : Rev. Anth., 454 ; Anth., 88, 97, 453-5, 458-62, 464-7, 477-8 ; Dorothy, 454 ; Eliz., 454 ; Rev. Nich., 453 ; Nich., 451-4
 Trosse : Eliz., 450 ; Hen., 452 ; John, 269, 450
 Troup, Mrs. F. Rose-, 9, 33-4, 611-2 ; Paper by : Kalenders and Exeter Trade-Gilds before the Reformation, 406
 Trowbridge : Fra., 466, 469 ; Geo., 465-6, 477
 Troyte, Bern., 220
 True Street (Berry Pomeroy), 600
 Truro, Bishop of. *See* Stubbs
 Trygges, John, 270
 Tucker : J., 114, 119 ; Ja., 454 ; Rich., 454 ; R. C., 9, 20, 33 ; Tho., 401, 405 ; Walt., 658 ; Rev. —, 737, 763
 Tuckers' Company. *See* Weavers' etc. Company
 Tuckfield : Joan, 509 ; John, 509
 Tudor, Rev. G. R. B., 115
 Tuite, Will., 92
 Tumuli. *See* Barrows
 Turf (Exminster), 684
 Turkish pirates. *See* Pirates
 Turnbull, Rev. Jos., 798
 Turner : Geo., 470-1 ; John, 440 ; J. M. W. (1775-1851), 67 ; Rev. Rich., obit., 43 ; Rich., 228 ; Will., 43
 Twitchen (North Molton), 128
 Twitchen, Twichen, Twychen : Hugh, 221 ; Johan, 221
 Tylard, John, 265
 Tyth, Jacob, 476
 Uffoulme : *Biog.*, 497
 Ughbrooke (Chudleigh), 597
 Ulcott, John, 228
 Umfraville, Sir John, 374, 381
 Undey, Hen., 588
 Upjohn : John, 471 ; Will., 469
 Up Ottery : *Biog.*, 376, 380
 Upplowman : *Manuf.*, 569
 Upton, Ensign, 666
 Upton Pyne : *Biog.*, 552
 Ussher, W. A. E., 708
 Valletort : Joan, 377 ; Ralph, 377
 Varwell, H. B., 9
 Vaughan, Cha., 432
 Vaux, Laur., 613
 Vavasour, Rich., 476
 Venn Ottery : *Church*, 449
 Venn Quarry (Landkey), 684
 Venton, Barth., 553
 Verbal provincialisms. *See* Dialect
 Vere, Sir Rob., 262
 Verges, 94, 98, 121
 Veteri Terra, Rob. de, 371
 Veysey or Voysey, John, *alias* Harman (1465?-1554), bishop, 202
 Vicary : Will., 397, 400 ; —, 155
 Vichering, Ensign, 666
 Vincent, Sir Edgar, 10
 Vincombe, John, 456
 Vivian, Edw., 10, 162, 164, 166, 168
 Vlieland, C. J., 9, 25-6, 28, 30-1
 Vowell, John. *See* Hooker
 Voysey : And., 655, 661 ; Walt., 229 ; Will., 675-6

- Waddon Brakes (Chudleigh), 597
 Wadeton family, 374
 Wadham, Nich., 501
 Wadland, Lieut.-Col., 666
 Waggin, Ensign, 666
 Wainwright, Tho., 33-4, 127, 139
 Wakeham : And., 654 ; Mary, 661 ;
 Rich., 661
 Walcombe, Rich., 548
 Waleraund, Rich., 481
 Walker : B. H., 112 ; Ja., 111, 441 ;
 Tho., 442, 536 ; —, 205
 Walkhampton, Walkington : *Biog.*,
 225
 Walland, Isaac, 98
 Walrond, —, 427
 Walter, Master, 233-5, 237, 239-40,
 245
 Waltham, Geoffry, 536
 Wandry, Tho., 581-3
 Ward, Rev. J. H., 9
 Warde, Phil., 536
 Warewast : Rob., bishop, 242 ;
 Will. (d. 1137), bishop, 242
 Warne, Sam., 269
 Warren, Will., 509
 Warry, Mrs., 132
 Waspe, Chris., 524
 Watkin, H. R., 9, 34
 Watkyns, John, 269, 446
 Watterton, John, 524
 Watton, Rob. de, 506
 Watts : Bennett, 659 ; H. V. I.,
 9
 Wear Gifford : *Biog.*, 495 ; *Bot.*,
 127-8
 Weather. *See* Meteorology
 Weavers' and Tuckers' Company,
 Exeter, 419-20, 438
 Webb, Benedick, 536
 Webbe : John, 212, 228 ; Rich.,
 588 ; Will., 588
 Webber : Gabriel, 536 ; John, 478,
 583 ; Rich., 550 ; Will., 588
 Weekes, Miss E. Lega-, 9, 70, 394 ;
 Papers by : Hospitium de le
 Egle, Exeter, some Chapels in
 the Close, and Persons connected
 therewith, 480 ; Wykes, Re-
 corder of Exeter and Sheriff of
 Devon, 561
 Welch, —, 467-8
 Welter, Tho., 658
 Wenford Hundred. *See* Wonford
 Wencycote, John, 588
 Were : Eliz., 496 ; W. T., 662
 Wesley, Rev. John (1703-1791),
 604
 West : John, 270 ; Pet., 734 ;
 Sarah T., 96
 West Worlington : *Biog.*, 43
 Westcombe (Kingsbridge), 140
 Westcote (Marwood), 48
 Westdown : *Biog.*, 498
 Western Beacon (Dartmoor), 679
 Westlake : John, 396, 400-1, 404 ;
 Rebecca, 396 ; Simon, 396
 Westleigh : *Biog.*, 375, 380, 494
 Weston : Eliz., 554 ; Rev. John,
 554 ; Mary, 554 ; Rhodes, 554 ;
 Rev. S. R., 554-5
 Wewlingworth, John, 440
 Weye, John, 588
 Weymouth, R. F., 10
 Whales, 371
 Wheat, Sam., 112
 Wheaton, Rich., 536
 Wheel animalcules. *See* Rotifera
 Wheeler : John, 658 ; Laur., 661,
 667-8
 Whimble : *Biog.*, 374, 381
 Whipham, Tho., 113, 117
 Whipton (Heavitree), 102
 Whitchurch : *Biog.*, 171, 554 ;
 Bot., 135
 White : Isabella, 440 ; Tho., 440,
 588
 Whitehill (Highweek), 599
 Whitestone : *Biog.*, 547-8, 560 ;
 Bot., 129 ; *Hist.*, 408
 Whitford, Hen., 588
 Whitley, H. M., 9, 512 ; Paper by :
 Maritime Trade of Exeter, 530
 Whitrow, John, 449, 672, 674
 Whitteley, Baldwin, 574
 Wibbery, Gilb., 494
 Widecombe-in-the-Moor : *Bot.*, 131-2
 Wigford Down (Meavy), 684
 Wilcox, Jos., 454
 Wilford : Alice, 583 ; Edm., 508 ;
 Eliz., 488, 508-9, 511 ; Ja., 508 ;
 John, 507-9, 583 ; Nich., 508 ;
 Rob., 484, 487, 490, 500-1, 504-8,
 511 ; Tho., 508 ; Will., 489,
 505-9, 511, 583
 Wilkie, —, 449
 Willcockes, Rich., 478
 William III (1650-1702), 604
 Williams : Ja., 473-4 ; Josiah,
 474-5 ; Lieut., 666 ; R., 475 ;
 Rob., 473 ; Tho., 212 ; Zacha-
 ariah, 477-8
 Williams, Messrs. J. and J., 472-5
 Willis, H. E., 114
 Wills : Alderman, 37 ; Annie S.,
 557 ; Sir E. C., 9, 30 ; Rev.
 G. W. B., 557 ; Georgina S., 557 ;
 H. M., 557 ; Rich., 270 ; Sam.,
 658 ; —, 734-5, 768
 Willson, Rich., 476

- Wilyams, Sir John, 204
 Wilmott, Sam., 478
 Wiltshire, Earl of. *See* Butler, Ja.
 Winard, W., 507
 Winchester, Will., 658
 Windeatt : Edw., 9, 34 ; Paper by :
 Clifton - Dartmouth - Hardness
 Borough and its Mayors and
 Mayoralties, 649 ; G. E., 9, 34
 Windmill Hill Cavern (Brixham),
 175-8
 Winget : Edw., 658 ; Walt., 659
 Wippel and Co., 475
 Wipple, Messrs., 490
 Wise : Pet., 588 ; Thomazine, 454
 WITCHCRAFT : 221
 Withcombe, Alex., 658
 Withers, Rev. John, 120
 Withycom, John, 270
 Wodes, Roger, 441
 Wodeton, Sir Rob., 373-4, 381
 Wolborough : *Bot.*, 132 ; *Topog.*,
 599
 Wolcott, Pet., 270
 Wolston, Mary, 550
 Wonard, Will., 495
 Wonford Hundred : Domesday
 (*Reichel*), 278 ; Early Descents of
 Manors in (*Reichel*), 312
 Wonford, South (Heavitree), 86,
 103
 Woodaford, Tho., 658
 Woodbury : *Biog.*, 553 ; *Bot.*, 131 ;
 Hist., 260, 406-8 ; *Zool.*, 684
 Woodd, Simon, 524
 Woodhouse, H. B. S., 9, 33
 Woody, Capt., 666
 Woodman, W., 475
 Woodpecker, Great Spotted, 609
 Woodward, Rich., 421
 Woolacombe (Mortehoe), 140-53
 Woolfardisworthy East : *Bot.*, 129
 Woolland, Mrs., 735-6
 Woolcombe, G. D., 9, 34
 WOOLLEN MANUFACTURE : Aulnager
 in Devon (*Chope*), 568 ; 537-8
 Woolley, Wolley, Emanuel, 669-70
 Woolmington, John, 536
 Woosley, John, 107
 Woredeford, Pet., 662
 Worell, Nich., 122
 Worth : And., 477-8 ; R. H., 9,
 33-4, 644, 703, 718 ; R. N., 10,
 716
 Worth, R. H., Papers by : Barrows,
 Report of Committee on, 83 ;
 Climate, Report of Committee
 on, 136 ; Petrography of Dart-
 moor, 677
 Worthe, Roger, 422
 Worway *als.* Orway (Kentisbeare),
 548-9
 Wotton, Will., 452-5, 675
 Wray : Roger de, 565-6 ; Walt. de,
 565
 Wrayford, Silvanus, 455
 Wreighford, Gilb., 657
 Wren, John, 107
 Wright, Cha., 113, 117
 Writ, Rich., 524
 Wydeslade : John, 496 ; Rich., 496
 Wycke : Margary, 657 ; Nich., 657
 Wyett, Hugh, 510
 Wykes, Weeks, Wikes : John,
 561-7, 585 ; Will., 561-7
 Wykes, Recorder of Exeter and
 Sheriff of Devon (*Lega-Weekes*),
 561
 Wylie, E. D., 140
 Wyliet, John, 199
 Wylles, Rich., 230
 Wylsdonne, Wylsedonne, Wylsse-
 donne, Hugh, 210-1
 Wyncote, John, 588
 Wynne, Tho., 101
 Wyse, John, 566
 Yarde : Sir John, 52 ; Phil., 269,
 272 ; —, 207
 Yelland, J. C., 475
 Yelverton (Buckland Monachorum),
 684
 Yeo, Yoo : Barth., 395 ; Jaquet,
 395 ; John, 395 ; Will., 573
 Yeoman, Roger, 658
 Yoo. *See* Yeo
 Youlden, Will., 100
 Young, Rev. Dav., 9
 Zoology. *See* Birds ; Molluscs ;
 Rotifera

ERRATA IN VOLUME XLIII.

- Page 9, Vice-Presidents. For "J. Wilton" read "T. Wilton."
Page 39, line 28. For "1859" read "1857."
Page 330, last lines but two and three. Prefix the figures "6" and "7" before "South Tawton" and "Ivybridge" respectively.
Page 342, line 1. For "Lejcune" read "Lejeune."
Page 352, line 8. For the words "a tempting one" read "very tempting."
Page 358, footnote. For "Dann" read "Dunn."
Page 364. After line 19 insert "WILLIAM IV."
Page 365, line 23. For "Stephy" read "Steven."
Page 378, footnote. For "1855" read "1755."
Page 389, footnote. For "1842" read "1852."
Page 392, line 41. For "1774" read "1768."
Page 396, fourth line from bottom. For "c. 1757" read "1757."
Page 400, line 35. }
Page 401, line 10. } For "(w)" read "(r)."
Page 402, line 20. }
Page 435. Insert "*Eristalis tenax*, 256" under the letter "E," and under "Flies in Devon."
Page 435. "*Hymenoptera*" should be "*Hymenoptera*, 257, 258," in both places, and not as printed; and for "Miss F. C. Bridson" read "Miss M. F. C. Bridson."

PRINTED BY
WILLIAM BRENDON AND SON, LTD.,
PLYMOUTH

Land held in various ways pp. 312-3.

Etymology (Note) p. 320.

$\frac{276}{286} \times \frac{287}{318} = 325.$
Pious. $\frac{349}{362} \times \frac{381}{374} = 586.$

7. 4. 22	—	22.	—	107.
8. 4. 22	—	48.	—	68, -90.
9. 4. 22	—	91.	—	191.
10. 4. 22	—	192.	—	283.
16. 4. 22	—	294.	—	302.
17. 4. 22	—	303.	—	311.
18. 4. 22	—	312.	—	327.
19. 4. 22	—	329.	—	350.
20. 4. 22	—	350.	—	381.
21. 4. 22	—	382.	—	511.
22. 4. 22	—	512.	—	524.
24. 4. 22	—	545.	—	604.
25. 4. 22	—	605.	—	702.
26. 4. 22	—	703.	—	802.

2. 11. 22





